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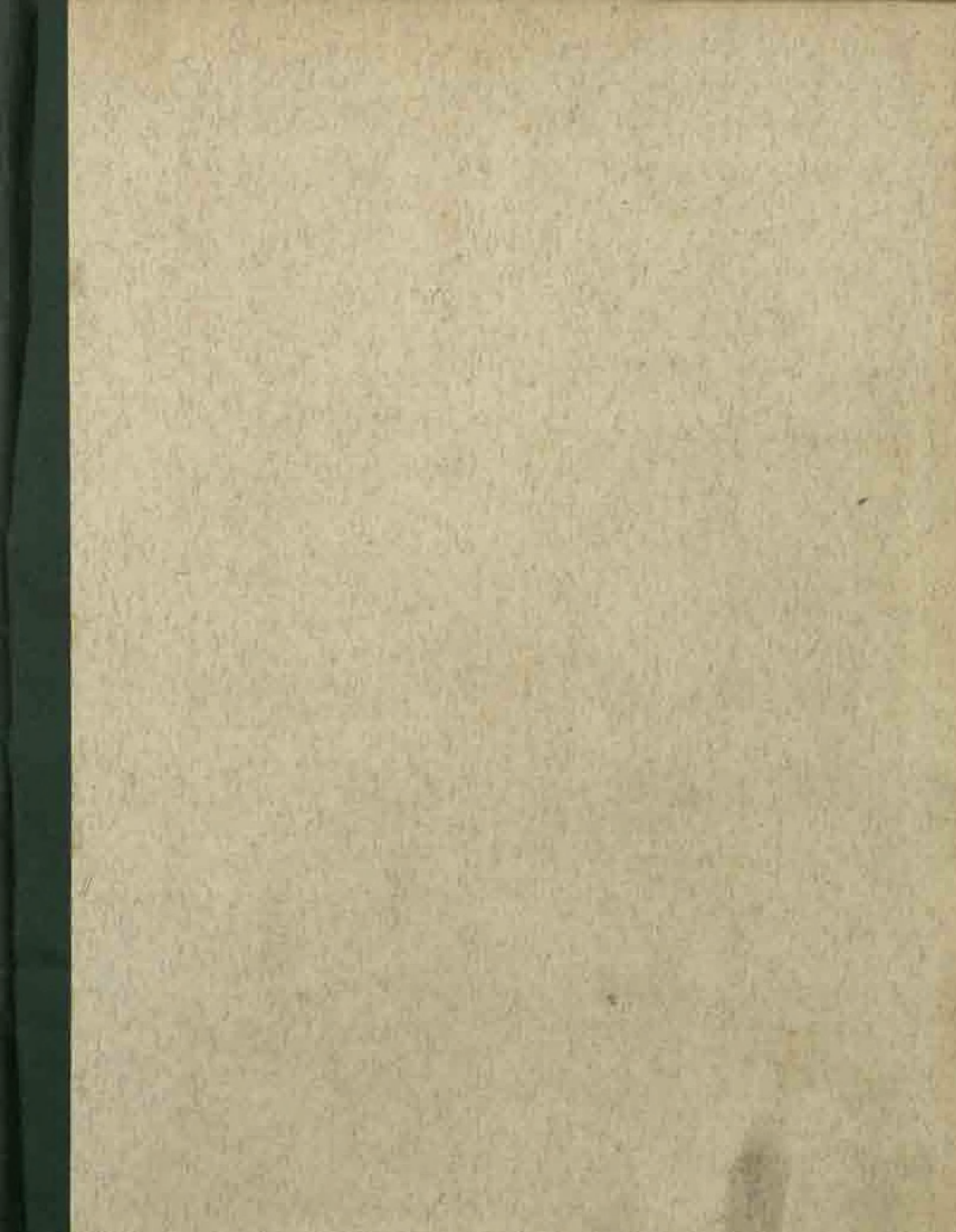
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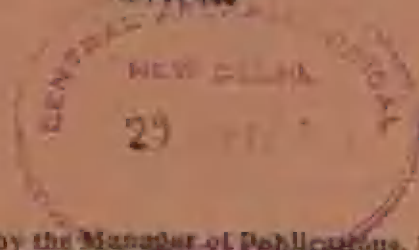
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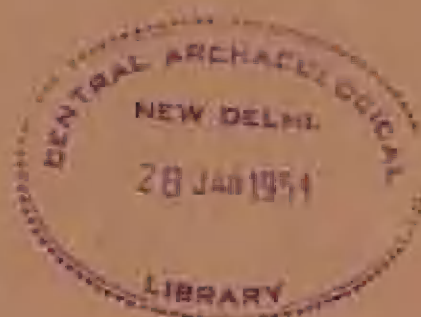
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„ 24. „ „ „ —III and IV . . . . .	„	136 and 137

No. 23. Three Inscriptions from Valgudar . . . . .	<i>to face page</i>	145
„ 26. Daikoni Plates of Prithvideva II, Year 890 . . . . .	<i>between pages</i>	152 and 153
„ 27. Two Inscriptions of Kampana from Madam . . . . .	„	160 and 161
„ 28. Intwa Clay Sealing . . . . .	<i>to face page</i>	175
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„ 30. Two Inscriptions from Jajpur . . . . .	<i>to face page</i>	183
„ 31. Kendupatna Plates of Narasimha II, Sets II and III —Set II . . . . .	<i>between pages</i>	190 and 191
„ 32. „ „ „ „ —Set III „ . . . . .	„	194 and 195
„ 33. Two Sondraka Grants— A. Nagad Plates of Nikumbhallasakti, Year 577 . . . . .	„	202 and 203
„ 34. B. Kasare Plates of Nikumbhallasakti, Year 404 . . . . .	„	204 and 205
„ 35. Velicherla Grant of Prataparudra Gajapati, Saka 1432 . . . . .	<i>between pages</i>	210 and 211
„ 36. Terundia Plate of Subbakara II . . . . .	„	214 and 215
„ 37. Tali Inscription of Kodai Ravi, 17th Year . . . . .	<i>to face page</i>	220
„ 38. Four Bhaikabuki Inscriptions . . . . .	„	224
„ 39. Madras Museum Plates of Anantasaktivarman, Year 28 . . . . .	„	234 and 235
„ 40. Nagari Plates of Anangabhima III, Saka 1151 and 1152 —Plate I . . . . .	„	250 and 251
„ 41. „ —Plate II. . . . .	„	254 and 255
„ 42. „ —Plate III . . . . .	<i>to face page</i>	257
„ 43. Russellkonda Plates of Nettabhauja . . . . .	<i>between pages</i>	262 and 263
„ 44. Jabalpur Plates of Maharaja Hastin, G. E. 170 . . . . .	<i>to face page</i>	266
„ 45. Two Tamil Inscriptions from Punganur . . . . .	<i>between pages</i>	270 and 271
„ 46. Two Grants of Rhanja Kings of Vanjalvaka : A. Plates of Silabhanja Tribhuvanakalasa . . . . .	„	276 and 277
„ 47. B. Plates of Nettabhauja Tribhuvanakalasa . . . . .	„	280 and 281
„ 48. Two Nishidhi Inscriptions from Sonda . . . . .	„	286 and 297

## No. 49. Tekkali Plates of Maharaja Umavarman, Year 9

—Plate I	between pages	302 and 303
„ 50. „ —Plate II	„	„
„ 51. Puri Plates (Set B) of Ganga Narasimha IV	„	310 and 311
„ 52. Methi Inscription of Yadava Krishna, Saka 1176	to face page	319
„ 53. Two Plates from Kanas		
—Plate I; A. Plate of Lokavigraha-bhattaraka, Gupta Year 280	„	331
„ 54. „ —Plate II; B. Plate of Bhanudatta, Regnal Year 5	„	334





## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

—)o(—

- Page 2, line 8.—For *Mahāmātragaṇa* read styled *Mahāmātragaṇa*
- .. 5, line 1.—For *Āśhājha* read *Āśhājha*
- .. 20, text, line 2.—For *mānavya-sagōtrāpāth* read *manavya-sagōtrāpāth*
- .. 22, text, line 34.—For 100 9 10 3 read 100 6 10 3
- .. 22, foot-note 4.—Read *kapilā-śata-ghāṭīyam-śaṇaḥ* as *pratipadyatē*
- .. 24, foot-note 1, line 5.—For *śahōdarāṇ* read *śahōdarāṇi*
- .. 25, line 5 *et passim*.—For *Śaṅkhavarma* read *Śaṅkhavarman*
- .. 25, line 15.—For *by* read *in*
- .. 25, foot-note 5, line 2.—For *Jamkhaṇḍi* read *Jamkhaṇḍī*
- .. 26, foot-note 7, line 9.—For *karṇanāṇ* read *karṇanāṇi*
- .. 26, foot-note 9.—For *Ibid.* read *Ep. Carn.*
- .. 27, foot-note 7.—Add note: 'There is no proof that *Kālaṇjara* was the ancestral seat of the *Kalachuris*.'
- .. 29, text, line 7.—For *datvā* read *datvā(ttvā)*
- .. 29, foot-notes, last line.—Add before the line 3
- .. 37, line 39.—For *crest-jem* read *crest-gem*
- .. 38, article No. 6, para. 3, last line.—Add note: 'The personal name of the *Vājān* seems to have been purposely omitted (cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 52; *A.R.Ep.*, 1910, App. C, No. 84).'
- .. 39, lines 24-25.—Read which correspond to 875 A.D., November 14, Monday
- .. 41, line 13.—For *of* read *dated*
- .. 43, para. 3.—Add note: 'The relationship between *Kaniṣhka* and *Huviṣhka* is as yet unknown. The earliest inscription of *Huviṣhka* is dated in the year 28 of the *Kuṣhāṇa* era.'
- .. 43, foot-note 2.—Add note. 'The name *Matryagupta* seems to mean "protected by the *Matsya* incarnation of *Vishṇu*".'
- .. 44, text, lines 1-2.—Add note: 'The reading seems to be: ... *gri* ... *vaḥārī[ī]ya* ... *gud[ī]ya* ... *Balbhāra*. The intended reading for *vaḥārī* may be *vaḥārī-Saṅkrit* *gamaḥārī* (cf. *Lüders' List*, p. 174, No. 140).'
- .. 47, foot-note 1, line 2.—Read *vinischītya*
- .. 47, foot-note 4.—Add see *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4 ff.; *IBQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 298 ff.
- .. 48, lines 34-35.—Read *Gandharāḍhi* in the *Bauddh State*

- Page 48, foot-note 1.—For *Alchar* read *Alcharā*
- „ 49, foot-note 16, lines 4-5.—Read *Ḍḍm̐bi-nāmakaś-eb-ṣṭi*
- „ 51, line 3.—Read *R. G. Basak*
- „ 56, text, line 7.—For *jātakam-aṅka* read *jātakam-aṅka*
- „ 57, text, line 13.—For *śrīḥ* read *śrīḥ |*
- „ 57, text, line 16.—For *jan-āvidhāyab* read *[jan-āvidhāyab |*
- „ 57, text, line 23.—For *gōcheha[ka]* read *gōchehha[ka]*
- „ 57, text, line 24.—For *gō-mahishy<sup>2</sup>* read *gō-mahishy<sup>2</sup>*
- „ 57, text, line 29.—For *yaśō-<sup>2</sup>bhiva(vr)ddihayō* read *yaśō-<sup>2</sup>bhiva(vr)ddihayō |*
- „ 57, text, line 30.—For *sōma-pūtimah(nah)* read *sōma-pūtimah(nah) |*
- „ 57, text, line 30.—For *Tad-anvayō* read *Tad-anvayō*
- „ 57, text, line 31.—For *dvijab* read *divijab [I\*]*
- „ 57, text, line 32.—For *autō-bhavat* read *autō-bhavat |*
- „ 57, text, line 33.—For *iv-āparab* read *iv-āparab [I\*]*
- „ 57, foot-note 3.—For *gōchehaka* read *gōchehhaka*
- „ 58, text, line 35.—For *bhāshipō* read *bhāshipō |*
- „ 58, text, line 39.—For *vasundharām(m)* read *vasundharām(rām) |*
- „ 59, line 36.—For *respects* read *respect*
- „ 60, line 12.—For *as* read *to*
- „ 61, line 3.—For *date* read *dates*
- „ 61, lines 5-6.—For *Chiplun grant* read *Chiplun plates*
- „ 62, text, line 9.—For *nīśāṣṭra* read *nīśāṣṭra*
- „ 62, text, line 11.—For *\*ahv-asādhārāpa* read *\*ahv-asādhārāpa*
- „ 65, line 36.—For *Jaipur in the Ganjam District* read *Jaypore in the Koraput District*
- „ 71, line 30.—For *interests* read *interest*
- „ 73, line 24.—For *age* read *centuries*
- „ 76, text, line 3.—For *Bhōjānām-anva<sup>2</sup>* read *Bhōjānām-anva<sup>2</sup>*
- „ 76, text, line 4.—For *Kottipeggilin-ābhya<sup>2</sup>* read *Kottipeggilin-ābhya<sup>2</sup>*
- „ 76, text, line 10.—For *vasundharām* read *vasundharām(rām)*
- „ 77, foot-note 4.—Add note: 'The inscription actually records the gift of a Chaitya-griha by Pavaṭirā, daughter of Uḥaparā, in favour of the Śaṅgha and the Budḍha. There are numerous cases of the use of the dative in the Prakrit inscriptions. The sentence *bhata-vrayaḥi samāpito* means to say that the Chaitya-griha was constructed by workers (*siratas*) devoted (*bhaktas*) to the donatrix.'
- „ 81, line 14.—For *Dāṇḍavālka* read *Dāṇḍapālka*
- „ 84, foot-note 6.—Read *Dāṇḍapālka*

- Page 89, foot-note 2, line 2.—*Read* Coll. (above Vol. XXVI, p. 38, note 8)
- „ 90, line 32.—*Read* from *śrāvaṇam*
- „ 92, translation, line 3.—*Read* *dēvendāna-brahmaśiṣya*
- „ 92, translation, line 8.—*Read* *leśahavatatattudēvar*
- „ 92, text, line 18.—*Omit* (*aiḍuvāṇ-sa*)
- „ 93, foot-note 5.—*Add note* : ‘ Lines 55-59 may be translated : “ This order will apply to all these 35 *pāpāna* (of land), be it (*cultivated*) land or land (*covered with*) thorny shrubs.” ’
- „ 98, text, line 18.—*Read* *Taṣṭavalagayali*
- „ 100, foot-note 1, line 6.—*For* V., 8. *read* V. 8.
- „ 103, text, line 14.—*For* *kambu(bu)* *read* *kachvu(bu)*
- „ 108, paragraphs 2 and 3.—*Add note* : ‘ For the date of the inscription, see now below, Vol. XXIX, p. 190, note.’
- „ 110, foot-note 1, line 2.—*Read* (*śaṇḍalāśikhamālā*)
- „ 111, foot-note 6, line 1.—*For* *kāṇḍa* *read* *kāṇḍa*
- „ 112, line 5.—*For* *liṅga* *read* *liṅga*
- „ 112, lines 6 ff.—*Read* *Tuṣṭikāra*
- „ 113, text, line 21.—*For* *asya\** *read* *asya\**
- „ 114, text, line 30.—*For* *vu(bu)dhvā* *read* *vu(bu)dhvā(dāhvā)*
- „ 115, line 10 *et passim*.—*For* *saṃyāsin* *read* *saṃyāsīn*
- „ 116, line 24.—*For* *saṅghattapālabhā* *read* *saṅghattān-āpalabha*
- „ 119, foot-note 6, lines 24-26.—*Read* *Vaḡ-dapḡa-’tha . . . kāya-dandaa-tath-aīya cha . . . . .*  
*mānavab |*
- „ 120, line 4.—*For* *vaṇḍavam-dapḍam* *read* *vaṇḍava-dapḍam*
- „ 124, foot-notes 3 and 5.—*Read* 3 *for* 5 *and* 5 *for* 3
- „ 126, line 7.—*For* *occur* *read* *occurs*
- „ 131, foot-note 4, line 2.—*Read* *A new History of the Indian People, Vol. VI*
- „ 133, text, line 2.—*For* *puṇyā[nā]m-parirakṣaṇ\** *read* *puṇyā[nā]m-parirakṣaṇ\**
- „ 133, foot-note 3, line 3.—*For* *saptamī* *read* *saptamī*
- „ 135, last line.—*For* *vochhiyāna[m]-Kappahārāma* *read* *vochhiyāna[m] Kappahārāma*
- „ 136, lines 1-3.—*Add note* : ‘ The reading and interpretation of the inscription are doubtful.’
- „ 137, line 17.—*Omit* *that*
- „ 137, foot-note 2.—*Read* ‘ *Kalingaṇagara . . . Kalingaṇetnau.* ’
- „ 144, foot-note 11, line 2.—*Read* Vol. XVII, p. 25
- „ 145, foot-note 2.—*Add note* : ‘ *Aḷuka* as a female name occurs in another inscription from Bihar (*A.R.Ep.*, 1955-56, App. B, No. 149).’



Page 145, foot-note 9.—*Add note:* 'In the Gaudīya or Proto-Bengali alphabet there is often no difference between the signs for medial *u* and subscript *u* (cf. below, Vol. XXX, p. 52, note 1) and often the same sign looks either like the *ā-mātrā* of the previous consonant or the *ī-mātrā* of the following *akṣara*. The second characteristic is often noticed in the early medieval epigraphs in Nāgarī as well (cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 509).'

- .. 150, foot-note 5.—*For 27 read 127*
- .. 151, line 1.—*Read Parushōttama*
- .. 151, line 2.—*Read Talahārī*
- .. 153, text, line 17.—*For samāhṛta read samāhṛita*
- .. 156, line 7.—*For single read single-handed*
- .. 171.—*Read lines 34-40 after line 26.*
- .. 175, foot-note 3, line 3.—*For drāma read ārāma*
- .. 176, line 1.—*For south-east read south-eastern*
- .. 177, line 1.—*Read lotus-feet*
- .. 177, line 2.—*For Māthara read the Māthara*
- .. 177, line 17.—*For matronymic read metronymic*
- .. 178, text, line 11.—*For yuśhmābhī<sup>u</sup> read yuśhmābhī<sup>u</sup>*
- .. 178, foot-note 4, line 6.—*For 6. read p.*
- .. 178, foot-note 4, line 9.—*For an read in*
- .. 178, foot-note 4, line 11.—*Add note:* 'As *Sandhi* is optional in prose composition, the composer could have written "*varuṣā Andō*" which is apparently the reading intended.'
- .. 178, foot-note 5, line 2.—*For perfectly read is perfectly*
- .. 179, text, line 14.—*For manu read Manu*
- .. 179, text, line 17.—*For mahim<sup>u</sup> read mahim<sup>u</sup>*
- .. 179, foot-note 6.—*For Surāṣṭrī read Surāṣṭra*
- .. 180, line 13 *et passim*.—*Add note:* 'For the date of the Bhauma-Kara kings, see now below, Vol. XXIX, p. 180, note.'
- .. 182, foot-note 2.—*Add:* 'See below, Vol. XXIX, p. 27, text, line 2.'
- .. 183, foot-note 9.—*For Mālinī read Mālini*
- .. 184, lines 3-5.—*For Mātrikā read Mātrikā*
- .. 193, line 22.—*Read Pannāḍi-raṇā. Add note:* '*Raṇā* or *Mahārāṇā* is the family name of a class of Oriya artisans. Pannāḍi belonged to this community.'
- .. 193, line 25.—*Omit the sentence:* '*Pannāḍi-raṇā.... Pannāḍi.*'
- .. 195, line 37.—*For has been read have been*
- .. 196, line 4.—*For diameters read diameter*
- .. 199, line 20.—*For Sēndrakā read Sēndraka*
- .. 201, text.—*Add note:* 'There are some inaccuracies in the transcript.'

- Page 202, text, line 20.—*For yasa(sa)s=cha read yasa[sa\*]s=cha*
- „ 205, text, line 31.—*Add note: 'The contraction dē may stand for Sanskrit deṣiḥ so that the reference is to the second of the two Āshāḍhas (including intercalary Āshāḍha) in the year in question.'*
- „ 209, text.—*Add note: 'There are some inaccuracies in the transcript.'*
- „ 213, lines 25 and 31.—*For Siddhagamī read Sindagamī*
- „ 214, line 5.—*Read Dharakota plates]*
- „ 215, line 2.—*For tatthākāra read tatthakāra*
- „ 215, text, line 7.—*For vaikarttana read Vaikarttana*
- „ 216, text, line 30.—*Read tatthakār-Āghāka*
- „ 229, line 36.—*For Chiacole read Narasannapeta*
- „ 235, text, line 16.—*For mahi<sup>2</sup> read mahi<sup>1</sup>*
- „ 237, line 26.—*Read Chaitra-tūdi 9*
- „ 238, genealogical tables.—*Read 6, Vajrahaṣṭa II Aniyakabhīma (Anāgabhīma I)*
- „ 239, line 18.—*Read in the later records of his grandson*
- „ 240, foot-note 2.—*Read Śalarāditya for Bālāditya and Pātānkusa for Jitānkusa. Add note: 'See A. R. Ep., 1935-36, p. 61.'*
- „ 245, foot-note 1, line 2.—*Read ś(s)uṣṭiy-Allāla*
- „ 249, text, line 3.—*Read Śambhu-Vra(Bra)hma*
- „ 249, text, line 9.—*Read samabha(va\*)ntā(vaṣa-tā)²*
- „ 249, text, line 11.—*Read saṅkīrttanam(nam)*
- „ 249, foot-note 1.—*Add For errors in the transcript, see below, Vol. XXXI, p. 249, note 2.*
- „ 250, foot-note 10.—*Read \*ñ-chiraṁ*
- „ 252, text, line 57.—*Read prasiddha-ki²*
- „ 255, text, line 102.—*Read dig-gajānāth*
- „ 262, text, line 8.—*For śrīmad read śrīmad*
- „ 262, foot-note 3, line 2.—*Read there is*
- „ 263, text, line 21.—*Read Vapḍutaṅga². Add note: 'Vapḍutaṅgam may be identified with modern Bīḡatumbh where the inscription was discovered (cf. Or. Hist. Res. Journ., Vol. I, part iv, p. 267).'*
- „ 266, text.—*Add note: 'There are some inaccuracies in the transcript.'*
- „ 266, text, line 19.—*For mahi read mahi<sup>1</sup>*
- „ 277, foot-note 1.—*Add note: 'There is no metrical defect in the emendation if the last long syllable is taken as short (cf. Kāle, Higher Sanskrit Grammar, Appendix, pp. 1-2; Apte, Sans.-Eng. Dict., p. 1035).'*

Page 282, foot-notes 3 and 4.—*Add note* : 'The long syllable at the end of the feet in the stanzas in question has been regarded as short (cf. Kala, *Higher Sanskrit Grammar*, App., pp. 1-2; Apte, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 1035).'

- .. 282, foot-note 10.—*For* <sup>2</sup>ānuparāya *read* <sup>2</sup>ānupavarāya
- .. 284, foot-note 3, line 3.—*Read* the *deja-rāja*
- .. 287, line 13.—*For* Sāmśavaradēva *read* Sāmśāvaradēva
- .. 294, line 17.—*For* Dēśiya *read* Dēśiya
- .. 300, last para.—*Add note* : 'The duplication of Umavarman seems to be unwarranted.'
- .. 300, foot-note 4.—*Add note* : 'Viśākḥavarman cannot be regarded as the son of Umavarman on the ground that Viśākḥa is represented in Hindu mythology as the son of Umā. We know that Budhagupta was not a son of Chandragupta in spite of the mythological representation of Chandra as the father of Budha.'
- .. 302, text, line 3.—*Read* samavētān-ku<sup>2</sup>
- .. 302, text, line 9.—*Add note* : 'Some words of the passage *dharmakrama-nītramādhāpām-  
anayama-gōgād-anīpā mahimānufāntīm-idaṁ dānam* are omitted in the original.'
- .. 302, text, line 11.—*Read* vasudhā
- .. 302, text, line 12.—*Read* bhūmī[s<sup>2</sup>]-tasya
- .. 302, text, line 15.—*For* kri<sup>2</sup> *read* kṛi<sup>2</sup>
- .. 303, lines 5-6.—*Read* the grant portion of the inscription incised on plates VI-VII
- .. 303, line 8.—*Read* Jagannātha temple
- .. 303, line 9.—*Read* seven plates; but
- .. 305, line 9.—*For* kar *read* kari
- .. 305, line 10.—*For* rā|yaru-*read* rājyaru *e*
- .. 307, line 45.—*Read* (mudhya kari)
- .. 308, line 36.—*Read* approximately
- .. 308, foot-note 4, line 1.—*Read* ink or point
- .. 309, text, line 7.—*Read* sa[m<sup>2</sup>](hivigraha
- .. 312, text, line 23.—*Read* baham-astu
- .. 317, line 19.—*For* has *read* have
- .. 317, line 32.—*For* incidently *read* incidentally
- .. 320, text, line 12.—*For* dhanaṁ *read* dhanaṁ(nam)
- .. 321, line 19.—*Read* put in. The reasons
- .. 321, line 20.—*Read* now apparent." In a note
- .. 322, line 35.—*For* does not *read* do not
- .. 331, foot-note 7.—*For* drāṅgika *read* drāṅgika
- .. 332, foot-note 5.—*For* pāḍā-pāla *read* pāḍā-pāla



# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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## No. 1—NAGARDHAN PLATES OF SVAMIRAJA

(I. Plate).

V. V. MIRASHI, AMRAOTI

These copper-plates were discovered in 1946 at Nagardhan, a small village, about 3 miles south of Ramtek, the chief town of a tahsil of the same name in the Nagpur District. Shri Hiralal, Upasrao Mahadule of Nagardhan, who obtained possession of the plates, handed them over to me for decipherment. I am obliged to him for permission to publish this interesting record.

They are **three copper-plates**, each measuring 7·9" in length and 4·1" in breadth. The first and third are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. The plates are held together by a ring,  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in thickness and 2" in diameter, on which slides a small circular band with a rectangular seal measuring 1·2" by 1" soldered to it. The surface of the seal is divided into two almost equal parts by a horizontal line. The upper part contains a symbol, apparently a goat, lying horizontally, while the lower has the legend *Gaya-dattih* 'A gift of the Corporation', inscribed in the same characters as the grant. The plates together weigh 67½ *tilas* and the ring and the seal 2½ *tilas*. This mode of stringing the plates together resembles that of the Vākātaka grants, though the seal here is rectangular, not round as in the latter grants. The plates are in a state of good preservation and there is no uncertainty in the reading of any part of the text.

The record consists of 26 lines, which are evenly divided on the four inscribed faces of the three plates. The characters are of the box-headed variety, the boxes at the top of letters being scooped out hollow. They are very beautifully formed, being more cursive and round than those of the Vākātaka grants. They resemble very closely the characters of Early Gāṅga grants<sup>1</sup> of the sixth or seventh century A.C. As regards individual letters we may note the forms of initial *a* which occurs in ll. 8, 14, 19, 24 and 27, of initial *ś* in l. 13 and of initial *au* in l. 10. The right stroke of *ś*, which is mostly vertical in Vākātaka grants, sharply turns to the left and encircles the letter as in later records of the Kalachuris and the Gujjaras of Gujarat, see *Jaśi*, l. 2; a final consonant is indicated by its small size, see *Nāndivardhana*, l. 1; punctuation is generally indicated by a small horizontal stroke, but in some cases by two vertical strokes, the first of which is sporadically hooked at the top.

The language is Sanskrit and except for two verses at the end in ll. 24-27, the record is in prose. As regards orthography, the only peculiarities that call for notice are the use of *ri* for the medial vowel *ri* in *śhriti*, l. 2 and *nirakṛtā*, l. 20; of the guttural nasal *ṅ* for *ananda* in *dadaśā*, l. 23, and of *ananda* for final *a* in *dāyikādā*, l. 23. In other respects the record is remarkably free from errors of orthography, though in places it is not altogether devoid of uncertainty of meaning.

The plates were issued from Nāndivardhana by Nannarāja who meditated on the feet of his brother, the illustrious Svāmīrāja, during whose reign the grant was made.<sup>2</sup> Svāmīrāja also

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g. the Jirjingi plates of Indravarman, Gāṅga year 39 (A. C. 537-38), above, Vol. XXV, pp. 281-8, and plate; and Tekkali plates of Indravarman, Gāṅga year 164 (A. C. 602-603), *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 307-11, and plate. The Gāṅga era began in Śaka 420 (A. D. 498) as shown by me, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 326-38. [A. C. and A. D. both stand for the Christian era.—E.D.]

<sup>2</sup> This is shown by the word *śaśā* 'in good health' applied to Svāmīrāja, in l. 2.



is described as meditating on the feet of a *Bhaṭṭāraka* or lord paramount, which indicates his feudatory status. Neither the family to which the prince belonged, nor the suzerain to whom they owed allegiance, is mentioned in the present grant. No ancestors of Svāmīrāja have been named. In all these respects the present grant resembles those of the *Mahārājas* of Khandesh.<sup>1</sup>

The object of the inscription appears to be to record two gifts—(i) one of twelve *śūrtanas* of land in the village Chīṇchhapattikī which was made at the request of the President (*Śikṣavira*) and Members of the Executive Committee (*Prasuktas*) of the assembly (*Samāha*) of the Corporation (*Gaṇa*) Mahāmātragaṇa, and (ii) the other of the village Āṅkollikā which was made by Nannarāja (or perhaps by Svāmīrāja) on his own account near Chaṭuka Vaṭa<sup>2</sup> situated in the stream of the Gaṅgā on the occasion of an eclipse which occurred on the new-moon day of Chaitra in the cyclic year Āshāḍha. The donated village Āṅkollikā was situated on the right bank of the river Śūla, to the west of the *agrahāra* of Achalapura and to the east of Śrī-Paryūkā. The donees were certain Brāhmanas of the White and Black Yajurvedas and of the Sāmaveda. The inscription contains another date at the end when the plates were issued, viz., the fifth *tithi* (expressed by a symbol) of the bright half of Kārtika in the year three hundred and twenty-two (expressed in words) of an unspecified era. The engraver was the Kshatriya Durgāditya, the son of Chandra.

The present record is interesting in several respects and sheds important light on the history of Vidarbha in the post-Vākātaka age. As stated before, the royal family to which Svāmīrāja and Nannarāja belonged is not specified in the present grant, but since these names occur in two early Rāshtrakūṭa records discovered in Vidarbha, viz., Tivarakhād<sup>3</sup> and Multāi<sup>4</sup> plates, with the slight change of Svāmīrāja into Svāmīkarāja, it seems very likely that the prince mentioned here also belonged to the same lineage. Nay, *prima facie*, it appeared quite plausible that Svāmīrāja and Nannarāja of the present plates were identical with Svāmīkarāja and Nannarāja mentioned in the aforementioned two Rāshtrakūṭa grants. The date of the present record seemed also to lend colour to this view; for the year 322 mentioned in it, if referred to the Gupta era, would correspond to A. C. 641-42 which is not very remote from Śaka 553 (A. C. 631), the date of the Tivarakhād plates of Nannarāja. A close examination of the aforementioned Rāshtrakūṭa grants and their dates, however, soon convinced me that the identification is untenable. I shall now proceed to state my reasons for this view.

As stated before, two grants of the Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja discovered in Vidarbha have been published, viz., the Tivarakhād plates, dated Śaka 553 (A. C. 631-32) and the Multāi plates dated Śaka 631 (A. C. 709-10). The genealogy and, to some extent, the wording of the two grants are identical, but there is a difference of 78 years between the two dates. The two grants were, therefore, in all probability, not made by the same ruler; for a reign of more than 78 years is extremely unlikely. Dr. Altekar has already discussed this question in his work on the Rāshtrakūṭas.<sup>5</sup> He has concluded that the Multāi plates were spurious on the following grounds:—'The genealogy

<sup>1</sup> See the Indore grants of Svāmīdāsa dated (K.) 67 and Bhulunda dated (K.) 107 and the Śarpur grant of Rudradāsa dated (K.) 187. These grants have been shown by me to have been dated in the Kalachuri era (*A. R. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159-68). They therefore belong to the fourth and fifth centuries A. C.

<sup>2</sup> The grant was apparently made at the *asthagaṇa* near the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. It is also possible that the grant was actually made by Svāmīrāja and was only recorded by his brother Nannarāja. For a similar grant made at Prayāga at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā by a ruling king of Vidarbha and recorded afterwards by his relative at Nandivardhana, see the Rūhapur plates of Bhavadatta, *varman*, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 f.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp. 276 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230 f.

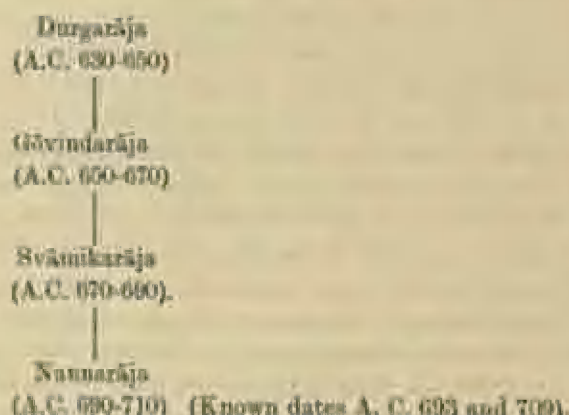
<sup>5</sup> Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 6 f.







The Multāi grant being thus proved to be genuine, the Tivarakhōḍ grant, which though purporting to be made by the same king Nannarāja, is dated 78 years earlier, must be held to be spurious. The approximate reign-periods of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes mentioned in the Multāi and the Vatapuraka grant of Nannarāja discovered near Akōṭā may therefore be stated as follows—



We have seen above that the year 322 of the present plates, if referred to the Gupta era, would correspond to A.C. 641-42. But there were no kings named Svāmīrāja and Nannarāja ruling in Berar in that period, as shown above. Besides, apart from the difference in their age, the princess Svāmīrāja and Nannarāja could not have been identical with the two rulers mentioned in the Multāi plates; for (i) Svāmīrāja was probably different from Svāmīkarāja as the latter name occurs invariably in this form in all the three grants—two genuine and one spurious—of Nannarāja; and (ii) Nannarāja is mentioned in the present plates as the brother of Svāmīrāja, while Nannarāja of the three other grants was the son of Svāmīkarāja.

The date of the present grant is thus not recorded in the Gupta era. There is one other circumstance which supports this conclusion. The plates state in ll. 14-15 that the grant of Nannarāja was made on the occasion of a (solar) eclipse on Chaitra *amāntāgā* in the cyclic year Āshādha. This year was evidently of the twelve year cycle of Jupiter. The system of citing the years of this cycle was current in early times and continued till the sixth century A.C.<sup>1</sup> In North India five such dates with the word *śakā* prefixed to the name of the year were discovered in the grants of the Parivrājaka Mahārājās Hastin and Saṅkabhōbha, from which Fleet and Sh. B. Dikshit calculated the epoch of the Gupta era. Some more dates of the same type have since been discovered. In South India some dates of this kind have been discovered in the records of the Early Rāshtrakūṭas<sup>2</sup> Kadāmbas<sup>3</sup> and kings of Kālīngas<sup>4</sup> but they do not admit of verification, in the absence of details necessary for calculation. The present grant is thus unique in that it mentions such details together with the name of the cyclic year and the date of an era. Let us see whether these details work out regularly for any of the known eras.

If the year 322 is referred to the Gupta era, it would, as stated above, correspond to A.C. 641-42. But there was no solar eclipse in the *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra of that year. Besides, the cyclic year was Phālguna, not Āshādha as stated in the grant.<sup>5</sup> The nearest solar eclipse in Chaitra

<sup>1</sup> The last known date of this type is G. 208 (A.C. 528) which occurs in the Khoh grant of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Saṅkabhōbha.

<sup>2</sup> See my article on the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura, *A. R. O. E. I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 25 f.; Vol. VI, pp. 24 f.

<sup>4</sup> See Siripuram plates of Anantavarman, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 f.

<sup>5</sup> This is according to the mean-sun system. See Cunningham, *Indians Eræ*, p. 156. The year according to the heliacal rising system also would be the same according to the calculations of Dr. K. L. Dasgupta of Nagpur.

occurred on the 21st March A.C. 638, but then too the cyclic year was Mārgaśīrṣa, not Āṣāḍhā. Again, there is no evidence that the Gupta era was ever current in Vidarbha or, for the matter of that, anywhere else in Mahārāṣṭra. For all these reasons the date 322 of the present grant cannot be referred to the Gupta era.

The only other era to which this date can be referred is the Kalachuri era which, as I have shown elsewhere, was current in the neighbouring districts of Khandesh<sup>1</sup> and Nasik.<sup>2</sup> Let us see if the details work out satisfactorily for this era.

The epoch which suits early dates of the Kalachuri era is A.D. 248-49.<sup>3</sup> If the year 322 is referred to this era, it should be equivalent to A.C. 570-71 or 571-72 according as it was current or expired. But in neither of these years was there a solar eclipse in the *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta* Chaitra. There was, however, one in the immediately following year A.D. 573, on the 19th March, which was the *amāvāsya* of the *amānta* Chaitra. The year of the twelve-year cycle was also Āṣāḍhā according to the mean-sign system. The agreement of these three details, viz., the solar eclipse, the lunar month and the cyclic year shows that the **19th March A.D. 573 is undoubtedly the correct date of the grant.** The palaeography of the grant also supports this date, for, as stated before, the characters of the grant closely resemble those of the early Gāṇḍa grants and must therefore be referred to the sixth century A.C. Besides, the wording of the formal portion of the present grant shows that it must be classed with such early grants as those of the *Mahārājās* of Khandesh, Subandhu of Māhishmatī and the *Trailokṭakas* of Western Mahārāṣṭra.

As stated above, the epoch of A.C. 248-49 does not hold good in the present case. Supposing the year of the present grant to be *Kārttikādi* and expired as in most other early dates, the epoch of the era applicable in the present case should be A.D. 250-51. The solar eclipse in Chaitra when the grant was made must have occurred in the *Kārttikādi* Kalachuri year 321. The *amāvāsya* of the *amānta* Chaitra in the expired year 321 fell, according to this proposed epoch of A.D. 250-51, on the 19th March A.D. 573. On this day there was a solar eclipse visible in India and the *Bārha-spatya samantara* was Āṣāḍhā as stated in the grant.

But, it may be asked, have we any other date of the Kalachuri era to which this new epoch of A.D. 250-51 is applicable? In reply to such a question, I would refer to the date of the Ellōrā grant of Dantidurga. This date has been read as Monday, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright half of Āṣvina in the year 663 of an unspecified era.<sup>4</sup> This year has been referred to the Śaka era. The details of the date do not, however, work out satisfactorily either for Śaka 663 current or for Śaka 663 expired. The date is thus irregular. It is, therefore, doubtful if it really refers to the Śaka era at all. A close examination of the wording of the date strengthens the suspicion. The date is given as follows—*Sam 660 60 3 Āṣvayajā buddha trayodasyām Sāmanvārē*. This is, however, not the usual mode of citing dates of the Śaka era. In all early Śaka dates whether occurring in the records of the Early Chālukyas or the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, there is a clear reference to the Śakas or to the Śaka kings. See, for instance, the wording of the following Śaka dates from Mahārāṣṭra preceding and following the date Śaka 663 in question—

- (i) Śaka 609—Jejuri Plates of Vinayāditya (above, Vol. XIX, p. 64)—*Nar-ottara-shat-tatishu-Śaka-samvatsare-vallishu*.
- (ii) Śaka 680—Poona Plates of Kṛṣṇarāja I (*B. I. S. M. Q.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 165 f.)—*Śaka-uripati-samvatsara-sata-shatē aṣṭy-uttarē Hīmalamba-samvatmāre Āṣvayaj-āṇḍā-syāyām Sārya-grahapē*.

<sup>1</sup> See my article 'An ancient dynasty of Khandesh' in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 160 f.

<sup>2</sup> See the Añjaneri plates of Bhāgasakti, dated K. 461, above, Vol. XXV, pp. 225 f.

<sup>3</sup> See my article 'The Epoch of the Kalachuri-Chōla Era' in *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 18 f.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 31.



- (iii) Śaka 690—Talegaon Plates of Kṛishṇa I (above, Vol. XIII, p. 270)—Śaka-*śrīpati-samvatsara-kata-sha(ke) navaty-uta(ṣa)re Plavaṣṇa-varshē Vaiśākḥ-Jmārdṣyām-Aditya-grahē.*

Several dates of a similar type can be cited. In his examination of the dates of the Śaka era Kielhorn also noticed this peculiarity.<sup>1</sup> Says he, 'What strikes one at once in looking over the dates of the lists, and what distinguishes these dates in a remarkable manner from those of the other principal eras, is this that, with insignificant exceptions, all are explicitly referred to the era to which they belong. Of the 400 dates of my chronological list only five do not contain the word *Śaka* or its derivative *Śāka*.' And even in regard to the five dates Kielhorn showed that the absence of the word *Śaka* was due to the exigencies of the metre, spuriousness of the record or doubtful reading. This explicit reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings in the dates was quite necessary; for there were then two eras current in Mahārāṣṭra, viz., the Kalachuri era and the Śaka era. The latter had therefore to be clearly specified to prevent confusion.

Since the date of the Ellōrā plate contains no reference to the Śakas or Śaka kings, it is plainly *not* in the Śaka era. A close examination of the numerical symbols reveals that the reading of the year is incorrect. The first symbol, which consists of a sign for 100 followed by another<sup>2</sup> denoting 4, evidently stands for 400, not for 600. The date is thus 463 which must be referred to the Kalachuri era. The usual epoch of A.D. 248-49 which is seen to hold good in the case of other early Kalachuri dates does not suit this date; for, according to it, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āvina in the current year K. 463 fell on a Saturday (the 17th September, A.C. 712) and in the expired year K. 463 on a Friday (the 6th September, A.C. 713). In either case it will have to be regarded as irregular, as it did not fall on a Monday. But if we apply the epoch of A.C. 250-51 suggested by the grant under consideration, the date becomes regular; for according to that epoch, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āvina in the expired Kalachuri year 463 ended at 1 h. 45 m. on the 16th September, A.D. 715 which was a Monday as required. These two grants thus show that the epoch of the Kalachuri-Chādi era at least in some parts of Mahārāṣṭra was A.C. 250-51.<sup>3</sup>

The grant under discussion is unique in another respect. It is the only grant dated in the Kalachuri era which has been found in Vidarbha. The earlier grants of the Vākātakas found in Vidarbha were dated in regnal years while the later ones of the Bāshtrakūṭas are recorded in the Śaka era. The present grant which belongs to the intervening period is dated in the Kalachuri era evidently because that era had spread to Vidarbha with the extension of Kalachuri power. The unnamed overlord of Svāntīrāja was probably the Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja (circa A.C. 550-575). It is noteworthy that the silver coins of this Kalachuri Emperor have been discovered at several places in Vidarbha, viz., at Dhāmori in the Amravati District and Paṭṭan in the Betul District.

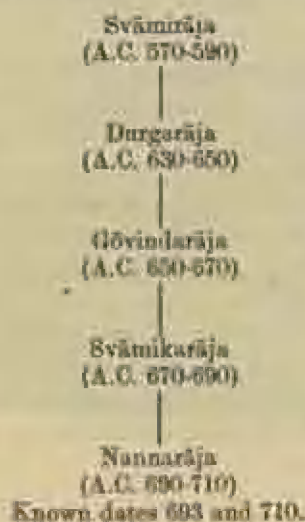
<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> This sign is a curious combination of the symbols for 4 and 6. Its upper portion which contains a loop resembles the symbol for 6, while the lower portion which has the shape of 4 clearly shows that it was intended to signify 4. Except for the loop in the upper portion, the symbol closely resembles that for 4 used in the Kanheri plates of Allakatti.

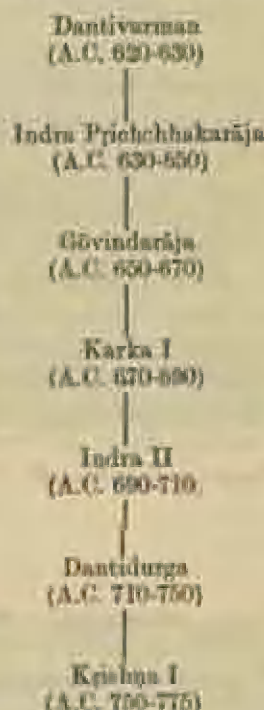
<sup>3</sup> From a large number of later Kalachuri dates Kielhorn showed that the epoch of the Kalachuri era was A.C. 247-48, but two early dates presented difficulties which he acknowledged in a foot-note to his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, Ep. Ind. Vol. V, Appendix. From several other dates discovered since then, I have shown that the epoch which suits early dates is A.C. 248-49 and I have reconciled the two epochs on the hypothesis that the current years of the era were wrongly supposed to be expired when the era was introduced by the Kalachuris in North India. The commencement of the era thus seems to be antedated by one year. See *A. R. G. E. I.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 34 f.

This Rāshtrakūṭa family of Vidarbha, which owed allegiance first to the Kalachuris and then to the Early Chālukyas, must be distinguished from the family of Dantivarman which was originally ruling over Mūlaka (Aurangabad District).<sup>1</sup> That the two families were ruling contemporaneously and not successively will appear from the following chronological table:—

## The Rāshtrakūṭas of Vidarbha.



## The Rāshtrakūṭas of Mūlaka.



The family of Dantivarman attained imperial status after overthrowing the Early Chālukyas and soon extended its sway to Vidarbha. The earliest record of this family found in Vidarbha is the grant of Kṛishṇarāja I, dated Śaka 694 (A.C. 772), discovered at Bhāndak in the Chanda District. The Rāshtrakūṭas of Vidarbha then sank to a feudatory status and probably ruled from Achalapura<sup>2</sup> (Ellichpur). We find occasional references to their conflicts with the imperial house of Māyakhṣa.

The present grant is interesting in several other respects also. It is one of the few copper-plate grants to which a *Gopa* (Corporation) is seen to have affixed its own seal. The corporation was

<sup>1</sup> The earliest genuine records of this family, viz., the Ellōra plates and the Dakṣiṇāra Cave inscription—both of the reign of Dantidurga—have been discovered in the Aurangabad District. The Sāmāgaḍ plates of Dantidurga found in the Kolhapur State are spurious. To the reasons stated by Drs. Srikishankar and Bhambharkar may be added this, that the date of the plates is given in decimal figures. See above, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Nāndivardhana from where the present plates were issued may have been their earlier capital. It was possibly the capital of the Vākṣatakas and then of the Nala kings, Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati. Later on the capital may have been shifted to Achalapura (modern Ellichpur in the Amravati District). The Tirakshad plates of Nannarāja were issued from Achalapura, but, as shown above, they are spurious. His Multai plates mention no place of issue. The plates recently discovered in the Akola District were issued by Nannarāja from Padmanagara which may be identical with Padmapura mentioned in an unfinished plate of the Vākṣatakas and in Sanskrit literature as the ancestral home of Bhavarahita. Later references to this branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas as well as the description of a fight in the *Pāṇḍyaśāstrā* suggest that its capital was at Achalapura. See also *Jed. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XV, pp. 611 f.



of Elephant-riders (*Mahāmātras*).<sup>1</sup> Its President was called *Sihavira*<sup>2</sup> and the members of the Executive Committee, who seem to have numbered twelve, *Prasādhas*.<sup>3</sup> The assembly of the Corporation was called *Samāha*.<sup>4</sup> The *gana* evidently consisted of elephant-riders;<sup>5</sup> for one of the elders was called *Pila-pati* (Chief of the Elephant Force) and another was *Ha-thi-caidya* (Physician of Elephants). The Corporation had apparently no authority to make any grants of land; for it had to request the ruling prince to make one on their behalf, but it was allowed to affix its own seal containing its own peculiar emblem of a goad.<sup>6</sup> This shows that it wielded considerable power in the State.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, *Nāndivardhana* from which the plates were issued has already been identified with Nagardhan. This identification has been corroborated by the discovery of the present record. Another name of the place is said to have been Nandardhan which corresponds to Nandivardhana. There is a small village named Nandipuri, about a mile south by east of Nagardhan which may represent ancient Nandivardhana. *Achalapura* is usually identified with Ellichpur in the Amraoti District, but there is no river named *Śūlanadi* flowing by its side. The *Achalapura* mentioned in the present plates as an *agrahāra* village was probably situated not far from Nandivardhana. The *Śūlanadi* on the bank of which it lay is probably identical with the river *Sār* which flows only about 5 miles, east of Nagardhan.<sup>7</sup> *Añkollikā* which was situated on the bank of the *Śūlanadi* may be identical with modern Aroli, on the right bank of the *Sār*, about 8 miles south by east of Nagardhan, but there are no places corresponding to *Achalapura* and *Śrī-Parpikā* in its vicinity. *Chīchaspattikā* is probably represented by the village *Chichāl*, about a mile and a half, north by east of Nagardhan.

### TEXT

#### First Plate

- 1 ओम् [1<sup>a</sup>] स्वस्ति [1<sup>a</sup>] नान्दीवर्द्धनम्<sup>1b</sup> [1<sup>a</sup>] भट्टारकवादानुद्धयातः परमनाहेश्वरः श्रीम्बानि-  
 2 राजः कुशली । तदनुद्धयातजानि(त्)नन्दराजः सर्वानिव स्वायातम्बानो-

<sup>1</sup> The Marathi word *māhāt* meaning an elephant driver is derived from *mahāmātra* (Prakrit, *Mahāstha*).

<sup>2</sup> *Sihavira* seems to be used in the same sense as *Jatthaka* of which it is a synonym. The latter term occurs in the *Jātaka* as the head of a corporation.

<sup>3</sup> The Indur Copper-plate inscription uses *prasaṇa* in the sense of *prasaṇha*. C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 30 text line 8.

<sup>4</sup> For *samāha* meaning the assembly of the *gana*, see *Rithapur-śruti*, XV, 20.

<sup>5</sup> It is noteworthy that Viśvarūpa, the oldest commentator of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* explains *gana* as a corporation of elephant-drivers and others. Cf. *smṛiti-smṛitī-gaṇāḥ, śāstrī-śloka-sūtra-smṛitī-gaṇāḥ* (Viśvarūpa on Y. S., II, 196).

<sup>6</sup> For another grant to which the Corporation of *Mahāmātras* has affixed its seal, see the Benares plates of *Harishja*; *Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference*, Twelfth Session, pp. 260 f. This seal also contains the emblem of a goad (not a flag-staff as stated by the editor). In this case the plates also were issued by the Corporation, though the grant was made with the consent of the reigning king and his chief queen.

<sup>7</sup> This river is called *Saraswati* in L. 39 of the Ramtel Stone Inscription of the time of *Rāmaśandra*, above, Vol. XXV, p. 16. The name of the river seems to have changed from *Śūlanadi* to *Saraswati* in the course of the seven centuries that separate these two records.

<sup>8</sup> From the original plates and ink impressions kindly supplied by Shri V. K. Aiyar, Superintendent, Government Press, Nagpur.

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>10</sup> The place is called *नान्दीवर्द्धन* in the Prana Plates of *Prabhakṛṣṇa-guṇṭa* (above, Vol. XV, pp. 41 f.) and the *Bikrā* plates of *Pravarasena II* (above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 260 f.). In two other grants (viz., *Rithapur* plates of *Bharadwajavarman*, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 f. and *Kothānka* grant of *Pravarasena II*, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 165 f.) the place-name appears as *नान्दीवर्द्धन*.

i.

2 2  
4 4  
6 6

ii, a.

8 8  
10 10  
12 12  
14 14



ii, b.

16 16  
18 18  
20 20

iii.

22 22  
24 24  
26 26  
28 28

Seal



3. प्रोपरिकदाष्टयाजिकवाटभटकुतलवेपनिकडाहिकादी(रीन्) सम-  
 4. नुवर्ण्य संजुतमत्पल्लु बो निवितं(तम्) [1<sup>2</sup>] यथा महाभाषतयमभिरकलित्त-  
 5. केटन 1<sup>1</sup> रोलवेव । प्रवीणभट । छिन्न । देवभट्ट[4<sup>2</sup>] । मालुत्तवामि । मल-  
 6. वेव । कोकुभट । हस्तिवेष्टसामत्तवामि । प्रमंगल । पोत्तुपतिमाला-  
 7. विह । प्रभाकरप्रमृत्तमत्तम[मू]हाभ्यर्चनया माताविमोरात्म-

*Second Plate : First Side*

8. नय्य पुण्यमशोभिमुद्धरे<sup>1</sup> उपसण्ण[न्य]मलोवविद्धाजलनेप्रविवाकर-  
 9. नीडुगन्ततलोववेवन्वामिकीजिकतमोवडाङ्कुरभारद्वाजसमोव-  
 10. चावित्य प्रीपमण्णु[न्य]वामोदराद्याः कत्वा[त्वाः] 1<sup>1</sup> मण । मोम । वल । चण्डि । गु-  
 11. प्रन । कुमारावपत्तंतिरिका[1<sup>2</sup>] क्षुदमेष्टान । कीप्पिततलोवकन्वी[व्वो]  
 12. रविचन्द्रविणयी । वत्ततमोवककर्मस्वामिने<sup>3</sup> विज्जवपट्टिकाया[वा] निवत्तं-  
 13. तानि द्वावश शासननिमित्तं[तम्] 1<sup>4</sup> एवमेतेषां वाद्धानां वणिक्कववेवदे-  
 14. वामिहोवादीनां विवाणां । उत्तप्पेवात्वं<sup>5</sup> । वावडत्तवत्तरे वंवामा-

*Second Plate : Second Side*

15. वाम्यायां वाळुवीमडवे चरुक्कत्तन्निवतेन प्रहोपरान्ते 1<sup>6</sup> सुत्तन-  
 16. द्याः उत्तरान्ते 1<sup>7</sup> जलपुरायाहारात्पविचयेन 1<sup>8</sup> ओपणिर्णकायाः पुर्व्वेण  
 17. अङ्गुलिना नाम वामः वाचन्नावकाण्णवभित्तिवरवहनपवनव्योम-  
 18. समकालीनः पुत्रवीजान्तरमोवोवनिरध्वन्यायेन 1<sup>9</sup> सव्वेदिवविट्ठि-  
 19. जेमकरभरपरिहीणः मज्जविपविमुद्धोत्तनिट्ठिक्क उदकपूज्जं<sup>10</sup> मो-

<sup>1</sup> This and other similar marks of punctuation in ll. 3-7 are superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Read विववेवभट्टव.

<sup>3</sup> Here and in some places below, the rules of Sandhi have not been observed.

<sup>4</sup> This and similar other marks of punctuation in ll. 10-12 are superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> Read तंतिरीयाः.

<sup>6</sup> Read कर्कमवामो एतेव्वः.

<sup>7</sup> Supply वत्तानि.

<sup>8</sup> This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>9</sup> This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>10</sup> Read उदकपूज्जं.



- 20 गाय निजि(म्)ष्टः [१\*] यतोस्मद्व्येरेर्व्येद्यागामिविषयमोगपतिभिरनुमन्त-  
 21 खः पालयितव्यश्च । यो धा तत्फलतत्त्वास्वावमात्रतृष्णातरिञ्जनीम्-

## Third Plate

- 22 भिरुद्भमानमानसोज्ञानपदसाधुतमतिगिरिनवीजलतरङ्ग-  
 23 ह्नरमापुर्णतरमवत्पत्रवञ्चनं धनमासादयेत् स पञ्चमहा-  
 24 पातकसंयुक्तः स्यादिति ॥ उक्तञ्च भगवता श्वासेन । बहुभिर्ध्वंनुधा नृक्ता  
 25 राजभिः सगरादिभिः[१][१\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा कलं(कम्) ॥१॥१\*  
 26 पौष्टि वर्पतह्वानि स्वार्थे मोदति भूमिः [१\*] घ्राब्देता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव-  
 27 व<sup>१</sup> नरके वसेत् ॥२॥१\* उक्तो(त्की)र्णमेतच्छासनं मातापित्रोः पुष्पावाप्तये वन्द-  
 28 पुत्रेण श्रविषपुर्णादित्येवेति ॥ संवत्तरगतवये द्वाविहने<sup>२</sup> कार्तिक शुदि ५ [१\*]

## Scul

गणवत्ति[१][१\*]

## TRANSLATION

Om! Hail! From Nāndivardhana.—The illustrious Svāmīrāja, who is a fervent devotee of Mahādeva (Śiva) and meditates on the feet of the lord paramount, is in good health. His brother Nannarāja who meditates on his feet, honours all his<sup>१</sup> (Officers) such as Rājasthānīya,<sup>२</sup> Uparika,<sup>३</sup> Dāṇḍapālīka,<sup>४</sup> Chāḍa, Bhaṭa,<sup>५</sup> Dāta-saṃprīṭhanika<sup>६</sup> and Drāṅgika,<sup>७</sup> communicating (the following order to them)—

(Line 4) Be it known to you that at the request of the Assembly of the Corporation (Gaṇa-samūha), whose Executive Officers (Pramuḥhas)<sup>८</sup> are Kaliṅga, the President (Sthaniya) of the Mahā-Mātragaṇa, (and) Kēṭabha, Rōladēva, Pradīptabhata, two Śivadēvabhāṭas, Mātrivāmin, Gaṇadēva, Kōṭakabhata, the Physician of Elephants (named) Sāmasvāmin, Anāgata, the Chief of the Elephant Corps (named) Māllāyika (and) Prabhākara, (and) for augmenting the religious merit and fame of (my) mother and father and of myself (I have granted) by a charter, twelve *śūratana*s (of land) in (the village) Chīñchapatṭikā to (the Brāhmanas) (viz.) the learned Divākara of the

<sup>१</sup> This *śākhā* is superfluous.

<sup>२</sup> Read द्वाविहने.

<sup>३</sup> As the text stands, these officers would be of Nannarāja, but they are probably meant to be of his brother Svāmīrāja who was reigning.

<sup>४</sup> Rājasthānīya means Viceroy, or Crown Representative.

<sup>५</sup> Uparika was the Governor of a province.

<sup>६</sup> Dāṇḍapālīka was a police officer.

<sup>७</sup> Chāḍas and Bhaṭas were policemen and soldiers whose duty was to apprehend criminals.

<sup>८</sup> Dāta-saṃprīṭhanika was one who appointed *dātas* for the execution of royal charters.

<sup>९</sup> Drāṅgika was probably the Mayor of a town (*drāṅga*).

<sup>१०</sup> The *pramuḥhas* correspond to the *karyachakras* mentioned in Smṛiti. See *Vijñānārṇava*, II : 61.

Upamanyu *gōtra* and Vājasanīya *śākhā*, Dvāstrāmin of the Maudgalya *gōtra*, Śaṅkara of the Kauśika *gōtra*, Āditya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Dāmodara of the Upamanyu *gōtra* and others, (these being) of the Kāyva (*śākhā*); Gaṇa, Sōma, Vatsa, Chaudī, Suprabha, Kumāra and others, (these being) of the Taittiriya (*śākhā*); Itāna of the Sāmaveda; Ravichandra and Ravigana of the Kauṇḍīna *gōtra* (and) Kāyva (*śākhā*); (and) Karkasvāmin of the Vatsa *gōtra*.

(L. 13) And to the same Brāhmaṇas (I),<sup>1</sup> while staying at the Chaṭuka banyan tree<sup>2</sup> in the midst of the Gaṅgā on the occasion of an eclipse on the new moon day of Chaitra in the year *Aśvāḍha*, donated with a libation of water, according to the maxim of uncultivated land,<sup>3</sup> the village named *Aṅkōḥikā* on the left bank of the river Sūta, (situated) to the west of the *agrarāra* Achalapura and to the east of Śrī-Parikā, which is to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans, the mountains, fire, wind and sky would endure, which is free from the obligations of gifts, forced labour and cess for providing meals<sup>4</sup> (to royal officers), which is exempt from all taxes and is invested with the powers of internal adjudication,<sup>5</sup> in order that they (i.e., the Brāhmaṇas) should enjoy it and perform religious duties such as *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, (and) *agnihōtra*.

(L. 20) Wherefore our descendants as well as others who will, in future, be the rulers of this *Vishaya* and *Ilāpa*, should consent to and preserve this, our gift. And whoever, with his mind tossed by the waves of the river water, namely, the greed for enjoying even the least product of this (gift) and with his intellect clouded by a mass of ignorance, would (seek to) attain life which is transitory like the ripples on the water of a mountain stream and fleeting wealth which is as unsteady as the leaves of the *Aśvattha* tree, will incur the five great sins.

(L. 24) And it is said by the venerable Vyāsa—  
(Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(L. 27) This order has been engraved by the Kshatriya Durgāditya, the son of Chandra, for the attainment of religious merit by (his) mother and father.

In the year three hundred (increased by) twenty-two on the lunar day 5 of the bright fortnight of Kārtika.

### Seal

#### A gift of the Corporation.

<sup>1</sup> This may refer to the reigning king Svāmīrāja.

<sup>2</sup> *Chaṭuka-vaṭa* may be *akhaṇḍa-vaṭa* at Prayāga, but I have not come across this designation of it elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> *Amal-vandita-vaṭa* is the same as *akhaṇḍa-akhaṇḍa-vaṭa*. It refers to the conferment of full proprietary rights as when one brings fallow land under cultivation.

<sup>4</sup> *Jāma-bhāra* was a cess levied on villagers for providing boarding to royal officers camping in the village. Cf. *Śiṣya-purāṇa* (ed. by Śrīmadhārī) *Jāma-bhāra* (second set) in the Anjaneri plates (second set) of Bhāgavakṛti, above, Vol. XXV, p. 237. In later records, the expression *raṣṭri-dāṇa* is used in the same sense, *ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 218.

<sup>5</sup> *Aṅkō-śiddhānta* means 'invested with the powers of internal adjudication'. Such villages were not required to send their criminal cases for adjudication outside. In some records the expression *vaṭa-dāṇa-dā-āgāra-dāṇa* is used in the same sense. For the fines which used to be levied in such cases, see Anjaneri plates (second set) above, Vol. XXV, p. 237.

<sup>6</sup> For *dāṇa* is the name of a gift, see the expression *a-pāradāṇa* 'as a gift not previously made' which occurs frequently in Vākāṇaka records.



## No. 2—KESARIBEDA PLATES OF NALA ARTHAPATI-BHATTARAKA.

(I Plate)

DINES CHANDRA SENGUPTA, OOTACAMUND.

IN February 1944, the Amin of the Umarhāt Police Station in the Jeypore State (Kasaput District, Orissa) reported to the authorities of the State that a set of copper plates had been discovered in a forest adjoining the village of **Kēsaribēḍā** within the jurisdiction of the said Police Station. The plates are said to have been found exposed on the ground at the foot of a mango tree in the forest. The news of the discovery soon reached the ears of Mr. G. Ramadas of Jeypore, who is an enthusiastic student of Indian epigraphy, and he secured the plates from the Pīḷāsi of the village with the help of his friend, the late Mr. Talisetty Rama Rao who was then the Assistant Diwan of the Jeypore State. Mr. Ramadas cut the ring passing through the plates in order to read the inscription on them; but soon afterwards he sent the entire set of plates for registration to the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. I edit the inscription with the permission kindly accorded to me by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

Mr. Ramadas has earned the gratitude of the students of Indian history by publishing recently an interesting note on the Kēsaribēḍā copper-plate inscription in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 33-42. Unfortunately the text of the record as made out by him as well as his interpretation of it is not free from errors. Besides, most of his suggestions regarding Nala history appear to be mere wild guesses. As I am inclined to disagree with almost all of Mr. Ramadas's theories about the Nalas, I would prefer not to comment on them in detail for the present.

The set consists of **three copper plates** strung together on a copper ring. The circumference of the ring, which is fixed in a thick and somewhat oval mass of copper having three square holes in a line at the top, is 7·6" and its diameter 2". The plates are roughly 7·5" in length and 1·5" in breadth and have their corners rounded off. The hole for the ring to pass through is at the proper right end of the plates and has a diameter of  $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The weight of the ring is 6·75 *toles* and that of the plates together with the ring is 31·75 *toles*. Of the three plates, the second and the third are inscribed on both sides, while the first has writing on one side only. Altogether there are fourteen lines of writing, each side having three lines, except the second side of the third plate which has two lines only.

The alphabet used is of the 'scalloped out' type of the box-headed variety of South Indian script. The characters are not of the angular type like those in the Rithapur plates<sup>1</sup> of Bhavadattavarmā and Arthapati and suggest a rather earlier date than that record, although both the Kēsaribēḍā and Rithapur charters were drafted by one and the same official (the *Rāṣṭrapālaka* Candra) and issued by the same king (Arthapati-bhagvāraka), and have therefore to be referred to the same epoch sometime in the sixth century A.D. Attention may be drawn to the forms of the initial vowels *a*, *ā* and *u* in lines 5 (*a*, *ā*, *u*), 6 (*a*), 9 (*ā*), 11 (*a*), 12 (*ū*) and 13 (*a*). Final *a* occurs in line 3 and *u* in line 13; but *i* is found in lines 6, 9, 10 and 11. The letter *i* is found in three different forms. In some cases it has the ordinary form with the right hand side straight and the left arm slightly bent downwards. Often, however both the arms are bent towards the left. In a few cases, the left arm has formed a loop and become undistinguishable from *a* (cf. *ita* in line 3 and *uā* in line 7). The figure for 7 occurs in the date in line 13.

The language of the record, which is not free from errors, is Sanskrit. It is written in prose, but has two imperatoric verses in the *anustubh* metre about the end. Of orthographic peculiarities, mention may be made of the usual duplication of the consonants when preceded or followed

<sup>1</sup> See discussion on this record below, p. 13.



by *r*; but *v* in one case in line 7 and *d* in line 9 have not been doubled. The *visarga*, followed by a sibilant, is represented by a sibilant in line 3. The duplication of *v* in *vaśava* (for *vaśavabard*) in line 13 is also interesting to note. There is a case of Prakritism in *maka* for *mabha* in the same line. The rules of *sumāhi*, which are optional for poetic composition, have not always been observed.

The date of the record is given as the new moon day of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa in the year 7, no doubt indicating the seventh regnal year of King Arthapati of the family of king Nala. As the issuer of the Kesaribēḍā charter and the dynasty to which he claimed to belong are already known from epigraphic and numismatic sources, I propose, before entering into the details of the grant, to give below a short sketch of Nala history taken from one of the chapters that I have contributed to Vol. III of the *History of India* (in the press), which is being published by the Bhāratīya Itihāsa Samiti of Bombay under the editorship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar of Calcutta.

The Rithapur copper-plate inscription,<sup>1</sup> which may be assigned on grounds of palaeography, to the fifth or sixth century, records the grant of a village called Kadambagiri by Mahārāja Bhavattavarman while he (probably together with his queen) was staying as a pilgrim<sup>2</sup> at Prayāga (Allahabad), "the place blest by the favour of lord Prajāpati at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna". The charter, however, was actually issued from Nandivardhana by a successor of the king. We know that this city was the capital of the Vākātakas of the main line before the foundation of Pravarapura by Pravarasena II. The village of Kadambagiri has been identified with Kalamba in the Yeatmal District of Berar. It is thus apparent that a new line of kings was in possession of the territories formerly occupied by the Vākātakas.

The name Bhavattavarman is probably a mistake or a partly Prakritized form of Bhavadattavarman. This suggestion is supported by the evidence of coins and of another record of the family. The king is called *Nala-uripa-rūṣita-prasūta* and apparently claimed descent from Nala, the ancient king of Nishadina known from epic and Puranic literature. He is said to have obtained royal fortune through the grace of Mahādeva (Śiva) and Mahādevī (Skanda-Kārttikēśya).<sup>3</sup> The king's banner bore the *tri-paṇḍita* which has been explained as the representation of "the hand with three fingers stretched out" or "three pennons". The charter is dated in the eleventh regnal year. But the document is said to have been actually made, for the merit of his own parents, by Mahārāja Arthapati-bhāṭṭāraka who was favoured by his *śryaka*, i.e., grandfather.<sup>4</sup> Arthapati has sometimes been taken to be an epithet of Bhavadattavarman, but is now usually regarded as the name of the latter's son and successor. It is, however, probable that Bhavadattavarman was actually the *śryaka*, i.e., 'grandfather', of Arthapati. It seems that year 11, the date of the Rithapur grant, refers not to the reign of Bhavadattavarman but to that of Arthapati.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that the grant was made in favour of certain Brahmins who appear to have "blessed the matrimonial relationship" of the king and the queen may also suggest that it was made on the occasion of the royal marriage. In that case it has to be conjectured that the father of the queen was a chief or ruler of the Allahabad region. Note also the reference to "the lord of offspring" in this connection.

<sup>3</sup> The passage *Mahādeva-Mahādevī-śryaka-uripa-rūṣita*, 'upon whom has been bestowed the glory of royalty by Mahādeva and Mahādevī', may also be interpreted to mean that the king dedicated his kingdom and wealth to the gods Śiva and Skanda (cf. similar cases cited by me in *Journal of the Kollata Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, pp. 254-55). Reference may be made in this connection to the Bils seal (ARASI, 1911-12, p. 51), bearing the legend *Mahādeva-Mahādevī-śryaka-uripa-rūṣita* *varāhaśāhāyaka* *śrī-Viśākhapāṇi* (*śrī*) *dhana-mahārāja*. What relation King Viśākhavardhana may have had with the early Nalas, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge; but, like Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati, Viśākhavardhana seems also to have been a southerner as the characters used on the Bils seal closely resemble those of the records of the Hoysākas of the Krishna-Guntur region. Viśākhavardhana's emblem was, however, not the *tri-paṇḍita* but the bull.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 187a; *Sol. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 223-4.



Another Nala inscription<sup>1</sup> in verse has been discovered at Poḍḍagadh in the Jeypore State, not far from the borders of the Bastar State (C.P.). It is dated in the twelfth regnal year of a king whose name seems to be Skandavarman, although the reading of its first part is not beyond doubt. This king is described as the son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family, very probably the same as Bhavattavarman of the Rithapur plates. Skandavarman is said to have recovered the lost (*hamsāṅga*) royal fortune of his family and to have re-peopled the deserted (*śūnya*) city of Pushkari. The city, which seems to have been situated in the Poḍḍagadh region, was probably the capital of the Nala kings. The inscription refers to the construction of a shrine (*pūṣṭikā*) of Vishnu by Skandavarman apparently at Poḍḍagadh. The relation that must have existed between Arthapati and Skandavarman cannot be determined; but the former may have been the son and successor of the latter.

There has been some speculation as regards the identity of the enemy who defeated the Nalas and sacked Pushkari, but was afterwards defeated by Skandavarman.<sup>2</sup> As there was apparently a struggle between the Nalas and the Vākātakas of the main branch, this enemy has been identified by some writers with Vākātaka Prithivishēṇa II who claims to have twice rescued the fallen fortunes of his family. Skandavarman's adversary may also have been the Pāṇḍuvārṇā king Nanna of South Kōśala. Nanna's occupation of practically the whole of the western C.P. is possibly indicated by an inscription at Bhandak in the Chanda District, although it is sometimes believed that the record originally belonged to a place in the eastern C.P. in the heart of South Kōśala.<sup>3</sup> Most probably, however, the enemy of the Nalas was the Chālukya king Kirttivarman I (A.D. 567-97) who claims not only to have subdued the Nalas, sometimes represented as the traditional enemy of the Chālukyas, but also to have destroyed their residence (*vilāsa*).<sup>4</sup>

A hoard of gold coins was discovered at Edeṅḡā, a village in the Koppegāon taluk of the Bastar State.<sup>5</sup> The issuers of the coins of this hoard are Bhavadatta, Arthapati and another king named Varāha who may have belonged to the same family. From epigraphic and numismatic materials, it seems that the territories of the Nalas lay in the Bastar-Jeypore region about the southern part of the C.P. About the first half of the sixth century, they extended their power towards the north at the expense of the Vākātakas; but their northern possessions soon appear to have passed to the Pāṇḍuvārṇā kings of Kōśala. There is, however, some indication that the Nala empire had extended over a still wider area.

Inscriptions of the time of Chālukya Vikramāditya I (655-80 A.D.) mention the Nalavāḍi-vishaya which was apparently named after the Nalas.<sup>6</sup> As a village situated in that *vishaya* has been identified with modern Ratnagiri in the Madakasira taluk of the Bellary (now Anantapur) District, it seems that Nalavāḍi under the Chālukyas comprised parts of the Anantapur and Kurnool Districts. This may have been the southernmost province of the Nala empire, originally under a viceroy of the royal blood. Whether the Nalas were responsible for the fall of the Vākātakas of Vatsagnūma and the Rāshtrakūtas of Mānapura cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But the suggestion may not be altogether improbable.

A stone inscription<sup>7</sup> at Rājīm in the Raipur District of the eastern C.P., which may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the close of the seventh century, records the construction of a temple of Vishnu probably by Vilāsataṅga, apparently a successor (son?) of king Virūpākaha

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 155 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. I, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Hirsch, *Description List of Inscriptions of C.P. and Berar*, pp. 12 f.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. I, pp. 29-35.

<sup>6</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 363.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 ff.



who was the son of king Prithvirāja. These rulers claimed descent from Nala and were very probably later members of the family of Bhavadattavarman. It seems that the Nalas, who were cornered in the Bastar region by the Pāṇḍuvamāis and the Chālukyas, retrieved their position and conquered South Kōśala sometime after the rule of Śivagupta<sup>1</sup> Bālārjuna in the seventh century. It is unknown if they continued to rule in that country till the rise of the Śōmavamāis about the middle of the tenth century. If, however, they did, they were probably matrimonially related to the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I (c. A.D. 370-95) who constructed a temple at Pāl about twelve miles from Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District,<sup>2</sup> no doubt on the occasion of a visit that he might have paid to his relatives' kingdom.

A king named Prithivivāghra, who seems to have performed an Advamāḍha sacrifice, is styled *Nishada-pati* in the Udayendiram grant of Pallavamalla.<sup>3</sup> Supposing that the form *Nishada* is a mistake for *Nishadka* and not for *Nishāda*, Prithivivāghra may possibly be associated with the epic *Nishadha-pati* Nala. He may thus be identified with Prithvirāja of the Rājūn inscription as both of them lived about the same period.

As the Rithapur grant is dated in the eleventh regnal year probably of the same king, the present charter is earlier than the other record by four years only. The inscription records the grant, made by Mahārāja Arthapati-bhāṭṭāraka, of the village called Kāśhaka-grāma to the Brāhmanas Durgārya, Ravirārya (1)<sup>4</sup> and Ravidastārya all belonging to the Kautsa gotra. The charter was issued from Pushkari, addressing the agriculturist householders (*śatumbimbā*), headed by the Brāhmanas, as well as to the village *śikshaka* (headman). The king is described as *tri-patikkā-dharmja* and *Mahāseva-Mahāśāla-ātirishṭa-rājya-vibhava* just as king Bhavadattavarman has been in the Rithapur inscription. He is also called *Nala-nripati-kul-āwaga*, 'belonging to a family of the clan of king Nala'. Thus the inscription under discussion seems to support the evidence of coins that Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati mentioned in the Rithapur record were not identical but were two different rulers. The expression *Arthapati-bhāṭṭāraka-āwagrah-ārttham* (l. 5) possibly suggests that the king made the gift after receiving some sort of help from the Brāhmanas. The donated village was exempted from the entrance of *śāpas* (soldiers or police men) and from all taxes (*a-bhāṭa-pravāśab sarvadhara-vimrjita*). The donees were not to be disturbed by anybody (*na kōnachit kiñchid-vaktavyāḥ*). This is the same as *bhāṇḍatāra na kōnachit-vyāghātāḥ kartavyāḥ* of some other records and forbids all persons to trouble the donees in any way. The grant was also made *a-raka* which seems to mean the same as *a-patamparā-batimarda-grahana* of some other records indicating the exemption from the obligation of supplying conveyance to the royal officials on tour. The villagers were advised to live happily without fear of molestation and to go on with work in the lands settled unto them (*bhavallābha-śā dharmā-karmamān-ārambhāḥ*) *śa-nirvāṇa-vimuktāḥ-vashaveyam*). They were further asked to be careful about their obligations to the landlords (donees) in accordance with customs prevalent in the district (*nichay-śāstikā-śā śāstrādhāḥ kartavyāḥ*) and to pay regularly their dues such as *śiraya* (rent for land payable in coins besides the share of the produce) and others. Fulfilment of these conditions, the record goes on to say, would lead to the satisfaction of Bhāṭṭāraka-rāja (i.e., king Arthapati-bhāṭṭāraka). This seems to show that the word *bhāṭṭāraka* was sometimes regarded as an integral part of the

<sup>1</sup> He is commonly called Mahāśivagupta.

<sup>2</sup> *Ahere*, Vol. XXVI, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 178. It may be supposed that it was Pallavamalla who performed the Advamāḍha. But if such was the case, there would certainly have been reference to that event in one of the numerous records of the later Pallavas. The claim would also have been more specific and prominent in the Udayendiram grant.

<sup>4</sup> [The name *Bastar* sounds queer indeed, but there is no doubt about the reading. Compare *Bastis*, the name of the composer of the Mandiacr inscription of the Mālaras year 523=467-8 A.C., above, Vol. XXVII, p. 12. —Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> The word *śiraya* means 'cultivated land'. It may also be taken in the sense of 'business' in this context.



king's name. The charter was drafted, on a verbal order of the king, by the Privy Councilor (*Rahasyadhikṛta*)<sup>1</sup> Challa, who is also known from the Rithapargraṃt.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the Kēśaribādā grant, Pushkari, as already indicated, has to be located in the Poṣṭhagāṇi region of the Jeypore State, now in the Koraput District of Orissa. Kēśalākagrāma has been identified with the village of Kēśaribādā, the findspot of the charter, in the same State.

### TEXT

#### First Plate

- 1 Svasti [2<sup>a</sup>] **Pushkaryyāḥ** Mahāśvara-Mahāśaṇ-Itipishā-rājya-vibha[va<sup>2</sup>]ḥ tri-pat[ā]-  
2 kā-dhivajāḥ Nela-nripati-kūṭānvayaḥ sri-mahārāj-**Artthapati-bhaṭṭāṛakāḥ**  
3 **Kēśalaka-grāma** Brāhman-ottarāṇ<sup>3</sup> kuṭumbinaḥ śiśhakaṇḥ-ch-āḥjāpaya[ti<sup>4</sup>]

#### Second Plate : First Side

- 4 'yūyam-asambh[ā]ḥ Kautā-sagōtrāya Durgga(rggā)ryyāya Ravirūryyāya<sup>5</sup> Havidattāryyāya<sup>6</sup>  
pā(pa)tra-pautrika[m<sup>7</sup>]  
5 **Artthapati-bhaṭṭa(ṭṭā)rakasy-a(sy-ā)nugrahārtham[m<sup>8</sup>]** ndakapūrvva[ḥ<sup>9</sup>] datta ā-  
chandra-tārakam-s-bhaṭṭa-prav[ā]ḥ[ḥ<sup>10</sup>] sarva-kāra-  
6 vīnarjitaḥ a-vahāḥ [2<sup>a</sup>] na kēnach[ī]ṭi kīcha(śhē)ḍ-vaktavyāḥ [1<sup>a</sup>] yataḥ bhavadbh[ā]-cha[ḥ]

#### Second Plate : Second Side

- 7 dhrova-karmānt-ārambh[ā]ḥ(mbhāḥ) anūryita-vīraśhātr-vyastavya[ḥ<sup>11</sup>] viśhāy-śh[ā]ṭṭā-  
cha mārīṣā(śhāḥ)  
8 kartavyā hiraṇy-ādayaḥ-cha prastāya(yā) dēyāḥ [2<sup>a</sup>] tataḥ-cha **Bhaṭṭa(ṭṭā)ra-  
kāśasya(sy-ā)-**  
9 pyāyana[m<sup>12</sup>] sambh[ā]ḥ paritushṭa(śhā)ṭe-datta[ḥ<sup>13</sup>] yuḥ kaśhīt vyapāśa-dharmā

#### Third Plate : First Side

- 10 rāḡ[ā]ḥ<sup>14</sup> drūhāt-praḥ[ā]ḥbād-vā grāmā kiśhīt-pralōpay[ā]ḥ [2<sup>a</sup>] an mahāpātaka-  
11 yuktāḥ<sup>15</sup> pāśhahāti-ama(r-nu)rakāṇ vra[ḥ<sup>16</sup>] [3<sup>a</sup>] ūktāḥ-cha[ḥ<sup>17</sup>] śhāch[ā]ḥ(śh[ā]m) varaha-  
śhaśhārājī  
12 a(va)rggā nandati bhāmidaḥ [2<sup>a</sup>] ākshēptā cha(ch-ā)nuna[ḥ<sup>18</sup>] cha tāny-āva narakā vasaatāḥ<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> CE. *Ind. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 441.

<sup>2</sup> From the facsimile published by Mr. Rāmadas in *JPRS*, Vol. XXXIV, and from the impressions preserved at the office of the Government Epigraphist at Delhi, Octocennid.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Brāhman-ottara*.

<sup>4</sup> The Bithapur inscription has also this reading; but the reading intended seems to be *paśā-dāna*.

<sup>5</sup> The third abakus read *ā* has above it the superscript *v* together with the sign for *ā*. Possibly the engraver at first omitted *ā* and began to inscribe the next abakus, *vyā*, but noticed the mistake only after the inscribing of the upper part of it.

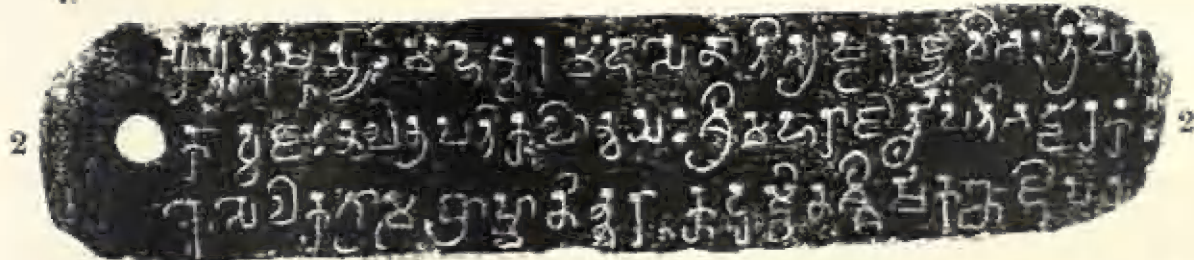
<sup>6</sup> After this name, the upper part of a letter, which may be an ill-formed *ā* or *ā* is visible. Below this and the preceding letter, there are traces of three abakus which look like *śhātrā*. Whether this is meant for a correction in the form of the inscription of a new name or the list of the donors cannot be satisfactorily determined.

<sup>7</sup> Read *paśāṭra-pautrika*.

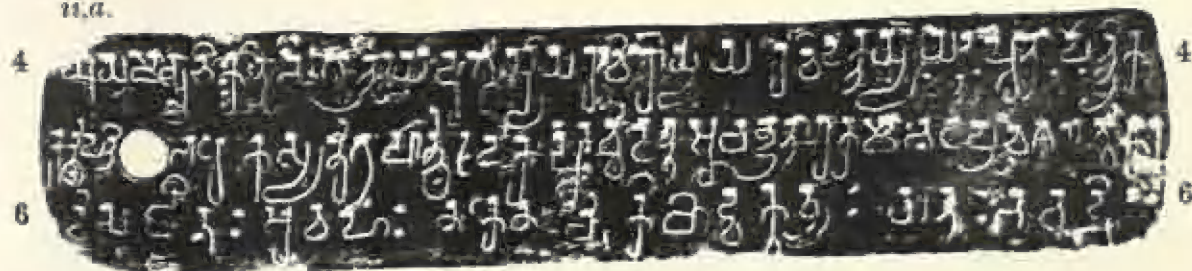
<sup>8</sup> Metro: *Anuśtubh*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *ndā* [2<sup>a</sup>] *ā*. Metro: *Anuśtubh*.

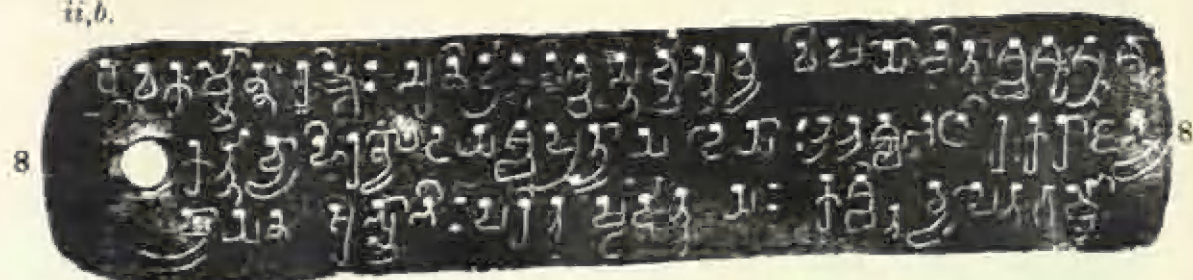
i.



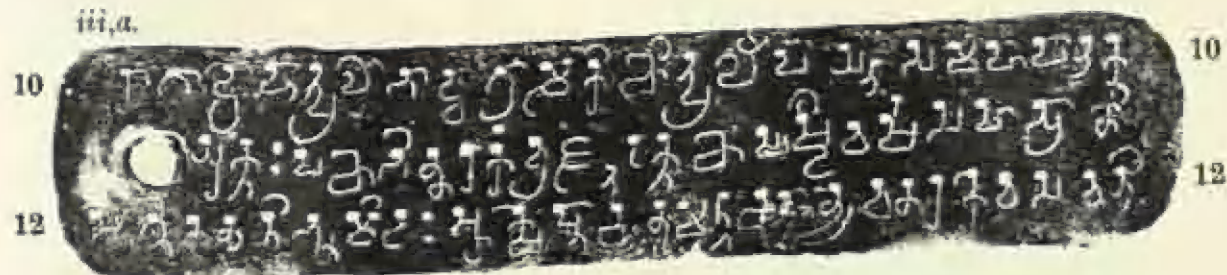
ii.a.



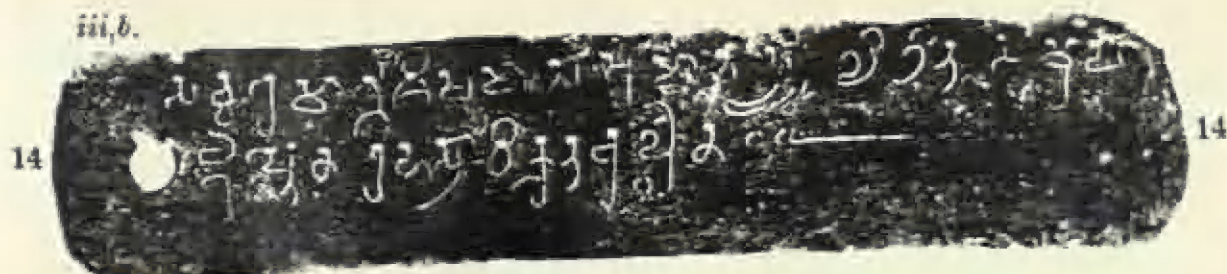
ii.b.



iii.a.



iii.b.







*Third Plate; Second Side*13 Sarhva 7<sup>1</sup> Mārggaśirsha-māsa<sup>2</sup> amāvāsyām<sup>3</sup> līkhita[m<sup>4</sup>] ava-muh-ā.<sup>4</sup>14 jñāptēna Rahasyāḍlukṛitēna<sup>5</sup> Chullēna ||<sup>6</sup>

## No. 3— MANOR PLATES OF VINAYADITYA MANGALARASA : SAKA 613.

*(I Plate)*

KRISHNA DEVA, NEW DELHI

This set of copper plates was unearthed on the 2nd May 1943 from an agricultural inām land bearing Survey No. 2, *hissā* No. 2, belonging to Mohamed Yusuf Haji Amir Sahab, at the village of *Manor*, taluka Palghar, District Thana, in course of digging for agricultural purposes together with another set of plates of Dantidurga, dated Saka 671. Soon after its discovery, the set was acquired by the Collector of Thana who sent it to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, for disposal under the Treasure Trove Act. I am grateful to the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for their kind permission to edit the plates here as well as for many valuable suggestions which they kindly gave me in the preparation of this article.

This well-preserved set consists of **two copper plates**, each measuring 14" long and 9.4" broad. Though each of them is pierced by a pair of ring holes, they slide, through only one set of holes, on a copper ring the ends of which are soldered into a circular seal, measuring 2.10/12" in diameter. The seal is slightly damaged in the upper right corner and shows faint traces of the design of crescent in the upper field and of lotus in the lower, with the legend *Śrī-Jay[ā]<sup>1</sup>śraya* in the middle in the script of the main inscription. The edges of the plates are fashioned thicker and raised into rims to protect the writing which is engraved on the inner face of each plate. The inscription, neatly engraved and excellently preserved, runs into 34 lines which are evenly distributed on two plates. The average height of single letters is  $\frac{1}{8}$ " and of conjuncts  $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 296 tolas.

The characters belong to the southern variety of the 7th century A. D. and closely resemble those of the Nirpaṇ plates<sup>2</sup> of Tribhuvanāśraya Nāgavardhanarāja and of the Nausari<sup>3</sup> and Surat<sup>4</sup> plates of Yuvarāja Śrīvāṇaya Śīlāditya, dated in the years K. 421 and 443 respectively. The noteworthy signs are the initial *ś* in *śka* (11.18 and 22), final *ṭ* in *maṭṭ* (1.29) and two forms each of letters *l* and *ṣ*. The simpler form of *l* is seen in *Uśchāṇsa* (1.4), *līkhita* (1.34), etc., while the curly cursive form occurs in *sakata* (1.2), *Chakulayānām* (1.4), etc. *ṣ* is similarly indicated by the curly cursive form as in *śakṣhita-ārava* (1.1) and *śalyāṇa* (1.3); and the other of two forms, one of the looped variety as in *śagṛhīṇām* (1.2), *maṇi-guṇa* (1.6), etc.

As regards orthography the following points are worth noting. Consonants following *r* are generally doubled as in *Viśvār-vaṛāṇām* (1.1), *varṇamāna* (1.16), etc. The medial *ṛi* is mostly misspelt as *-i*, as in *mātrībhāṭ* (11.2, 3), *prithivī* (11.5, 8, 12, 15), *vridhāḥṣi* (1.24), etc.

<sup>1</sup> The figure has been so formed as to look like the letter *ś*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *śāṭ*.

<sup>3</sup> The first two alphabets of the following word have cursive form.

<sup>4</sup> Read *maṭṭ-ajjīṇāṇa*. (The form *ajjīṇāṇa* is also correct. See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 44, n. 6.—Ed.)

<sup>5</sup> For *Rahasyāḍlukṛitāna*, the Rithapur inscription has *māsaṭ śigṛitāna*.

<sup>6</sup> There is a mark indicating the end at this place.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 124 ff. and Pl.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 232 ff. and Pl.

<sup>9</sup> *Vienna Or. Comp.*, p. 245 and Pl.



The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the opening verse and the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses towards the end, the entire record is in prose. The text, however, is full of serious grammatical mistakes, such as 'mālinasya' (I.19) in place of 'mālinas'. As may be seen from the foot-notes and from the brackets in the transcript, many letters and words are either omitted, misspelt or corrupt. The grant portion is particularly faulty and shows numerous blunders of grammar and syntax.

Like other Chālukya grants, the present inscription opens with an invocation to the incarnation of Viṣṇu. Then it recounts the genealogy of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, of whom Satyāśraya-Prithivīvallabha-Kirtivarmarāja (I): his son, Satyāśraya-Prithivīvallabha-Pulakēśi-Vallabha-Mahārāja (II), who defeated Harshavardhana; and his son, Satyāśraya-Prithivīvallabha-Kokkoti-Vikramāditya-rāja (I), who meditated on the feet of Nāgavardhana and who conquered the three kingdoms of Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya, are referred to in the order of succession (II. 2-12). After Vikramāditya (I) is mentioned his younger brother, Dharmāśraya Jayasinhavarman (I.13), who was the founder of the Navasāri branch of the Western Chālukyas and father of the donor of the present grant. The inscription refers itself to the Western Chālukya prince of the Navasāri branch, Vinayāditya-Prithivīvallabha-Yuddhamalla-Jayāśraya-Maṅgalarasa (I.15), who like his father is called a *Paramamūḍhara*. The object of it is to record the grant by Vinayāditya-Maṅgalarasa of some villages and domestic sites for the benefit of the temple of sun-god at Mānapura with a view to ensuring the supply, to the shrine, of perfumes, flowers, incense, lamps, music and offerings and to provide for repairs to the temple (II.22-23). The endowments comprised the village of Dupaḥ which was situated to the east of the Mānapura village, owned by the sun-god and included within the Kurāja *viśaya* (district); the domestic sites called Kukuṭi and Mitumiti in Vāḷugrāma, and the Uṇabhaka village and the Bōḷatta hamlet included within the Vāḍgi' *viśaya* (II. 19-23). The grant is dated on the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 613 (expired), which falls in A. D. 691-92 and which is expressed in words as well as in numerals (II. 17-18; 33-34). The grant was drafted by *Shaffa* Rudranāga, son of Kumāravarmadhikṣita, who held the high offices of *dhīrapati* (chief of the secretariat), foreign minister and revenue minister and is further styled as *virasādya-paramamūḍhara*.

The inscription is important as it throws welcome light on the obscure history of the Gujarat (Navasāri) branch of the Western Chālukyas and helps to settle some doubtful points of chronology in respect of this little known branch. Hitherto the definite date of the foundation of this branch by Dharmāśraya Jayasinhavarman was shrouded in mystery. By specifying that the year of the grant, viz., A. D. 691-92 was the twenty-first *rājya-mahāsamvatsara* (I.18) or regnal year, this record places it beyond doubt that the Navasāri branch was founded in the year A. D. 669-70. The regnal year mentioned in this record has to be referred to Dharmāśraya Jayasinhavarman, since there is no evidence to show that Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa ruled in his own right as early as A. D. 691-92. This is confirmed by Yuvarāja Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya's Navsari and Surat plates of K. 421 and 443 which testify that Dharmāśraya Jayasinhavarman was ruling from A. D. 669-70 to at least A. D. 691-92.

The record supplies another information of historical and chronological importance. So far the only definite date for Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa was known from his unpublished Bahar plates,\* dated Śaka 653 (A. D. 731-32). The present inscription, dated in Śaka 613 (A. D. 691-92), supplies for this prince a date, forty years earlier than that hitherto known for him. It is interesting

\* (See below p. 20 n. 1. —Ed.)

\* J. B. E. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 5; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, p. 75.



to note that the Surat plates of Yuvarāja Śrīyārāja Śīlāditya of K. 443 also fall in the same year as the present record.

From the information gathered from this record as well as from other published inscriptions of the dynasty, the history of this house may be reconstructed as follows. Dharārāja Jayasinhavarman ascended the throne in A. D. 669-70. From the very beginning of his reign his eldest son, Yuvarāja Śrīyārāja Śīlāditya, was associated with him in the administration and was invested with the authority of issuing land-grants in his own name. Subsequently one of his younger sons, Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa was also made a viceroy and given charge of a province together with the privilege of issuing land-grants in his own name. In A. D. 691-92 both Yuvarāja Śrīyārāja Śīlāditya and Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa were simultaneously administering different portions of their father's dominion. The former held charge of its northern portion comprising the districts of southern Gujarat where the Kalachuri era was prevalent, while the latter governed the southern portion including the modern district of Thana where the Śaka era was in vogue. From the omission of any reference to Śrīyārāja Śīlāditya in the later records of the dynasty, it is evident that he did not come to the throne and apparently predeceased his father sometime after A. D. 691-92, his last known date. His younger brother, Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, whose known dates range from Śaka 613 to Śaka 653, in all probability survived and succeeded his father as may be inferred from the following considerations. Dharārāja Jayasinhavarman must have been at least forty years old on his accession to the throne in A. D. 669-70, as his son Yuvarāja Śrīyārāja Śīlāditya was then grown up enough to take an active part in administration. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that he should have lived up to A. D. 731-32, the last known date of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, unless we credit him with an unusually long life of a century. Now, even assuming that he reigned till a grand old age of eighty, he must have died sometime about A. D. 710, leaving a margin of a little over two decades during which Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa ruled in his own right. This is corroborated by the testimony of the Nanuri plates of his younger brother and successor Avanijānārāja Pulakēti<sup>1</sup> of K. 490 (A. D. 738-39) wherein Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa is given full regal titles and mentioned as having succeeded Dharārāja Jayasinhavarman.

In the last mentioned plates Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa is given the epithet of *nija-bhija-prabhān-śreṣṭhī-jā-mukhya-bhūmanāṇḍalāḥ*. Does this epithet coupled with the omission of any reference to the contemporary Chālukya sovereign in his own grants, signify that he had ceased to owe allegiance to the paramount power? The omission, however, seems to be due to an oversight, as we find both his predecessor and successor acknowledging the authority of the overruling power: The eulogistic references made to him in his own grants as well as in his successor's are purely conventional, and probably indicate that he was an influential and powerful prince. This is also attested by his seal being stamped on the undated Nirpaṇ plates of Tribhuvānārāja Nāgavardhana who appears to be another younger brother of his, subservient to him.

This inscription supplies many other interesting pieces of information. Firstly, it testifies to the existence of a solar temple at Manapura, which is identical with Manor, the findspot of the plates. The endowments recorded in this grant were specifically made for the maintenance of worship in and conservation of this temple. Secondly, this record mentions a hitherto unknown (untionary called *Deṣāḥ* (1.16) who appears to be connected with the administration of a *deṣa* i.e., a district or a subdivision. Thirdly, like the Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa,<sup>2</sup> this inscription invests Vikramāditya (1) of the Western Chālukya dynasty with the surname of *Kakṣa*.

As regards the place-names mentioned in the inscription **Manapura** is surely the present village of Manor in the Palghar taluka of Thana district where these plates were discovered. **Dipaka**

<sup>1</sup> *Pisana Or. Comp.* p. 220 and Pl.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XIV pp. 140 ff. and Pl.



which is specifically mentioned in the record as situated to the east of Mānapura is represented by the modern village of Tena, which is 2 miles east of Manor. The name of *Kurāṭa-vishaya*, wherein Mānapura was included, has perhaps survived in the modern name Kirat, a village, lying 12 miles north-east of Palghar town. The *Vēṅgrāma* of the inscription seems to be identical with Velgaon, 3 miles south-east of Kirat and 14 miles east-north-east of Palghar. As regards *Vēṅgi-vishaya*, it is extremely doubtful if by this is meant the well-known homonymous tract between the Gōdāvari and the Kṛishṇā on the eastern coast, as from aught we know of this ruler, his territory could never have extended so far. I am therefore unable for the present to identify *Vēṅgi* as also *Urachhaka* and *Bōjatta* which were included therein.

I edit the inscription from the original as well as from a set of excellent stampages supplied through the kind courtesy of the Director General of Archaeology.

### TEXT

#### First Plate

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति [11\*] जयत्पाविष्कृतं विष्णोर्ध्वराहं क्षोभितार्चव(वम्) [1\*] दक्षिणो-  
धतवंष्टापविधास(न्त)भुवनं वयुः [11\*]
- 2 श्रीमता सकलभुवनसंस्तुय[मान\*]मानव्यसयाद्यानां हारीतीपुत्राना(नां) सप्तलोकमात्रि(तु)-  
भिस(स्त)प्त-
- 3 मात्रि(तु)भिरभिर्बद्धितानां काति(ति)केयपरिरञ्जनप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपरानां भगवन्ता(वन्ता)-  
रायणप्रसारः<sup>2</sup>-
- 4 समासादितवराहलोक्षनेमज्जनवतीकृतातोवमहीभूतानां<sup>4</sup> वृक्षुष्यानां कुलमलंकरिणीरश्म(श्च)-
- 5 मेधावभुवनानपवित्रीकृतयावस्य सत्याभयभीमि(वृ)विबीवल्लभ<sup>5</sup>महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभीकी-  
तिव-
- 6 म्मराजस्य प्रियात्मजोनेकरपतिशतमकुटतटयदितमविषमकरनिकरसमुल्लसितोद्योति-
- 7 त<sup>6</sup>करभकमलतृणस्यो<sup>7</sup>त्तरापवाधिपतिभोहर्षवर्द्धनपराजयोपल[ब्ध]परममाहेश्वरोपरम-
- 8 न(ता)मयेव<sup>8</sup>सत्याभयभीमि(वृ)विबीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभूपुलकेशिवत्सभमहाराजः त-

<sup>1</sup> [The correct reading is *Vēṅgi-vishaya*. See below p. 21 n. 2. The present Bhenli, a village about four miles north-east of Manor, may represent the ancient *Vēṅgi*.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> The *virga* is superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> Read *\*mānābhīma*.

<sup>5</sup> This was inserted later on, below the line between *lla* and *ma*.

<sup>6</sup> [This form may be derived from the root *gud*—*ghāna*. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 97, n. 9.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> Read *gaganā* (*Utharpathā*).

<sup>8</sup> Read as in other Chālukya grants परमेश्वरपरनामयेव .

19

[illegible]



18

1. பகவதே நம: ||

கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது ||

கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே

18

20

கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது || கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது ||

20

22

கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது || கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது ||

22

24

கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது || கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது ||

24

26

கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது || கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது ||

26

28

கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது || கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது ||

28

30

கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது || கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது ||

30

32

கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது || கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது ||

32

34

கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது || கருமே பி ப்ரமேதகமே யாது ||

34



- 9 स्वात्मजीवेकसाधत (स) मकुटतटपटितवरणारविन्दो मेरुमंहरमालपरविण्ण्यतमानधर्म्योऽत्र (५) हर-  
 10 हरनिवर्द्धमानवरकरितुरगररूपदातिबलो मनोजवेकचिचकंडालप्रवरतुरंगमेनो (नो) पा-  
 11 त्रितस्वरारण्य (र्यो) विजितचोरबोलपांडपकसाजि (जि) तराज्यव्रतः परममाहेश्वरः श्री-  
 नागवट (वट) -  
 12 नपादानुध्यातः सत्याधयधीप्रि (पु) विधीकलत्रमहाराजाचिराजपरमेश्वरओकीकुलिबिकमादित्य-  
 13 राजः तस्यानुजो भ्राता परममाहेश्वरो विजितसकलारातिपलो धराधयधीप्रपतिव (सिंह)-  
 बन्मराजः  
 14 तस्य सुतः प्रकटपराकमाकांतविड्मण्डलो धवलपद्मः सकलोन्मूलितशशुपक्षः परममा-  
 15 हेश्वरः विनयादित्यप्रि (पु) विधीकलत्रमपुत्रकलत्रयाधयधीप्रकलरसराजः\*] सर्वानेवा-  
 16 यामिवर्तमाननृपतिसामन्तविषयपतिभोगिकराष्ट्रदामकूटवेशिजलकमहत्तराधिका-  
 17 रिकादी (दीन्) समनुदण्यस्य (स्य) स्तु वः संविदितं यथास्माभिः\*] प्रयोदशोत्त-

Second Plate

- 18 रणदत्त (ज) तेषु शकवर्षेण्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्य (स) जसरे एकविंशति (त\*)]-  
 19 मे वर्तमाने कुराटविषयो (या) स्तानि विष्टमगवता (तो) दीधितिमातिनस्य<sup>1</sup> मान-  
 पुरसा-  
 20 नः\*] तस्य पूर्वविभ्रानो द्विजकप्रामः\*] सोऽग्रजः सपरिकरः\*] पूर्व्वसीमापरिधि (विज्ज)-  
 नः\*] तथा-  
 21 न्यहेलुपाभा (मे) कुकुटिमिडिमिडिवाव (त) कट्यं तथा न्यहेगि (जि) विषये उरखकद्वाम-  
 22 बीडलपल्लिक<sup>2</sup> एतद्वीरमभ्यन्तरसिद्धिर<sup>3</sup> चाटमटप्रावेश (स्य) मानपुरदेवनट्टारकाय (पा) -  
 23 दानां मंधपुण्यपूषदीपांतीतकवन्तो (स्तु) पहारात्वं खंडस्तुटितसत्कारात्वं<sup>4</sup> मावड्कर्त्त-

<sup>1</sup> Read दीधितिमातिनो.

<sup>2</sup> [The reading is closely Vāṇī; compare *śū* in *śāghaṇa* in the next line. —Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Read पल्लिके.

<sup>4</sup> Better read सिद्धिकमचाट-.

<sup>5</sup> Read संस्कारात्वं-; the measure is redundant.

- 24 भवतिस्त्व(स्वि)तिसमकालीनं मातापित्रोरत्नमश्च पुण्यशोभिनि(वु)दये भूमिधि(चिद्ध)-  
ब्रन्दावेनोदकाति-
- 25 सर्वे<sup>1</sup> [प्रब]लपवनप्रेरितोदपिजलतरंगचञ्चल<sup>2</sup> जन्मावानुगतानां दोषकालम्बेयमश्च पुत्राना-
- 26 कलज्ञम(ध्व सा)मान्यभोगभूषदानफले[पु]निः शशिकरहरिं विराम [य<sup>3</sup>]शक्ति-  
जीहवि<sup>4</sup>भिरयमस्मदा(दा)धोनु-
- 27 मन्तव्य[:<sup>5</sup>] प्रतिपालय(वि)तव्यश्च योवाज्ञानपदलावि(वु)तमतिरार्द्धिन्दादाद्विद्यमानं दानुभोदेत  
त पंच
- 28 भिम्भंहापातकंरुपातकंश्च संयुक्त[:<sup>6</sup>] स्वादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन[<sup>1\*</sup>] वष्टिं  
वर्षसहस्रा-
- 29 नि स्वर्गे भोवति भू(भू)मिद[:<sup>7</sup>] बाहेता दानुमता च तान्देव नरके वसेत्[<sup>11\*</sup>]  
विभपाटवीध्वतोषानु शु(शु)ष्ककोट-
- 30 रवातिन[:<sup>1\*</sup>] चि(कु)ल्पा[ह<sup>8</sup>]पो हि वा[व<sup>9</sup>]ति(ने) भूमिदायं हरति ये[<sup>11\*</sup>]  
स्ववर्ता(तां) परवता(तां) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा[<sup>1\*</sup>] कपिला-
- 31 अतपातो वञ्च नः संप्रतिपद्यति<sup>10</sup> [11\*] यामीह वस्तानि पुरा त(न)रेन्द्रीनाति चम्पाव्य-  
वधनकरानि [1\*] निर्मल्यवातप्रति-
- 32 यानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरावदीत[11\*] लिखितम(मि)दं विचिरपतिमहासंवि-  
विप्रहेबिज<sup>11</sup>[प]टलाधिक-
- 33 रवाधिचि(कु)तनिरवधपरमेश्वरभट्टवीरदना(ते)न कुमारस्वामिदोक्षितपूत्रेणेति[11\*] शककालसं-  
34 स्तर १०० ६ १० ३ वंशाख शु १० [५] तिष(वि)तमिति ।

<sup>1</sup> Supply दसम् to be consistent with दृतवशेषम्.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is redundant. After वञ्चनं should be supplied a synonym 'of human life like जीवितं' to make the sense complete. [The latter one is undoubtedly a second copy. It looks as if the engraver first wrote *anu* and then tried to make it of it. However, the expression remains imperfect. The corresponding expression occurs more frequently in the early Kalachuri records. A perfect example may be seen in the Vajñān plates of Buddhārka: *prabala-pavana-prerit-udakhi-jala-taranga-chanchalam jvalkham-ashle-anugataim-gaurim-ashleharim-dīryga-kāla-śāhpaśācha-gaṇita-kalagga śatāṅga-bhāga-bhā.* etc. Above, Vol. XII, p. 34, text 11. 23-25.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Read दिव्यशक्ति-

<sup>4</sup> The last foot of this verse is corrupt and meaningless. [The intended reading is *kapila-gata-gaṇitayam-jag-ya-jagadgata.*—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Read विप्रहेबिज-



## NO. 4—HARASUR INSCRIPTION OF KING SOMA

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

THE epigraph was found on a piece of stone built into the platform in front of the temple of Anantadayana at Harasūr, a village in the Gulbarga District of the Nizam's Dominions. I visited this place in 1933 when I was a college student and copied the inscription.<sup>1</sup> I am editing it here for the first time from ink-impressions prepared by me.

The inscription is inscribed in Nandi-Nāgarī characters of the 12th century A. D. There are few orthographical peculiarities to be noted. Except in a few instances (e. g., cerebral *ṣ*) the convention of doubling a consonant combined with *r* is generally not observed. The language is Sanskrit and the whole composition is in verse of the ornate classical style. The poetry is not of high order and the writing contains some errors. As a part of the stone bearing the inscription is broken and lost, the record is incomplete. In lines 17-20 a few *akṣaras* at either end are damaged and missing. Even in the absence of explicit statement to the effect in the inscription, it is clear that the charter belongs to the southern Kalachuri dynasty familiarly known as the Kalachuryas of Kalyāṇa.<sup>2</sup> Save two copper-plate documents<sup>3</sup> which are in Sanskrit, the epigraphs of this family are generally in Kannaḍa. So this claims to be the first stone record of the house in Sanskrit so far discovered.

The epigraph describes the origin and the genealogy of the Kalachuri family. The genealogy stops with the king Sōma or Sōmōśvara who bore the *biruda* Rāya-Murāri. Then we are introduced to the king's minister and general Mādihava. In the following passage the poet refers to a temple of Viṣṇu<sup>4</sup> constructed by Mādihava and indulges in describing the beauty of its golden pinnacle (verse 14). The lost portion of the epigraph appears to have contained information regarding the provision made for its maintenance by Mādihava.<sup>5</sup>

If the record bore a date, it must have been obviously in the lost portion. However, it is clear from the genealogical context that it was drafted during the regnal period of the Kalachuri king Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva (Sōmōśvara) who is known from other sources to have ruled from A.D. 1167 to 1176.

Damaged and incomplete as the record is, it is highly important in as much as it draws in, directly and indirectly, much new material for the reconstruction of the history of the southern Kalachuris, which is still shrouded in mystery.<sup>6</sup> The statement regarding the origin of the family

<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions copied at Harasūr have found their place in the Mackenzie Collection preserved in the University of Madras. But this inscription in particular appears to have escaped the notice of the copyists. I am indebted for this information to Mr. M. Venkataramayya.

<sup>2</sup> Not Kalyāṇi as is often mentioned; for the correct name of the place is Kalyāṇa. The above name of the family can not stand full justification. Firstly, the family is not always referred to as Kalachurya, which is supposed to have been derived from Kalachuri. The name Kalachuri is met with in a large number of epigraphs, which shows that both the forms were in use simultaneously. Secondly, Kalyāṇa was not the one and the only capital of these rulers. In fact Kalyāṇa enjoyed this privilege for a brief period during the reign of Bijjala II. Even he had his alternate headquarters at Mangalavādī (Bengal State, near Pandharpur), which was the original and long-standing capital for many princes of this house. Hence, the Southern Kalachuris or Kalachuris of Kannaḍa would, in my opinion, be a better denomination of this family.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 274 and *J. B. S. R. A. S.* (Old Series), Vol. XVIII, p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> The present day Anantadayana temple, near which the inscription was found, most probably represents the Viṣṇu temple.

<sup>5</sup> More details about this Mādihava are known from another inscription at Harasūr, found in the Bhōgōśvara temple. These will be utilised in a later context. Mādihava figures in this epigraph as one of the donors. The date of this epigraph is A.D. 1172. As the present epigraph might have come into existence about the same time, we may place it somewhere about that year.

<sup>6</sup> No systematic attempt to reconstruct the history of the family from the sources discovered during the past half a century has so far been made. The account of the late Dr. Fleet (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II) deserves to be thoroughly revised.





three generations and that Rāja II and Bijja I were brothers.

Our record again does not furnish a full picture of the genealogy at this stage. We shall therefore take the help of a record from Harihar,<sup>1</sup> Mysore State, to fill up the missing gaps. In doing so we shall confine ourselves in the first instance to the account of the two brothers Rāja II and Bijja I. Of these, the latter, we are told, was the elder. Rāja II had four sons: Ammugi, Sankhavarma,<sup>2</sup> Kannara and Jōgama. After Bijja I the succession passed on to his brother's sons. Ammugi was thus the next ruler who was followed by his youngest brother Jōgama. According to this inscription Sankhavarma and Kannara probably did not rule. We may observe in this context the identity of Karṇa of the present epigraph with Kannara of the Harihar inscription.

According to the inscription from Hire-Maddanūr,<sup>3</sup> Jōgama married Tārādēvi and had a daughter by her named Sāvaladēvi. She was probably older than Permāḍi. She was given in marriage to the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. Jōgama's son Permāḍi is mentioned by all the epigraphs.<sup>4</sup>

Permāḍi's son was Bijjala II, who usurped the Western Chālukya throne,<sup>5</sup> Bijjala II had a younger brother named Mailugi and he is not mentioned by our record. He is known from three epigraphs in the Mysore State.<sup>6</sup>

Coming to the next generation our record speaks of Sōmāśvara as having ruled after Bijjala II. The former is more familiarly styled Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva. Though he was probably the eldest surviving son,<sup>7</sup> the succession from Bijjala II to Sōmāśvara was neither smooth nor

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Sankhavarma is the same as Saṅkama of the Māḍḡmāḍi inscription (above, Vol. XV, p. 310). Bijjala II's son Saṅkama II is mentioned as Saṅkharvarma in a later record (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 297).

<sup>3</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 448, n. 3. In this record solar lineage is ascribed to Jōgama. An inscription from Inpāṭṭavara, Bijjapur District, opens with an invocation to the Sun god and mentions Kārtavīrya as the first ancestor of the Kalachuris, indicating thereby their solar descent (*B. K.* No. 11 of 1930-31). The two apparently divergent statements regarding the lineage of the southern Kalachuris are but reflections of similar statements found in the records of the northern Kalachuris. Whereas the two branches of the northern Kalachuris, viz., of Tripuri and of Serayūpāra claim their descent from the lunar race, the third one, the Kalachuris of Ratnapur, substitutes the sun for the moon as their primal ancestor. (Above, Vol. II, p. 3; Vol. VII, p. 88; Vol. XII, p. 210; Vol. XVIII, pp. 131; Vol. XIX, pp. 78 and 211, etc.) This disparity can be reconciled by pointing out that Purāṇavaṇa, the ancestor of Kārtavīrya was an offspring of Bṛudha and Hā, who were son and daughter of the Moon and the Sun respectively.

<sup>4</sup> An inscription from Walungu, Jath State (*B. K.* No. 128 of 1940-41), incidentally reveals the hitherto unknown relationship of Permāḍi with the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. In this record Chandaladēvi, wife of the king is referred to as the grand-mother (maternal) of Bijjala II. This relationship could be explained only on the assumption that a daughter of Vikramāditya VI, evidently by the above-named queen, was given in marriage to Permāḍi and that she was mother of Bijjala II. This was in keeping with the Indian tradition of family alliances. As we know in the case of Jōgama who gave his daughter to Vikramāditya VI, the latter also would have reciprocated a similar turn of matrimonial obligation by bestowing his daughter in marriage to the former's son.

<sup>5</sup> Permāḍi appears to have forestalled his son Bijjala II in defying the authority of his overlord. An inscription from Tadālbaḡi, Jamkhandi State (*B. K.* No. 66 of 1938-39), is dated in the 12th regnal year of Permāḍi, which corresponds to A.D. 1129 and falls right within the regnal period of Sōmāśvara III. But it is curious to note that it neither mentions the name of the overlord, nor does it associate the feudatory title Mahāraṇajādēvavara with Permāḍi. This was perhaps condoned at the time on consideration of intimacy of relationship that subsisted between Permāḍi and the royal house and the dignified status held by the former in the kingdom. But it was a bad example to set which culminated in a grave catastrophe in the course of the next generation, viz., the overthrow of the Chālukya rule by Bijjala II.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Hl. 30, Sk. 197; Vol. XI, Dg. 44.

<sup>7</sup> Bijjala II had a son named Vajradēva by Echāladēvi (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477 and above Vol. XV p. 109). I am inclined to take him to be the eldest. He must have died before the nomination of Sōvidēva to the Kalachuri throne.



undisputed. Bijjala II had other sons<sup>1</sup> and daughters<sup>2</sup> regarding whose existence our record is silent. The picture of the disturbed state of affairs that prevailed in the Kalachuri kingdom after the death of Bijjala II is available from other records and it would be worth while to take a glimpse of it here.

According to some inscriptions<sup>3</sup> Bijjala II was succeeded by his younger brother Mailugi, who was followed by the former's grandson, whose name is given as Kaudāra<sup>4</sup> in one epigraph and Kalidēva<sup>5</sup> in another. But actually his name appears to be Karnadēva.<sup>6</sup> After Karnadēva came his junior uncle Sōvidēva. The Bhōgēśvara temple inscription from Harasūr throws revealing light at this point.<sup>7</sup> While narrating the circumstances of the accession of Sōvidēva, it states that the Kalachuri sovereignty was reduced to a chaotic condition by the evil counsellors such as Kaapaya<sup>8</sup> and others; Karpa usurped the throne and ruled illegally; but he was eventually killed and the kingdom duly restored into the hands of Sōvidēva.

Piecing together the information furnished by these different sources, the facts appear to be as follows: At the time of his abdication<sup>9</sup> Bijjala nominated Sōvidēva, his eldest surviving son, as his successor. If this he accepted, it should have created resentment and opposition in a section of the royal household and the official ranks of the kingdom. Soon after the death of Bijjala, which itself was brought about by an assassin,<sup>10</sup> rival parties headed by claimants to the throne contended for power. Bijjala's younger brother Mailugi was the first to raise the standard of revolt. But he was removed from the scene. Next came Bijjala's grandson Karnadēva, who

<sup>1</sup> Besides Saṅkama, Aharamalla and Singhapa, Bijjala had yet another son named Mailugi, Mailugi or Mallikējuna. He seems to have been junior to Sōvidēva and senior to Saṅkama. He usurped the Kalachuri kingdom and set up his rule for a very brief period at the end of Sōvidēva's reign. (*Ep. Car.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 197; Vol. XI, Dg. 44; *N. K.* Nos. 63 and 96 of 1936-37; No. 81 of 1937-38; etc.)

<sup>2</sup> He had at least two daughters: one Sitirādēvi by Eṣhaladēvi was married to the Sinda chief Chāraṅga II (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477); another was the wife of Rarmarasa of Bandanika. (*Ep. Car.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 242.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 30 and Sk. 197 and Vol. XI, Dg. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Kaudāra or Kaudāra can be derived from Kṛishṇa or Karṇa. In the present case it has to be derived from and equated with Karṇa.

<sup>5</sup> Kalidēva appears to be have been his title.

<sup>6</sup> It is beyond doubt that it was Karnadēva. (Take the citation from the inscription in the Bhōgēśvara temple below: *Śiddhachacharivra* of Nāgavāṅka mentions one Karnadēva (IX-2) and the reference is obviously to the same person. But his relationship with Bijjala is wrongly stated therein to be that of brother (sambha) instead of grandson (samma).

<sup>7</sup> In view of its great importance I quote below the original passage of the inscription from my private collection.

*Kalachuri-ripa-kala-rājya-*  
*kalana-darmavira-Kaapayadigajidam*  
*palitajam dyva nija-dā-*  
*-kaladidachavanti; Mithavasa pater-sajala-*  
*Adavasa-*  
*Ahramasa ripa-Lakshniga-*  
*-ahramasa-dā-dā-Karavasa-kanda-dā-*  
*chakravasa-nivandā-dā-*  
*-adavasa-dā-dā-ripasa-dā-dā-dā-dā-* (lines 35-38)

<sup>8</sup> Kaapayya Niyala was a minister and wielded much influence in the state during the time of Bijjala II (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 466 and 472; *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 102; Vol. XI, Dg. 35 and 42).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. VII, Sk. 92; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 479.

appears to have been a son of Bijjala's eldest son,<sup>1</sup> who was now no more. But he was opposed by Sōvidēva's party and in the encounter that ensued Karnaḍēva was killed by Sōvidēva's general Mādhava. Eventually Sōvidēva succeeded to his father's kingdom. These events might have taken place in the course of a few months during the latter part of A.D. 1167.<sup>2</sup>

An attempt may now be made to furnish a chronological setting to the above genealogical account. In order to achieve this we have to start from Bijjala II and trace backwards towards his ancestors. The earliest date available for him is from an inscription at Walasang,<sup>3</sup> Jath State. The epigraph which is dated in the 5th year of the Western Chālukya king Jagadēkanalla II (=A.D. 1142) introduces him as the latter's subordinate and mentions his administration over the province of Karahāḍa Four Thousand. Hence we might approximately assign A.D. 1140 for the commencement of his career. Permāḍi must have started his career by A.D. 1118 as an inscription from Tadalhāgi<sup>4</sup> refers to A.D. 1129 as his 12th year. Jōgama was governing the province of Karahāḍa Four Thousand in A.D. 1087-88 as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI according to an epigraph from Kōlagiri,<sup>5</sup> Jath State. Hence we may reasonably place the initial date of his career by A.D. 1080.

Between Jōgama and Uchita, the earliest ancestor, there intervened five generations. Counting at an average of 25 years per generation we obtain A.D. 955 as the approximate date of Uchita. It may thus be concluded that Uchita was the founder of the Kalachuri line and that he laid its foundation<sup>6</sup> by the middle of the 10th century A.D.

But indications are<sup>7</sup> not wanting to surmise that Uchita was not the first and direct immigrant from Central India to the south and that the southern movement of the Kalachuris might have taken place a few generations earlier. The growth of the Gurjara Pratihāra power in the north and its impact on Central India, the homeland of the Kalachuris in the 9th century A.D.,<sup>8</sup> seem to have brought about the disruption of the latter. It was under the force of such circumstances that some dispossessed members of the Kalachuri house seem to have migrated to the south and settled at Mangalivē(vā)ḍa.<sup>9</sup> It is possible to gather from the Māḍgihāl record that some generations might have passed in obscurity with the early settlers in the Deccan before the family rose to some distinction.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As suggested previously Vajradēva might have been the eldest son of Bijjala II, who predeceased his father.

<sup>2</sup> As shown by Fleet, Bijjala abdicated after 19th July 1167 A.D. (*Som. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 477.) The records of Sōvidēva show that his reign commenced in the same year. The commotion created by the rival claimants must have followed in the immediate wake of his accession and he might have succeeded in putting down the disturbances before the end of the year. So we have to fit in the statements regarding the rule of Maḍgi and Karnaḍēva within the brief period of a few months that intervened between the abdication of Bijjala and the final accession of Sōvidēva. There is nothing improbable about this.

<sup>3</sup> *B. K.* No. 128 of 1940-41.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 66 of 1938-39.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 103 of 1940-41.

<sup>6</sup> The name of Uchita as the founder of the southern Kalachuri line is known for the first time from the present record and also from the inscription in the Bhōḡṡēvara temple, [Harasūr. (See n. 2 above, p. 24, line 8 of the quoted text.)

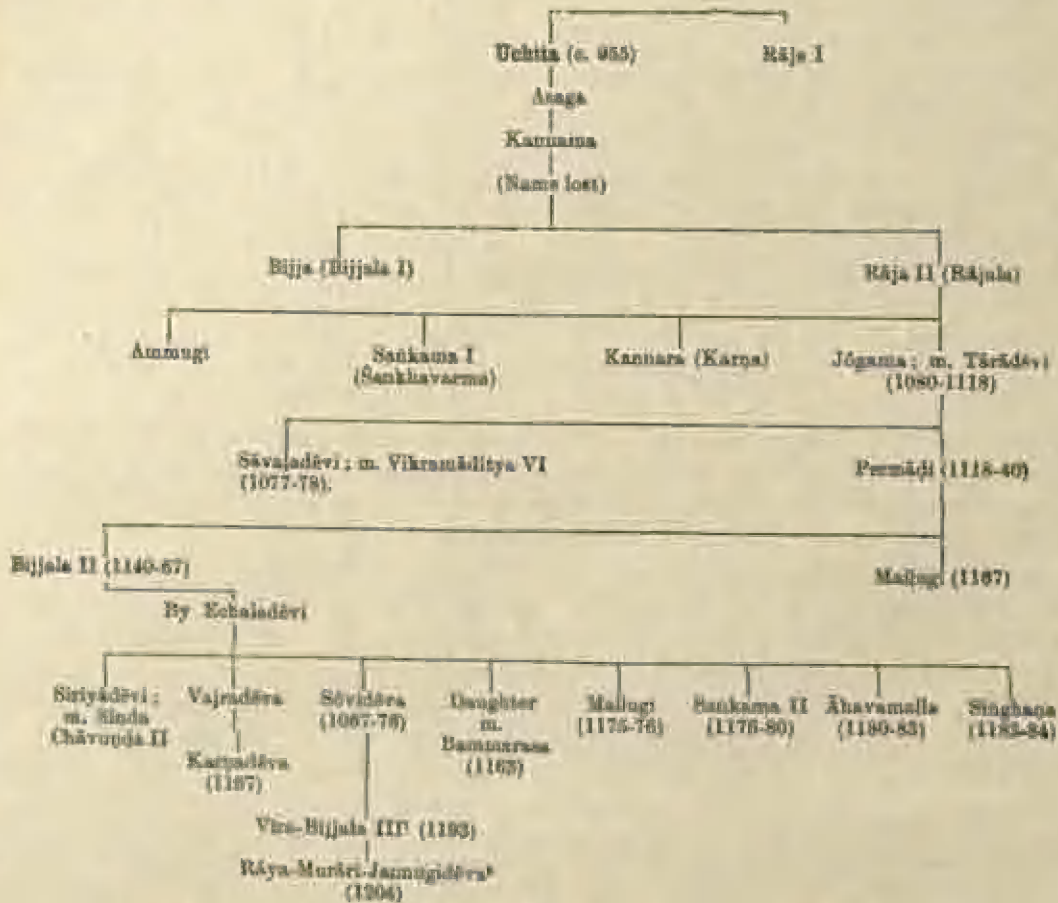
<sup>7</sup> Kālājara-maḡḡala, the ancestral seat of the Kalachuris of Central India was under the sway of the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler Bhōjadēva in A.D. 836 (above, Vol. XIX, p. 18).

<sup>8</sup> Mangalivēḍa or the modern Mangalavēḍha (near Pandharpur) was the early seat of the Kalachuris migrating to the south. It was the chief town of the Tarikhāḍa sūḍa (tract). (Above, Vol. XV, p. 215.) This area became the ancestral home for the later members of the family, who are at times introduced in association with these local terms. For instance, Jōgama is spoken of as Tarikhāḍa Jōgamarasa and the Maḡḡalivēḍa of Mangalavēḍa. (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Pg. 42 and *Som. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 448.) His son Permāḍi is spoken of as Tarikhāḍa Permāḍidēva in *B. K.* No. 96 of 1938-37. Mangalavēḍha never ceased to be the headquarters of the Kalachuris even during the hey-day of their power in spite of their occasional preference for other centres.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XV, p. 219.



In the light of the foregoing discussion the revised and consolidated genealogy of the family will tentatively be as follows :



Regarding Mādhava, the minister and general of the Kalachuri king Sōma, not many details are known from the present record. The Bhōgśivara temple inscription mentioned above, however, furnishes an authentic account of his achievements which, as described before, shows that he played a distinguished role in the troublous days following the death of Bijjala. He sponsored the cause of Sōvidēva and successfully crushed the machinations of his rivals. It was through his valour combined with diplomacy that Sōvidēva was restored to his father's throne. This entitled Mādhava to the well-deserved praise, *Kalachuri-bhāpāla-vipula-rājyōddharaka* (upholder of the mighty rule of the Kalachuri king), which is bestowed upon him in that epigraph.

\* This son of Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva is known from an inscription at Sankh, Jath State (B. K. No. 103 of 1940-41). The ruler of Mangalorestataka whom Bhallama is described as having vanquished (*jaghānta*) could be this same person. The name Bhallama in the passage narrating the exploits of Bhallama by Hāmādi, *gēd mangalavajjānta lokitipata Sri-Bhallama-jaghānta* (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 271), appears to be a mistaken reading for Bijjala. Or, if we accept the other reading *Fajjama*, it may be taken as a Sanskritised form of Bijjama.

\* B. K. No. 44 of 1936-37. It is suggested tentatively that Rāya-Murāri Jannugidēva of this record might have been son of Vira-Bijjala III and grandson of Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva.





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## TEXT\*

- 1 [Śrī][\*] Jayaty-āviśhkrītaṁ Viśhṣṛ-Vārāhaṁ kēśōbhīt-ārṇṇavādī | dakṣhiṇ-ōṇata  
dāśhṣṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanāṁ vapuḥ || [1\*] Jayati kshira-vārāṁ Śrī-vivāh  
ākṣhatair-iva | bindu[blī]-
- 2 r-Maṁdar-ōbhūtair-yō Mukundam-avīkīrat || [2\*] Tataḥ samudyaśv-irōdur-baṁdhuḥ  
Śrībhāra-janmanāḥ | jagaj-jana-drig-ānamā-suhṛit-sarva-kālā-nidhīḥ || [3\*] Tad-vamśa-  
samibhavō
- 3 bhūhīpid-Uchīta=tasya ch-ānujō (jaḥ) | mahān-Rājō mahā-vīryō tau(Sau)bhādra-kula-bhū-  
shaṇō (ṇaḥ) || [4\*] Tad-vamśē-aga-bhūpatīḥ samabhavat-prōddāma-dōr-vīkrama[=ta]d-  
vamā-ā-
- 4 rṇṇava-madhyataḥ samudagāch-ōhṛirāja-Rāj-āhvayaḥ | Bijja-kēśōgīpatī=tataḥ-cha  
nṛipatī-bhīrājīṣṇu-mauli-sphuraṇ-māpīky-ānū-gaṇ-ārṇ-āngghri-yuga-
- 5 laḥ prauḍha-pratāp-ōdayaḥ || [5\*] Vamśē tasya babhūva Kārṇṇa-nṛipatīḥ Śūr-āṁkū-ēty-  
ādibhir-nuām-aughaḥ prathitāḥ khitau prati-nṛpaty-ambhōdhi-Kumbh-ōdbhavaḥ |  
tasmā-
- 6 d-apy-atula-pratāpa-visa(śa)daḥ Śrī-Jōgama-kṣmāpatir-yān-āsti-parirakṣatā khitim-  
imām rājanvad-uohchār-jagam(t) || [6\*] Tasmād-bhūri-nṛpāla-bhāla-tilakaḥ samyak-  
prajā-pālaka(h)
- 7 Śrī-kāntā-vudān-ālakāḥ samabhavat-Perinādi-bhūpālakaḥ | yō datvā nija-khaḍga-pātama-  
arayō vikriya labdhair-yaś(śa)ḥ-pīyūḥaḥ samapūṇyat-prithutara-v(b)rahm-ān-
- 8 ḍa-bhāmō-ōdaram || [7\*] Ta(t-sū)hur-Giridurgamalla-Subhātādity-ādi-nāmōvali-khyātāḥ  
Śakra-parākṛmanāḥ samudagāch-ōhṛi-Bijjaṇa-kṣmāpatīḥ | ya(=Chālukya-kulād-bali  
bhūja-
- 9 balād-āchchhīdyā rājya-śriyaḥ bhōjē Kuntala-chakravartī-padaśim-ēkātapatr-ōjvalām(m) ||  
[8\*] Mādya[d\*]-dānti-kāṭa-āthala-pravigalad-dān-ānv(b)ubhīḥ paṁklā mārgā durgama-
- 10 tāḥ yayuḥ-cha paritā(h\*) srotāṁai ch-ōhur-javāt | prāvṛt-kāla iva prayāṇa-samayō yasya  
prapaṣhta-dvīṣha(h\*) śrīmad-Bijja-nṛpaṇya tasya vibhavaḥ sō-yaṁ kathau kathyā-
- 11 tā || [9\*] Tasmād-ōdbhuta-vikramaḥ kṛtamatīḥ satya-pratijñō vāśī śrīmān-Rāja-Murārī-  
ity-abhinitāḥ Śrī-Sōma-prithvīsvaraḥ | yasy-ābhūyāgama-sambhramō haya-khura-kṣu-
- 12 ṇa-kṣamā-maṁḍala-prōdya(t\*)-cāṁdra-parāga-naṣhta-nayanō u-ēśhṭē rīpuḥ-ōhṣh(ṭitun)(m)  
|| [10\*] Darpaṣṭh-Āmdhra-mahīdhm-saditasti-pavīḥ prōttuṁga-Vaṁg-āmbudhīr-sarvō  
gārvita-Chōla-v(b)h-
- 13 la-kadalī-kāṁḍa-prachamḍa-dvipaḥ | garjad-Gūjara-mēgha-chaṁḍa-pavanaḥ Kārṇṇa-  
ṭa-Kārṇ-Ārjunō Nēpāla-khitipāla-dāru-dahanaḥ Śrī-Sōma-bhūpālakaḥ || [11\*] Kēchi-
- 14 t-kānanam-āṇo yaṁti gahanam kēchid-dhūva(m\*)ty-angulīḥ kēchit-kōsam-upārpayaṁti  
chakīṭāḥ kēchit-palāyaṁti cha | kēchit-aviyam-urō-mkayaṁti balimāḥ kē-
- 15 chit-pramūhyānti tā kēchid-bhūpatayaḥ prayānti vilayam yasmin-prayāṇ-ōdyatē || [12\*]  
Tasy-ābhūt-parirakṣataḥ khitim-imām mamtri kṛti dhārmikāḥ | śrīman-Mā-
- 16 dhava-damdanātha-tilakō Vāsishṭha-vatḥ-ōdbhavaḥ | Sāvītri-janani tu yasya viditā yā Vēda-  
māt-ōva sā tāta(ś-cha) prathitō-va(trā) viśva-bhūvaṇ Śrī-Māyidv-ā[ḥ]va[ḥ]yāḥ || [13\*] — —

\* From the impression prepared by me. The illustration which accompanies this article is from an stampage of the inscription kindly sent by Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan, to whom my thanks are due.

\* This and the next three verses are in the *śaśatāḥ* metre.

This and the following verses are in the *Sādhavibhāṣa* metre.



- 17 〰 〰 Mādhavēna rachitō Lakṣmīpatēr-māndirē saurvarṇam kalāsam tataḥ suragīrī-yathā  
vīkahya chintām-agāt | nūnō dakṣiṇa-Mōrur-śaḥa samabhūn-mattō-pi sōbh-ānvitāḥ  
prāyaḥ
- 18 — 〰 〰 — śrayēyur-amarāḥ-tyakṣhyaṣṭi tē mām-iti " [14\*] Kim brūmō vāyam-asya-  
śūryam-atulaḥ yasy-ōgra-yuddh-āṅgaṇē mastiśh-ōlbaṇa-patka-sambhāta-taṭṭ  
— 〰 — 〰 —
- 19 — kō-pi piśācha-rakha-nikarō n-ādy-āpi — 〰 — tē sphīt-śarik-paripūrīt-ōdara-bhar,  
krāntō vinishkrānti || [15\*] Sō-yathā yasya samasta śatru 〰 〰 — 〰 — 〰
- 20 — 〰 — 〰 — sa-dhvaṁsi-yatāḥ-samasta-bhuvana-dhvānt-aika-sarv-ōdayaḥ | saundaryam  
andati-vilōla nayanā — 〰 — 〰 — 〰 —
- 21-24 damaged.

## ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

- V. 1. Praise of the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu.
- V. 2. Victorious is the Milk Ocean who sprayed Mukunda with drops of water emanating from  
(the mountain) Mandara, auspicious grains of rice, as it were, showered at the time of marriage  
of (his daughter) Śrī.
- V. 3. From him (Milk Ocean) across the moon, the joy of the world.
- V. 4. In his (lunar) race was born Uchita. He had a brother named Rāja.
- V. 5. In his family came forth Asaga, aggressive with his mighty arms. Next in descent was  
Rāja. After him rose to power king Bijja, whose feet were touched by the crests of rulers  
of the earth.
- V. 6. In his house appeared Karṇa who was renowned by the titles, such as *Śārāṅkuta* (Goad  
to the Brave), etc., the veritable Agastya to the ocean of hostile kings. He was succeeded  
by Jōgama who was unsurpassed in valour.
- V. 7. He was followed by Permāḍi, an ornament of the circle of kings.
- V. 8. After him rose to eminence his son Bijjana who was distinguished by the titles, *Giridur-  
gemalla* (Champion of the Hill-fort), *Subhātāditya* (Sun among the chosen warriors) and  
others. He, the mighty one, wrested by force the sovereignty from the race of the Chālukyas  
and secured the paramount position of the lord of Kuntala, adorned with a single parasol.
- V. 9. Who can describe his triumphant expeditions that put his enemies to flight?
- V. 10. His successor is king Sōma of extraordinary prowess. He is praised as Rāya-Murāri  
(veritable Murāri among the kings). The enemy is motionless before him.
- V. 11. King Sōma, the veritable Arjuna to Karṇa, the Karpāta, is the thunderbolt to the mountain,  
the Andhra; submarine fire to the ocean, the Vaṅga; elephant to the tender plantain, the  
Chōla; whirlwind to the rumbling cloud, the Gūrjara; fire to the wood, the Nēpala king.
- V. 12. When he prepares for an expedition, his enemies are struck with terror and run away  
helter skelter to save their lives.
- V. 13. He has a minister in Mādhava-daṇḍanātha. Born of parents, Māyidēva and Sāvitrī, he  
is a descendant of the sage Vasishṭha.
12. 17-20. A temple of Vishnu was constructed by him. Seeing its golden pinnacle, the divine  
mountain (Mēru) felt anxious that the gods would forsake him and resort to this, the more  
distinguished new Mēru of the South.
- The heroism displayed by this (general Mādhava) on the fields of battle is beyond description.

## No. 5.—ALAND INSCRIPTION OF YUVARAJA MALLIKARJUNA

(1 Plate)

F. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This inscription was copied by me in the summer vacation of 1933, when I was a student in the Karnatak College, Dharwar. The stone slab bearing the epigraph was built in a wall of the *darogah* of Lādle Mashāk Sāheb at Aland, a fairly big village in the Palyagāh Jāgies of the Gulbarga District, Hyderabad State. The record was published in the *Karnāṭak Historical Review*, Vol. IV (1937), pp. 61-71. But in view of certain imperfections of the publication and the importance of the epigraph mainly for the study of the family history of the eminent Western Chālukya ruler Vikramāditya VI, I propose to re-edit it here.

In the process of trimming the slab to fit it into the construction, damage has been caused to the writing in some places. Consequently, a few letters at the commencement of almost all the lines are lost. The rest of the inscription is in a fair state of preservation. The characters are Kannada of the 11th century A. D. and generally conform to the style of the age. The length of the medial *i* is invariably clearly distinguished by a spiral to the left of the curve at the top. Regarding orthography there are no special features worth mentioning except for those common to the period. The *upadhmāniya* is used in ll. 38, 41 and 42. The language is Kannada and the composition is partly in prose and partly in verse. The imprecation towards the end is, as usual, made up of Sanskrit verses.

The record refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva or Vikramāditya VI and is dated the Chālukya-Vikrama year 7, Dundubhi, Pushya, śu. 5, Sunday, [Uttarā]yapa-sankrānti. The date is irregular. In the cyclic year Dundubhi, Uttarāyana commenced on Pushya śu. 3, Sunday. Its Christian equivalent would be A. D. 1082, December 25.

The object of the epigraph is to record the gift of income derived from tolls and levies such as *perjuaka*, *bilkoḍe*, etc., in the district of Alande Thousand for the daily worship and offerings to the god Sōmēśvara of Alande by the king<sup>1</sup> at the request of the queen Chandaladēvi. The gift was entrusted to the hands of the teacher Surēśvara Paṇḍita<sup>2</sup> who was in charge of the temple. Further donations to the god were also made by Yuvarāja Mallikārjuna and others.

Yuvarāja Mallikārjuna was a son of Vikramāditya VI. Kumāra Sōmēśvara was another son who also figures as the donor in the inscription (ll. 55-56). Mallikārjuna is addressed as Yuvarāja-Vallabha and described as the crest-jewel among the princes (*Kumāra-tikkhāṇṇi*). He was brave and valorous in war. Impressed by his ability, the king installed him as his heir apparent. He was the seniormost among the princes.<sup>3</sup> Under instructions from the king he was governing the district of Alande Thousand.

<sup>1</sup> It is clear from the context that the expression *Bollasuraw* occurring in lines 36 and 51 refers to the reigning king. The word *Bollasur* which is a general term, is evidently derived from the specific title *Vallabha* borne by the Western Chālukyas of Hādāmi and the Eleṭtrakhās of Maikhād. It is met with in its abbreviated derivative form in some records of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa also, who followed the ancient tradition. See for instance, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 104, l. 28; No. 110, l. 11; No. 121, l. 12; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 127, l. 11. Also see the *Ajikkirīśakorapantastilakam* (śāvān 1, verse 45) of the Kannada poet Ranna, wherein *Bollaba*, the variant form of the same title, is used to denote the reigning king who was Taila II.

<sup>2</sup> This teacher is identical with his namesake who figures in an inscription from the Bellary District, as the administrator of a small tract, 17 years later, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 165.

<sup>3</sup> *B. E.* No. 1 of 1937-38.



Mallikārjuna figures in a fairly large number of inscriptions<sup>1</sup> almost from the commencement of his father's reign and it would be useful to summarise the main facts gathered about him from these records. He is consistently spoken of as Yuvārāja<sup>2</sup> and the epithet *Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara* is never applied to him as in the case of the other sons of the king. This testifies to the unique and exalted position held by this prince among the princes of the royal household. He is specified as the son of the crowned queen (*Paṭṭamahādēvi*) who was most probably Lakshmādēvi.<sup>3</sup> He had a daughter named Mahādēvi. Besides the territory under his administration noted above, he was administering the tract of Tardavāḍi Thousand in A. D. 1095, 1109, 1112 and 1115 and the province of Karahaḍa Four Thousand in A. D. 1116. The last date so far known for him is A. D. 1123.

Before reverting to Sōmēśvara alluded to above, we have to take note of another son of Vikramāditya VI, named **Jayakarma**. He seems to have stood next in seniority to Mallikārjuna. Chandaladēvi was his mother.<sup>4</sup> He figures in five records<sup>5</sup> ranging in date from A. D. 1102 to 1122. From the provenance of these epigraphs it may be gathered that he was connected with the administration of the area now comprising portions of the Gulbarga, Bijapur and Belgaum Districts.

We now come to **Sōmēśvara** who appears to have been junior to Jayakarma. Born of Chandaladēvi,<sup>6</sup> he was the co-uterine brother of the latter prince. He is mentioned in later records ranging until the last year of his father's reign.<sup>7</sup> He bore the title Chālukya-Gaṅga-Permādi,<sup>8</sup> which he must have inherited from his father.<sup>9</sup> As the epigraphs containing information about him come from the Warangal, Karimnagar and Nalgunda Districts of the Hyderabad State and are of A. D. 1106-7 and 1124-25, it may be surmised that he was connected with the administrative machinery of those areas in these years.

The fourth and the last known son of Vikramāditya VI was **Taila** or **Tailapa**. He seems to have been the juniormost of the lot. From the epithet *Chandaladēvi-nayana-varasija-sūrya* (delight to the lotus eyes of Chandaladēvi) applied to him in some inscriptions, it follows that he

<sup>1</sup> I have listed 12 records referring to this prince which range in date from A. D. 1079 to 1123. They are as follows: above, Vol. XV, p. 29; B. K. Nos. 90 of 1929-30, 3 of 1930-31, 183 of 1933-34, 1 of 1937-38, 120 of 1940-41, No. 13 of 40-41 of the Kannada Research Office, Dharwar; Bendaravāḍi inscription (*Mackenzie Collection*); one inscription each at Aland and Baidarvāḍi and two inscriptions at Māyāḍi (my private collection). Most of these are unpublished. In B. K. No. 90 of 1929-30, dated in A. D. 1095, Mallikārjuna is given the title, *Mājavu-baḥa-baḥāḥa-samitruva* (whirlwind to the clouds, the forces of Mājava). This shows that he had distinguished himself in one or more campaigns against Mājava. B. K. No. 3 of 1930-31, dated in A. D. 1112, mentions two more titles of this prince, viz., *Padmanāḍa-giri-vajra-daśadha* and *Vimādevya-kuvāra-jana-daśadha*. As Padmanāḍagiri which is identical with modern Panhāḷ, was under the sway of the Śiṣhāra princes, these titles seem to contain a reference to an expedition conducted by Mallikārjuna against the rulers of that house (vide *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. 3, p. 549).

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that Jayasinhha, the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI, is also styled Yuvārāja in a good many inscriptions ranging from A. D. 1077 to 1082; vide B. K. Nos. 237 of 1929-29, 128 of 1936-27 and *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 449.

<sup>3</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 448.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 449.

<sup>5</sup> Khajagi record (*ibid.*, p. 455); Bendarvāḍi inscription (*Mackenzie Collection*); B. K. Nos. 93 and 94 of 1936-37; Koppur inscription (*J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 287). I am indebted to Mr. M. Venkateramajya for the reference to the *Mackenzie Collection*.

<sup>6</sup> This piece of information is furnished by an inscription from Tongali, Gulbarga District, dated Śaka 1064 (=A. D. 1163) in the reign of Taila III (my private collection).

<sup>7</sup> *Tadaguna Inscriptions*, Western Chālukya records: Nos. 12, 35 and 36.

<sup>8</sup> The last two of the above-noted inscriptions associate his name with this title.

<sup>9</sup> Vikramāditya VI bore the title Chālukya-Gaṅga-Permādi on account of his relationship with the Gaṅga family through his mother who was a princess of that house (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pt. I, Nos. 95 and 118; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Pg. 140).



was born of her.<sup>1</sup> He figures in ten records<sup>2</sup> of his father's reign, which range in date from the 38th to the 46th year (A. D. 1113 to 1122). For most of this period he appears to have been holding a responsible office in the southern part of the kingdom. Inscriptions from the Anantapur District show that he was in charge of the tract Sindavādi Thousand with his headquarters at Tumbūja.<sup>3</sup> About A. D. 1122 his sphere of activity shifted to the north and we find him functioning in the area of the modern Nalgonda and Mahboobnagar Districts of the Hyderabad State. His headquarters was now at Kōjūrā. His wife Lakshmīlāvi and son Pernādi also figure with him in these northern epigraphs.<sup>4</sup>

It may be seen from the above discussion and from the subsequent history of the Western Chālukya house that neither Mallikārjuna nor Jayakarma survived their father to assume the reins of the kingdom. Vikramāditya VI was succeeded by Sōmēśvara III. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that both of them must have predeceased their father at the close of his long reign somewhere between the years A. D. 1122-23 and 1126. But Taila survived and he figures in an inscription<sup>5</sup> dated in the 7th year of his brother Sōmēśvara's reign (=A. D. 1132). Being the brother of the reigning king and seniormost member of the royal family, his status must have improved by this time; for we find him addressed as *Yuvarāja* in that epigraph.

The present epigraph contains the following **place-names**. Alande, mentioned in a number of contexts and also referred to as Alandāpara, is the present-day Aland,<sup>6</sup> the provenance of the record. It was evidently the headquarters of the territorial division Alande-Sāsira, which must have taken the name after it. This position is further confirmed by the specific statement, in l. 35, that it was the first and foremost village (*modala bāḍa*) in Alande-Sāsira. Alande-Sāsira or Alande One-Thousand comprised a political and geographical unit made up of one thousand villages. It represented roughly parts of the modern Gulbarga District and the adjoining area.<sup>7</sup>

## TEXT\*

- 1 ♦ \*Śrīmat-kai[śā(sa)din-akhi]-āmara-maṇi-makuta-ghaṭita-chaṭaṇa-śa-
- 2 bhōjanī Sōmēśvaran-avatariśādan-i-mahitāja-tīlakam-enip-Alandāpara-
- 3 do[ || [1]\*] Śrīmat-Alande pavitrāṇi Sōmēśvara-dēvarinī-Alandāpuradiśud-i-mahī
- 4 pavitrāṇi-enitūṇ tām pavitrāṇi Sūrēśvara-bratīyichitāṇ || [2]\*] Jāṇamayan-a
- 5 mṛta-vākyaṇ-amāna-guṇ-ābharaṇaṇ-enipa 15kṣhvarāṇaṇ-i-nandanān-ābandana-
- 6 n-ān-odavisiśādan Sūrēśvaraṇi muni-tīlakam || [3]\*] Śrīmat-Sūrēśvara-bratī
- 7 Sōmēśvara-chaṭaṇa-yugaḷa-sarasaḷa-bhṛṅgaṇi kōmaḷa-rachō-vijāṇaṇ śāmi-
- 8 [aya]ṇa-e Chakravartti-vināta-pad-ābjam || [4]\*] Kṛta-yugam-ādude Kaliyugam-a

<sup>1</sup> The suggestion thrown out on p. 89 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1921-22* regarding the identity of Jayakarma with Tailapa, is untenable. Firstly, the two are names of two distinct individuals; and secondly, epigraphical evidence is clear enough to show that they were functioning in two different and distant parts of the kingdom at a particular period of time.

<sup>2</sup> *Mad. Epi.*, col., Nos. 352 and 358 of 1921; *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, Nos. 190, 202, 221 and 253; *Telangana Inscriptions*, Western Chālukya records; Nos. 33, 34 and 37; Akkalkot inscription of Śiṅhārā, Indragiri, above, Vol. XXVII, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, Nos. 190, 202 and 221.

<sup>4</sup> *Telangana Inscriptions*, Western Chālukya records; Nos. 33 and 34.

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. 1, No. 226.

<sup>6</sup> It is situated at a distance of 27 miles north-west of Gulbarga. The place is referred to as Aladi by the ordinary folk. Also see above, Vol. V, p. 243.

<sup>7</sup> I am indebted to Khwaja Muhammad Ahmed, Esq., the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan, for having furnished excellent estampages of the inscription for reproduction in this article.

<sup>8</sup> *In situ* and from ink-impressions prepared by myself and those sent by the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, Deccan.

\* This and the next four verses are in the *Kanda* metre.



- 9 [ti]dhāraṇam-āyta **Vikramāditya**-nripaṭi prapāṭi-pa-rāṣṭraṇa muni-patiy-ājñeyo-ōm  
 10 Surāvaran kōvaṇam-ē || [5]\* <sup>1</sup>Ari-bhūpāṭi-ti(ki)ṛita-tāpita-padaṇa sapṭ-āśli-saṇ-madrī-ō-  
 11 rrvareg-orrvaṇa pati saṇḍa vaṇḍi-budha-brindakk-ēnduv-ōmḍ-amḍadim pirid-ivam  
 dig-ibh-āṭi-danṭa-khaṣṭiā  
 12 [ta]t-kṛttiy-ōmḍ-akka||rīm dharey-ellaṇa sale baṇṇaṇko nega|ḍam āri-Vikram-ōrvvā-  
 varan || [6]\*  
 13 <sup>2</sup>[Śri-Vikramārka-nripatig-i]ā-viṇṭan **Mallikārjuna**m janyinḍan bhū-vallabham  
 14 <sup>3</sup>, . . . guṇ-āvāṇa Makara-kāṇan puttuvavōl || [7]\* <sup>4</sup>Puṣi-gaṇḍim-īdīr-āntaraṇa tavisi  
 15 — — — — — sad-bhaktiyim besan-ōm nim taru-ēndu barḍa ripu-bhūpāṭi-arka|am kādu kā-  
 16 [yieṣ] koṇḍ-ā-nripa-Vikramāṇkaṇa bhūja-ṭamḍam-bol-oppaḍapaṇa vaṇḍhā-maṇḍana Ma-  
 17 [llā]rjuna-kumārāṇa Vīra-Nāṇyaṇa || [8]\* <sup>5</sup>Ātan-avāryya-āuryyaman-i]ā-prabhu  
 Vikrama-  
 18 [chakra]vartī kaṇḍ-īṭane yauvarāja-pada-paṭṭaḍa perṇṇeṇṇē nōṭan-ēndu sat-pritiyim-ā-  
 mahi-  
 19 [prabhu] kumāra-śikhāmaṇi-Mallikārjunaṇ-āṭa-kṛtti kaṭṭiḍan-ēṭaṇḍiṇ yauvarāja-  
 20 [paṭṭa]maṇ || [9]\* <sup>6</sup>Manuvamā-ōṭṭaman-āy-ōḍṭa-mahimāṇa dēva-dvijanm-ōṭkar-  
 āreḥṇaṇḍiṇḍan sale son[pu]-  
 21 [vetta] vibhavaṇ Chāṭkyā-chakrēsa-ēḥaru-niyōg-āpadaṇ-ā-nripāgra-mahimā(ṣi)-gēḥakke  
 22 — — — — — pradhāṇan-ēṇḍu bhū-nṭa Kāḍiḍan-ēṇḍan daṇḍādhup-āgrēsaṇa || [10]\* <sup>7</sup>Ene  
 nega|ḍa Kāḍiḍāṇa-  
 23 [na ta]ṇyaṇa Nāḥaṇa-āśāḥa-dhātī-viṇṭan Manu-mārggaṇ-akhi|a-vidvajjana-brindā-  
 chakrā-ā-  
 24 . . . dīta-chakrāṇa || [11]\* <sup>8</sup>Manu-mārggaṇa charitaḥke pāṇṭi-maṇa vāṇai(ki) gēḥ-  
 bhīryaḍiṇḍa daṇḍ-ā-ri-  
 25 [Tri]ḍa-āvaraṇa vibhavaḍiṇḍi-irppa|ṇa saṇḍan-ḍa-ā-dina-nāḥ-āṭṭejaṇ-ēndu taṇṇaṇe  
 jagam saṇḍipitiyim baṇṇi-  
 26 [ait-ē]nōṭamṇa teṇḍiṇ jaṇḍko neley-āḍan Nāchi-daṇḍādhupam || [12]\* <sup>9</sup>Dharey-ellaṇa  
 sale poḇaḷu paṇ-ḥi-  
 27 . . . rūḍiyam percheṇi Nāḥaṇan-i]ā-viṇṭan tāḥ Paṇṭiṭṭa-Vidyādhara-ēndra-pesaraṇ  
 28 [pa]ḍaḍan || [13]\* <sup>10</sup>Ā-Nāchi-daṇḍanāṭhan-anūnagaṇa Chakravartī dayeyim beaṇḍa  
 tān-ē-yu(m-ā)-  
 29 [maha] nripatige māṇaṇ-ēne niḥi|a-maṇṭri-paḍaṇaṇ taḍe || [14]\* Svasti []\* Samasta-  
 bhavaṇ-āṇa-  
 30 [ya] Śri-Prithvi-vallabham Mahārājādhirājaṇ Paramāvaraṇ Paramabhāṭṭarakaṇ Satyāra-  
 31 [ya] ku|a-ti|akāṇ Chāḍkyā-ābharaṇaṇ Śrīma[ya]-[Tri]bhuvanamalla-dēvara vijaya-rājya-  
 32 [m-ēṭṭa]r-ōṭṭa-ābhīrpaḍiḥi-pravarḍhamāṇa-āḥaṇḍi-ārka-tāraṇ-ḥaraṇa saḍṭṭam Kalyā-  
 33 [ṇa]ṇaḍa neḍiḍiṇ-ōḥka-ōḥkaṭṭhā-viṇḍiḍiṇ rājyaṇa geyyattam-ire [ ]\* <sup>11</sup>Śrīmaḥ-Chā-  
 34 [ḍkyā]-Vikrama-varuḥaḍa 7 neya Duṇḍubhi-saṇvatsaraḍa Puṣya-ēṇḍa 5  
 Ādivārada

\* Metre: *Matikāṇḍiṭṭi*.

\* Metre: *Kanda*.

\* The three aksharas here have eight be samasta.

\* Metre: *Matikāṇḍiṭṭi*.

\* Metre: *Uṇḍamāḍi*.

\* Metre: *Matikāṇḍiṭṭi*.

\* Metre: *Kanda*.

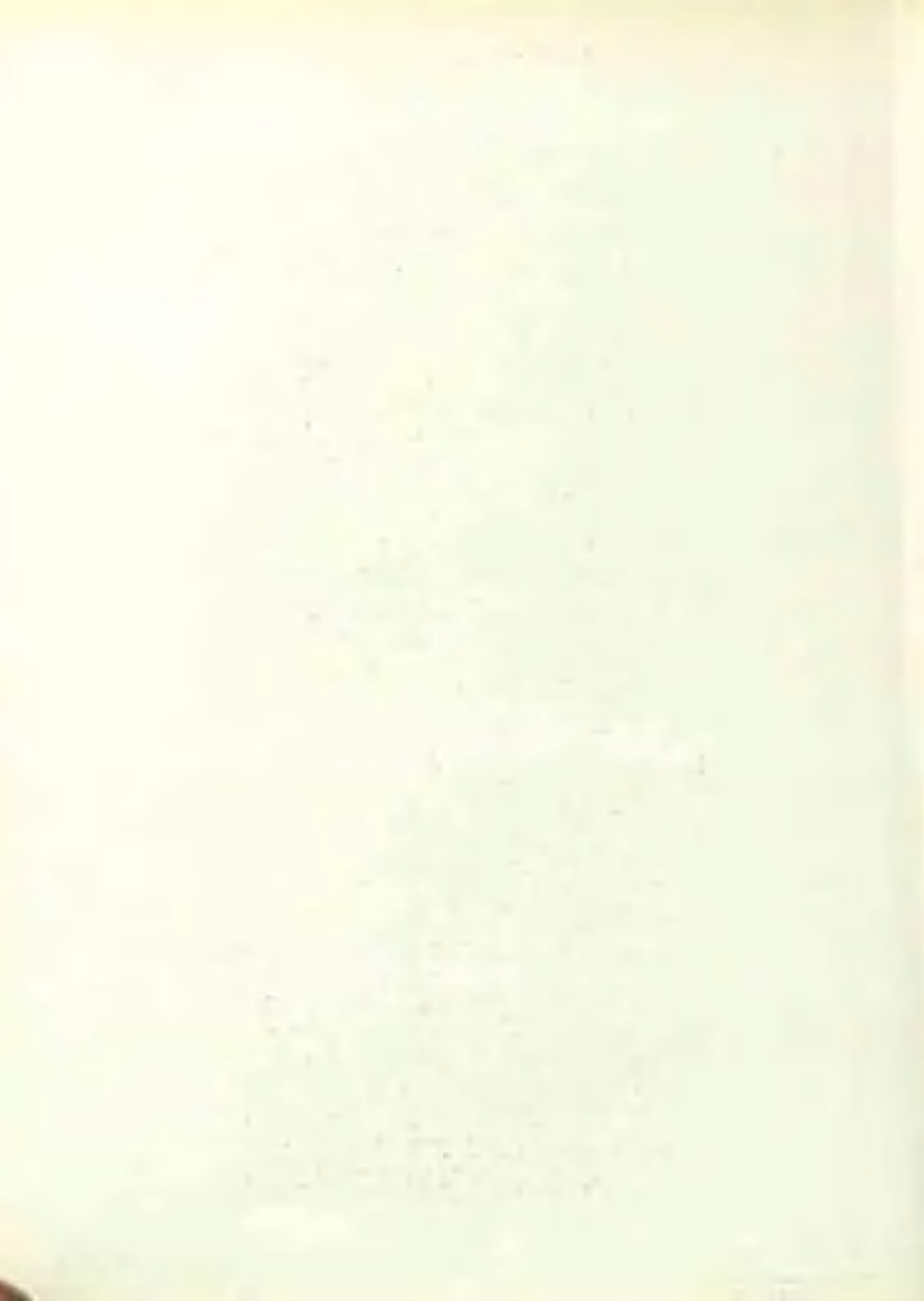
\* Three aksharas are here after this.

\* Metre: *Matikāṇḍiṭṭi*.

\* This and the following verse are in the *Kanda* metre.







- 35 [Uttarā]yaṇa-saṁkrānti-parvva-nimittadiṁd-Alaṁde-sāsiraḍa modala bā[av-Alaṁ[dā]-  
puraḍa  
36 [Svayaṁ]bhū-Sōmēśvara-dēvar-aṁgabhogakke śrī-Ballavarasar || Svasti-anavarata-  
parama-kalyā-  
37 [p-ābhya]daya-sahasra-phala-bhōga-bhāgini vāṭa[kke] mada-dviraḍa-gāmini Rāya-jagadaḷa-  
ma[nōja]-  
38 [rati] machcharipa savati-mada-bhaṁjane Rāya-bhadrāḍa-dēva-manar-payōidhi-pravard-  
dhamā[na]-  
39 [chandra]vadane saubhāgya-saḍane Rāya-ja[appa-Ka]p-āvanija-samāhinda(gita)-jaṁgama-  
late śara-  
40 [pāgata]-samoddharapa-parigata dulaṭa-darppishṭa(tha)-savati-śirō-vayra-muṣṭiy-anavarata-  
[su]-  
41 [varuṇa]-vriṣṭi samast-āntarpura-jagadaḷa-pavitrikṛita-viśuddha-kule Rāya-Nārāyaṇa-ḥpi-  
42 [day-ā]namda-pradāyaki Gauri-pad-āmbuj-ārādhaḷi saubhāgya-garvva-durvvini-āntarpura-  
kā-  
43 [at-ōpa]hāsini śrīma[ti-<sup>\*</sup>]Tribhuvanamalla-dēva-viśāḷa-vakshasthaḷa-nivāsinīyar-appa śrī-  
44 [Nṛ]ṭiya-vidyādhari Chamḍaladēviyara biṁnapadiḍa[<sup>\*</sup>]alliya-āchāryyar || Svasti[<sup>\*</sup>] Yama-  
niyama-ś(a)vā-  
45 [dhyā]ya-dhyāna-dhāruṇa-mann-ānusthāṇa-japa-samādhī-āḷa-saḍpahnar vibudha-jana-man-  
bhivāṇchchhi-  
46 [ta]-hamutpahnar din-ānātha-jathara-dēva-pāvaka-nivāraṇaḷi dūrita-gaja-mada-nivāraṇaḷi  
47 [sa]maya-saṁrakhaḷa-sika-dakṣhaḷa-anavarata-saṁbhikhaḷi paṇḍita-chōḷā-maṇi śiṣṭa-jana-  
chirintā-  
48 [maṇi] śrī-Vāhidēva-Paṇḍita-dēva-pād-ārādhanā-labha-vara-prasādaḷi parōpakāra-vinōdaḷi  
nity[ā]-  
49 ... va[<sup>\*</sup>]virājamānar-appa śrīmat-Sarēśvara-paṇḍita-dēvarge dhārā-pūrvvakam-āgi  
50 [Alaṁde]-sāsiraḍoḷaḷi sāsira pōruv-ettimge perjūṁka hikkōḍe vadḍarāva[av-o]lagi[<sup>\*</sup>] suṁka-  
ellaḷi  
51 [pa]rihāraḷi māḷi hittan[<sup>\*</sup>] Mattan[<sup>\*</sup>] śrī-Ballavarasaru yuvarāja-vallabhaḷi Mallikārjuna-  
dēvarge  
52 ... diṁd-Alaṁde-sāsiramamam daye-poydu kuḍal-ā-nāḍa perḍaḍe dandānāyakaḷi Nācha-  
53 ... biṁnapadiḍi yuvarājāḷi Mallikārjuna-dēvath[<sup>\*</sup>] śrī-Ballavarasarge biṁnapadiḍi-poyd-  
Alaṁdeya  
54 [Sva]yamābhū-Sōmēśvara-dēvar-āḷva 12 raj-irḅgaḷā Jallan Kaḷḷavaḷiḷe Sādath Baṇḍigeyane  
55 [pa]rihāraḷi māḷi hittan[<sup>\*</sup>] Mattan[<sup>\*</sup>] pattaṇḍa hoggaḍe Gommalaya-nāyakana biṁnapadiḍi  
**Kumārath Sōmē-**  
56 [ēva]rath dēvata nandādivigge-Alaṁdeya mudrāvaṇaḍa suṁkaḍoḷaḷe timga-dimgaḷe hattu-  
hattu dra-  
57 [vyamaḷi] hittan[<sup>\*</sup>] Gommalayyan bhāvan[<sup>\*</sup>] Sillapayyan tapōdhanarḅgaḷi chā(chā)tesarḅgaḷi  
vidyārithi-māḷiyarḅgaḷi 'Harḅga-  
58 ...[ba]ṭṭeyayim paduvaḷa Baṇḍēva-āṭṭeyyaḷa nāḷu māḷina marana hitta-Alaṁdeya  
Nagarath dēva-  
59 [ri]ḅga māḷida pōriṅga-ayvatt-ēyem hittan-int-imamam Nāgata-Mahājana-Pathcha-mūtha-  
sthā-  
60 [mam-ācham]dr-ārkkā-sthāyi-varath naḍeyisvaru || 'Alaṁdeḷi hayasidd-ellaḷi tanag-  
iḷi[<sup>\*</sup>]e sādhyam-ā-

<sup>\*</sup> This appears to be a place-name.<sup>\*</sup> Metre: Kanda.



- 61...g-ojpane bagava punya-mūrtiḥ kanasimṣaṁ kiṭipen-śaṁḍaṁ tām kiṭagurū || [150\*]  
 'Suvarynam-ḥ-  
 62 [kaṁ gām-ḥ]kām bhūmā-apy-ḥkam-śaṁgulāṁ ||\*] karaṁ(n)-narakam-āpuṭi yāvad-śhā(ḥhā)-  
 ta-saṁplavāṁ ||  
 63 [\*Parira]khiśad-ḥ-śhāśak-śhāśaṁ bagad-a[||]idavaṁge niśchayadīś kiṭiś Vāraṇāśiy-  
 pā-  
 64... kavileyuman-śhīda pāpāṁ śārguṁ ||-.....\*

## TRANSLATION

Verses 1. Sūmāśvara, whose lotus feet are butted by the jewelled diadems of all the gods, descended from the glorious Kailāsa to this Alandāpura, an ornament of the earth.

V. 2. The illustrious Alande is holy on account of the god Sūmāśvara and this earth is holy on account of Alandāpura. How much more is it holy on account of the sage Surāśvara !

V. 3. How great is the delight accorded by this son, Surāśvara, an ornament of the monks, to (his teacher) Lōkābharaṇa, replete with knowledge, truthful and embellished with sterling virtues !

V. 4. Is he an ordinary human being, the illustrious ascetic Surāśvara, a bee at the lotus feet of Sūmāśvara, pleasingly gentle in speech, whose lotus feet are praised by the emperor !

V. 5. As the king Vikramāditya is ruling according to the behests of this prince among monks, the Kali age has become Kṛita age and the kingdom has become supremely righteous. Is Surāśvara ordinary !

V. 6. The illustrious Vikramāditya, lord of the earth, has earned renown being aptly praised by all the people in this manner : " His feet are butted by the coronets of hostile kings : he is the unrivalled overlord of the earth encircled by the seven seas ; he is a great and constant donor, in his own characteristic way, to the deserving assemblage of hardy and the learned : his reputation has been engraven on the tusks of the rows of elephants of the quarters ".

V. 7. From king Vikramāditya is born prince Mallikārjuna who is an abode of all virtues and is praised by the people, in the same manner as was born the Crocodile-bannered God (i.e., Cupid).

V. 8. Prince Mallikārjuna, an ornament of the earth, and Virā-Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu in heroism), appears graceful like the pillar-like arms of king Vikramāditya, having routed the hostile kings who encountered him with sham bravery, protected those who approached him with awe and reverence saying, " you are our saviour ! What command ! " and exterminated those who were a source of trouble.

V. 9. The far-famed emperor Vikramāditya seeing his irresistible prowess and thus appreciating with genuine affection, " He alone is worthy of the great office of the heir-apparent ", installed Mallikārjuna, the crest-jewel of princes, as his successor with due ceremony.

V. 10. Distinguished is the general Kālidāsa, foremost among the commanders of the forces, praised by the world, supreme among the scions of Manu, exalted in prowess, glorious with the eminence earned by the worship of the gods and the Brāhmaṇas, a charming receptacle of authority vested by the Chālukya emperor and counsellor to the household of the senior queen.

V. 11. Thus renowned Kālidāsa's son is the famous Nāchaga, a follower of the path of Manu and the veritable moon imparting delight to the *chakrva* birds, namely, the assembly of the learned.

\* Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

\* Metre : Kanda.

\* One or two lines after this appear to have been damaged and lost.

V. 12. The commander of the forces, Nāchi, became the repository of renown when the world sang (*his virtues*) in admiration in the following terms : " His conduct is in keeping with the path of Manu ; in serenity he compares with the ocean ; in eminence.....and in valour he is on par with the son of the Lord of the Day (*i.e.*, Karna)".

V. 13. Being aptly described by the world in commendable expressions Nācharasa earned the epithet, *Parītha-Vidyādāra* (*i.e.*, the *Vidyādāra* among the philanthropists).

V. 14. The commander of the forces, Nāchi, who possessed excellent virtues and was like his own mind to the king, assumed the office of principal counsellor as directed by the emperor.

Lines 29-33. Hail ! The asylum of the entire earth, lord of the Goddess of Fortune and the Earth, the paramount overlord of sovereigns, the great ruler, the supreme master, ornament of the lineage of Satyāśraya, embellishment of the Chālukyas, the illustrious king Tribhuvanamalladēva is carrying on his victorious rule with ever-increasing prosperity in happiness and entertainment of pleasing conversation, to endure as long as the sun, the moon and the stars, from his residence Kalyāna.

Ll. 33-51. On Sunday, the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Pushya of the illustrious Chālukya-Vikrama year 7, corresponding to the cyclic year Dundubhi and on the holy occasion of the Uttarāyana-satkṛānti, the king, hail !—at the request of the queen Chandradēvi who is privileged to enjoy the thousand-fold fruit accruing from the unceasing supreme welfare and prosperity ; who strolls like an intoxicated elephant in the royal promises ; the Goddess of Love to the Mind-born God (*i.e.*, Cupid, *in the form of her husband*), the illustrious sovereign ; subduer of the sense of elation of the jealous co-wives ; bearer of the face-moon that swells the milky ocean (*in the shape of*) the mind of (*her husband*) the distinguished suzerain ; abode of splendour ; moving creeper hugging the wish-fulfilling tree, namely, the illustrious monarch ; adept in supporting those who seek her protection ; who is the blow of adamantine fist on the heads of malicious and conceited co-wives ; who showers gold incessantly ; whose immaculate lineage has purified the whole realm<sup>1</sup> of the harem ; who imparts delight to the heart of the god Nārāyaṇa among kings, to wit, Vikramāditya VI ; who is worshipper of the lotus feet of the goddess Gaurī (=Pārvatī) ; who derides the ladies of the harem, indecorous with the elation of their good fortune ; who dwells in the expansive chest of the illustrious lord Tribhuvanamalladēva and who bears the title, 'Fairy Queen in the art of dancing' ;—made over with the pouring of water a gift of income, free from all impositions, derived from tolls and levies such as *paṇḍāṭa*, *hikḥaḍa*, *vaḍḍarīṇḍa*, on a thousand pack-bullocks in the region of Alande Thousand, for the offerings to the god Svayambhū Sāmāvara of Alandāpura, the first and the foremost town in the district of Alande Thousand, to the illustrious divine Sūrāvara Paṇḍita, in charge of the temple of Sāmāvara ; hail !—who is endowed with self-restraint, self-discipline, spiritual study, meditation, conservation, silence, religious practice, incantation, absorption and exemplary character ; who is an outcome, as it were, of the heart-felt wishes of the wise persons ; who quenches the wild fire of hunger of the helpless and the destitute ; who quells the intoxication of the elephant of sinfulness ; who is ever wakeful in protecting his creed ; who is the never-failing abode of plenty ; a crest-jewel among the learned ; wish-fulfilling jewel to the elite ; who has secured the gracious boon by propitiating the feet of the eminent divine Vāhidēva Paṇḍita ; who diverts himself in doing good to others.

Ll. 51-55. And Yuvarāja-vallabha Mallikārjuna who is holding the administrative charge of the province of Alande Thousand by the favour of the king, exempted the taxes, *jalla*, *kallavalike*, *śāḍa* and *banniga* in the twelve villages endowed to the god Svayambhū Sāmāvara of Alande, after making a request to the king, at the instance of Daṇḍanāyaka Nācharasa, the *pergaḍa* of the province.

<sup>1</sup> As required by the context, I have translated the expression *paṇḍāṭa* as 'realm'. Its other meaning 'illustrious' does not suit here. See above, Vol. XV, p. 357, verse 18.



LI. 55-57. And again at the request of Gommala Nāyaka, the *hogyale* of the town, Kumāra Sōmēśvara made a gift of ten coins per month out of the money income accruing from the *cess* in the town of Alande for a perpetual lamp to the god (Sōmēśvara).

LI. 57-58. Sillapayya, the brother-in-law of Gommala, made a gift of four mango trees in the garden of Baladēva lying to the west of the road leading to Harṇa[gi] for the benefit of the ascetics, their disciples and the lay-students.

LI. 58-59. The merchant guild of Alande made a gift of fifty (betel) leaves on the sale of every load to the god.

LI. 59-60. The merchant guild, the *Mahājanas* of the town and the establishment of the five *swathas* will maintain all these charities as long as the sun and the moon endure.

LI. 60-64. (Imprecation against the transgressors of charity.)

## NO. 6—JAVANTINATHAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-MAHARAJA

(1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

The subjoined inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on a slab now built into the front wall, right of entrance, of the Lakshminārāyaṇa temple at Javantināthapuram, Lalgudi taluk, Tiruchirappalli District. The engraved stone must have originally stood elsewhere in the vicinity since the wall in which it is now built appears to have been recently constructed. It is fragmentary, the lower part containing the concluding portion of the inscription being broken and lost. Nevertheless in the extant portion is retained the main purport of the record, which belongs to the reign of the early Pāṇḍya king, Mārañjadaiyan alias Varaguna-Mahārāja.

The inscription is engraved in Tamil characters of about the 9th century A.D. found in the locality.<sup>2</sup> A few Sanskrit words and letters are in the Grantha characters. The script does not call for any special remarks. The language of the record is Tamil.

The inscription is dated in the 4+9th year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king, Mārañjadaiyan alias Pāṇḍya-adhipati Varaguna-Mahārāja. It registers the gift, made by the king, of gold for the expenses of burning, day and night, two perpetual lamps before the god, Perumāṇḍigaḷ of Tiru-Mayilraṅgam, (a suburb) of Mayyāṅgramāḷam. The gift was placed, for management, in the hands of a Vēḷḷa of Aṇḍanāḷu, whose name is lost in the missing part of the inscription.

The record is important for the details of date contained in it as they help in calculating the corresponding date in A.D., thereby solving a few problems pertaining to the chronology of the reign of this Pāṇḍya king. The record bears the date 4+9th year of reign, Dhanu, Monday, Avittam. The form in which the year of reign is quoted, in years 'opposite to the 4th year', is to be noted in particular in view of the existence of a large number of records dated similarly, in years added on to 4, issued in the reign of Mārañjadaiyan.<sup>3</sup> There are again some others men-

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1946-47, No. 104.

<sup>2</sup> As in the Tondir inscription of Dantivaraman, S.I.I., Vol. XII, plate V; Tillathānam and Nerupam inscriptions of Rājāśreyaśvarman (Aditya I), S.I.I., Vol. III, plate VII.

<sup>3</sup> No. 460 of 1817 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. (4th year + 360 day) at Kumāḷam (Tinnevely Dt.); 96 of 1908 (4+345 day) at Tirupattūr (Ramanāth Dt.); 364 of 1907 (4+1+1st year) at Aḍuturai (Tanjore Dt.); 368 of 1907 (4+1+1+1+1st year) at Aḍuturai (Tanjore Dt.); 13 of 1908 (4+4th year) at Kumāḷam (Tanjore Dt.); 136 of 1908 (4+6th year) at Tirupattūr (Ramanāth Dt.); 414 of 1904 (4th year + 2501st day) at Tiruchirappalli; 415 of 1904 (4+6th year) at Tiruchirappalli; 83 of 1916 (4+9) at Tiruvellurai (Tiruchirappalli Dt.); 105 of 1905 (Ep. Ind. IX, 84) of 4+12th year at Ambhaṇḍuḷam (Tinnevely Dt.); 145 of 1925 (4+12th year) at Tiruchirappalli (Tanjore Dt.); No. 127 of 1908 (4th year + 4635th day) at Tirupattūr (Ramanāth Dt.); No. 51 of 1905 (4th year) at Tillathānam (Tanjore Dt.) mentioning Varaguna Mahārāja and Kṛṣṇa-Pāṇḍya (i.e., Virañārāyaṇa Sobayaṇa?).



tioning Varaguna alone but likewise dated in years 'opposite to 4.' At Lālgudi, about 4 miles from Javantināthapuram, were found two records, one of which refers itself to the reign of Mārañjadaiyan alias Pāṇḍya-kulapati Varaguna-Mahārāja and dated in the 4+9th year of his reign. The other which does not specify the ruling king is dated in the regnal year 4+1. The former contains the additional details of date, viz., Dhanna, Tuesday, Śailsiyam. These details show that this record was issued just one day later than the Javantināthapuram inscription under study. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar who has edited these two inscriptions<sup>1</sup> worked out the date of the record containing astronomical details, as equivalent to A.D. 824, Nov. 29, Tuesday, after taking into consideration several alternatives. The other record, which mentions as donor the Pallava king Nandivarman III, the victor of Tejjāru, he assigned to A.D. 816. He assigns both the inscriptions to Varaguna I. Accepting for the nonce the correctness of the date proposed by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar for the record giving astronomical details, the date of our record would be Monday, Nov. 28, A.D. 824, which is the day on which the details found in it tally. But as will be shown presently, the above dates for the Lālgudi inscription and for our epigraph are not acceptable on several grounds, one of which is the existence of still another set of corresponding dates for them which compels acceptance in preference to any other alternative.<sup>2</sup> These are A.D. 875, December 5, Monday for our record and December 6, Tuesday for the Lālgudi record B. It is found that by accepting these dates we get A.D. 861-2 as the year of accession of this Pāṇḍya king, a date which is precisely the same as the one obtained for Varaguna from the Aivarnalai (Ayyampālayam) inscription which couples his eighth year of reign with Śaka 792.<sup>3</sup> Scholars are agreed that this Varaguna is identical with Varagunavarman II, the son and successor of Śrīmāra, of the Pāṇḍya genealogy furnished in the Bigger Siṅṅamanūr plates of Saḍaiyamāraṇ (Rājasimha).<sup>4</sup> Yet another record of Pāṇḍya-Mahārāja Mārañjadaiyan at Tiruvēlārāi dated in the 4+9th year of reign contains the astronomical details, Vṛścika, Monday, Aśvati which correspond to A.D. 874, November 22, Monday, yielding A.D. 861-2 as the initial year of the king's reign.<sup>5</sup> It would follow from all this that the king who consistently issued his records in the years 'opposite to 4' though variously called Mārañjadaiyan, Varaguna and Mārañjadaiyan alias Varaguna-Mahārāja may be considered as one and the same ruler and identical with Varagunavarman II, the eldest son and successor of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha and whose accession took place in A.D. 861-2. It will not be wrong to arrive at this conclusion since we have a similar instance in respect of another Pāṇḍya king, Saḍaiyamāraṇ, most of whose records being dated in regnal years 'opposite to 2' enable us to identify him with Saḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasimha, the donor of the Bigger Siṅṅamanūr plates which were issued in the 2+14th year of his reign.<sup>6</sup>

Another important consideration which would make the dates proposed by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar for the Lālgudi inscriptions A and B assigning them as he did to Varaguna I unacceptable is that while the Lālgudi record A, the date of which is fixed at A.D. 816 by Mr. Aiyar, mentions as donor Pallava Nandivarman III, the victor of Tejjāru, latest researches show that this king ruled approximately between c. 851 and 873 A.D. and not between c. 812 and 844 A.D., as held by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar; for, it can now be accepted as more or less correct that Nandivarman II, the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XX, pp. 46 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. M. S. Sarma in a paper entitled *Prithvipati, Varaguna and Aparigita in J.O.R.*, Vol. IX, pp. 227-8, equates the date of the Lālgudi record B with December 5th, Tuesday, A.D. 789. This date is rather too early to be accepted in view of the reasons set out by us above.

<sup>3</sup> No. 705 of 1905 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>4</sup> *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 445; *Pandyan Kingdom* (1929), p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> No. 84 of 1910 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; above, Vol. XI, p. 253. Mr. Sarma, however, gives A.D. 789, November 13, Monday as its equivalent (*J.O.R.*, Vol. IX, p. 228). Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar ascribes the record to Varaguna I giving the corresponding date as A.D. 824, November 7, Monday (above, Vol. XX, p. 50 and n. 3, p. 51).

<sup>6</sup> *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 441 ff.



grandfather of Nandivarman III of Telliāru fame, ascended the throne somewhere about A.D. 733.<sup>1</sup> In consequence, Nandivarman III could not have come to the throne before c. 851 A.D. (733 plus 65 and 52 years, the duration of the reign of Nandivarman II and Dantivarman). The victory at Telliāru is mentioned in his records from the 18th year<sup>2</sup> of reign onwards, i.e., c. 858-9 A.D., though it is not unlikely that it was secured several years earlier.<sup>3</sup> Hence the date of the Lālgudi record A cannot be earlier than c. 850-1 A.D., the approximate date of the accession of Nandivarman III. Our date for the record, assigning it as we do to Varaguṇa Mahārāja II, would be A.D. 867. This date falls well within the reign of Nandivarman III, besides indicating that the king's victory at Telliāru was won before that date.

On the strength of the foregoing considerations, the Javantiñāthapuram epigraph under study may be assigned to Varaguṇa II who ruled from A.D. 861-2 and consequently the equivalent of the details of date cited in it would be A.D. 875, December 5, Monday. It can, therefore, be concluded that inscriptions of Mārañjadaiyan alias Varaguṇa Mahārāja issued in the regnal years 'opposite to 4' may be assigned to this king in preference to Varaguṇa I. At present there are no means of identifying Mārañjadaiyan, whose inscriptions are dated in a peculiar roundabout way like such and such year opposite to the 35th year,<sup>4</sup> with his namesake whose records are dated in the more common fashion of giving simple regnal years, like 5, 10 and so on.<sup>5</sup> It is not unlikely that some of them may belong to Varaguṇa II. Nevertheless, taking into consideration only those records of Varaguṇa II dated in the years 'opposite to 4', a tolerably good account of the events of his reign may be given.

From these records of his reign it is learnt that he conducted a campaign against Iḍavai in the Chōḷa country and after overrunning it proceeded as far as Araiśūr on the bank of the Pennār in Tondai-nāḍu,<sup>6</sup> which was the dominion of the Pallavas. The attendant circumstances of this campaign seem to be somewhat as follows: he entered the Chōḷa territory on the Kāvīri about A.D. 866.<sup>7</sup> Thence he seems to have directed his campaign against the Pallava Nandivarman III who perhaps had earlier caused discomfiture to the Pāṇḍyas by a victory over them at Telliāru and had occupied the Chōḷa territory, the bone of Pāṇḍya-Pallava contention. By A.D. 867 the Pallava was humbled, since we find him figuring as donor in the record of the Pāṇḍya king at Lālgudi (ms. A.). The Lālgudi (A) and the Javantiñāthapuram records actually testify to the presence of Varaguṇa II in A.D. 867 and 875 at Iḍaiyārrumāṅgalam in the Iḍaiyārrunāḍu, evidently the Iḍavai in the Sōḷa-nāḍu against which the Pāṇḍya Mārañjadaiyan is specifically stated to have gone on a campaign.<sup>8</sup> Iḍaiyārrumāṅgalam

<sup>1</sup> See *J.O.B.*, Vol. XV, p. 119. Approximately the same date for the accession of Nandivarman II can be arrived at from the recently discovered Uḷahā record of Chāluḷya Vijayāditya: (*Ancient India*, No. 5, Jan. 1949, p. 54.)

<sup>2</sup> No. 283 of 1901 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. In *Madras Christian College Magazine*, Vol. VIII, p. 98, Venkayya publishes another record of the king from the Uḷagaṇḍapuram temple, Conjevaram, dated 18th year of reign and mentioning his victory at Telliāru. (*S.I.I.*, Vol. V, 597.)

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 52 of 1890 and 41 of 1899 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. are dated in the 10th and 12th years of a king whose name is not stated, the records commencing with the word 'yāṇḍu' only. But they record benefactions by Nandivarman, the victor of Telliāru. Should the records be assigned to his reign, we may believe that by his 10th year, i.e., c. 861-2 A.D. Nandi won the victory. This date would tally with the facts of the Lālgudi record A of c. A.D. 867 in the mention it makes of Nandivarman of Telliāru fame.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 425 of 1906 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, 5), 431 of 1914, 298 of 1916, 303 of 1917 and 43 of 1920, all of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 9 and 10 of 1899; 311 and 312 of 1904; 304 and 328 of 1905; 37 and 43 of 1908; 422 and 430 of 1914; 605 of 1915; 295 of 1916; 10 and 55 of 1927; 21 of 1930-1; 297 of 1940-1, all of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>6</sup> No. 105 of 1906 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; published above, Vol. IX, p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> No. 21 of 1930-1 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>8</sup> No. 690 of the 1905 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.; above, Vol. IX, p. 84.

means the Maṅgalam (*agrahāra*-village) between (two) rivers (*iḍai* + *aru*) and the present Javantināthapuram and Lālgudi are situated just between the rivers Kāvērī and Kolliḍam (Coleroon) which was the region called Idaiyāru-nāḍu or perhaps Idavai for short. It is not unlikely that it was during one of these campaigns that Varaguna II destroyed Vēmbil (Vēmbaṟrūr) and encamped at Niyamam (Nēmam, Tanjore taluk) as stated in his Tirunhirāppaḷi records<sup>1</sup> (c. A.D. 874-5). His Ambāsamudram inscription<sup>2</sup> of A.D. 878 states that he encamped at Araiśūr on the bank of the Peṇṇār in Toṇḍai-nāḍu, an event which might have taken place in the course of the subjugation of Nandivarman III which achievement, as pointed out above, occurred before A.D. 887. The text of the Ambāsamudram record does not militate against such a possibility. Perhaps it was on the occasion of his presence in the Pallava country that Tēnnavan Pallavaraiyan *alias* Māraṇ Āchōḥan of Pōḷiyūr (i. e. Pōḷūr near Arkōḥam), the seat of a minor Pallava family<sup>3</sup> sought service under him. This chieftain figures in a record<sup>4</sup> of Varaguna at Tiruppattūr, Ramnad District, of A.D. 867-8. It cannot be said, however, that even after these military marches across the Chōḷa country into the Pallava dominion, Varaguna II was able to establish anything like sustained or supreme control over the regions. For, we find that the Pallavas were not completely dislodged from the Chōḷa territory in these years. Records of Nandivarman III of the 21st and 22nd years of reign (c. A.D. 873-3)<sup>5</sup> and of Nripataṅga of the 2nd year of reign (c. A.D. 875) are found<sup>6</sup> in the Chōḷa country which, apparently, continued to be a disputed land till Nripataṅga, by his resounding victory against the enemy in or about A.D. 880 established his rule firmly over this territory, too.<sup>7</sup> In a record of the 18th year of the reign (c. A.D. 890) of the Pallava king at Tiruvadi in the Cuddalore taluk, Pāṇḍya Varaguna-Mahārāja figures as the donor.<sup>8</sup> Subsequent to this date we rarely meet with any records of Varaguna II in Chōḷa territory while records of Nripataṅga of regnal years 22<sup>9</sup> (c. 894), 23<sup>10</sup> (c. 895) and 24<sup>11</sup> (c. 896) are found in the same region. It would, therefore, appear that in the latter part of the reign of Varaguna II, the Pāṇḍyas lost both in power and in prestige.

Turning now to the text of the Javantināthapuram record under study, a few remarks may be offered regarding the places mentioned in it. *Idaiyārrumaṅgalam*, the meaning and derivation of which have been explained above, may be Javantināthapuram itself. The residents of this village say that it had another name *Mayilraṅgam* which is evidently what is mentioned in the inscription as *Idaiyārrumaṅgalatu-Tirumayilraṅgam*. *Tirumayilraṅgam* was perhaps another name for *Idaiyārrumaṅgalam* or, more likely, a suburb of it. *Aṇḍanāḍu*, the region whence the Vēḷḷaṅ hailed, is identical with the country round about Diḍḍigal,<sup>12</sup> in the Madurai District.

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 413 and 414 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *As. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1903-4, pp. 271 ff. Above, Vol. IX, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VII, pp. 25-26.

<sup>4</sup> No. 90 of 1908 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 144 of 1929 and 180 of 1907 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, Nos. 56 and 57.

<sup>6</sup> No. 122 of 1929 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 61.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 3 ff.

<sup>8</sup> No. 360 of 1921 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 71.

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 201 of 1901 and 58 of 1931 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>10</sup> No. 84 of 1892 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 321, plate VII.

<sup>11</sup> No. 22 of 1901 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. ; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 79. In view of the presence of Nripataṅga's records in Chōḷa country on these dates, the date c. 890 A.D. generally assigned to the final annexation of Pallava territory from Aparājitā by Chōḷa Aditya I has to be reconsidered.

<sup>12</sup> *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 450.



## TEXT

- 1 Svasti Srī [\*] Kō-Mā [rā]-
- 2 [ja]laiyarkk-iyāo[du]
- 3 nāngām-ā[paikk-edi]:
- 4 onbadām yāo[du]
- 5 Dagu-nāyarru-ti[ā]-
- 6 ga[-ki]amai parra [A]-
- 7 vitta mndal-āga [da]
- 8 yāgrumāngalat[du]
- 9 Tiro-Mayilnāgat[du]
- 10 Perumānādiga[uk[ku]
- 11 iravum pagaimum-i[ra]-
- 12 o[du] on[dāv]uk[k-e]-
- 13 rippad-āga Kō-Māra[ja]-
- 14 dāyru-āyina Pādya-
- 15 adipati Varaguna-ma[ga]-
- 16 [rā]ar A[du]lanāṭṭu [Vā]-
- 17 [ān]kaiyyil viḍu[ra]-
- 18 u[da] poṇ pāḍi

## No. 7—CURZON MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA'S REIGN; YEAR 23

(I Plate)

B. CH. CHRAHRA, OOTACAKUND

This short but highly important record appears on the pedestal of a Bôdhisattva image, now deposited in the **Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Mathurā**. It has been briefly noticed in the *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, for 1920-21, p. 35. A pointed reference to this has subsequently been made by Prof. V. V. Mirashi, urging the desirability of its proper edition.\*

The inscription is not well preserved. Portions of it have apparently been destroyed. The writing is arranged as follows: the upper band of the pedestal contains one line uninterrupted; below that, in the centre, appears the *tri-ratna* symbol flanked by two human figures, apparently one male and one female; behind each figure occurs a short line of inscription; to the extreme left there is a figure of rampant lion; corresponding to this there must have been a similar figure on the extreme right also, which is now damaged; the last line of the inscription occurs on the lower band, right at the bottom; a portion of this line seems to have been obliterated. In this way the inscription occurs in four sections rather than in four regular lines.

The characters are Brāhmi of the usual Kushāṇa type. The form of *m* in the very first word is noteworthy inasmuch as it is of the southern class. That in *Masyagutasya* is of the northern class, which is more common in the Kushāṇa inscriptions, while *m* in [ma]hārasya, which immediately precedes the word *Masyagutasya*, is not clear. In fact, it is doubtful whether it is *m* at all. The subscript *y* in the first word is of the tripartite kind, while elsewhere in the inscription it is throughout of the bipartite type.

\* The rest of the inscription is lost.

\* Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 290, n. 2.







The language is the mixed dialect that is generally found in the Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. It may be observed that the scribe has either wrongly omitted a few letters or else purposely used abbreviated forms in certain words. The very first word, for instance, reads *maharasya* which obviously stands for *mahārājasya*. The next is *Kaṇi*, by which no doubt Kanishka is meant. It is, however, strange that the scribe should have shortened the usual expression *Kanishkasya samvatsarē*, or something to that effect, into a simple *Kaṇi*. The title of Matsyaguta is also given as [*ma*]hārāja. As has already been indicated, the form of *ma* here is very uncertain.

The object of the inscription is to record the setting up of a Bōdhisattva image by a lady, called *Puśya*[*datā?*] (*Pushyadattā*), daughter of *Mahāra Matsyaguta* (*Mahārāja Matsyagupta*), in her own<sup>1</sup> monastery, in the first fortnight of the *Grishma* season of the year 23 (of the reign) of *Mahārāja Kanishka* (which in continuation is counted as the Kushāṇa era).

The importance of the date has already been recognised. The year 23 is proved to be the last year of Kanishka's reign, because we have got an inscription of his son and successor Huvishka, which is dated in the year 24 of the era thus established.

What is of much greater importance is the mention of a *Mahārāja Matsyagupta*<sup>2</sup> as a contemporary of Kanishka. This is evidently a new name; and, what is more, an indication of the existence of a contemporaneous royal family. Whoever this Matsyagupta was, it is apparent that he was on friendly terms with Kanishka, as is to be inferred from the fact that he or his daughter had built a *vihāra* in the kingdom of the Kushāṇa monarch, as the inscription has it.

It may be argued that Matsyagupta might have been an ordinary individual and not a king, and the word read as *mahārāja* might in reality be something different, may be one denoting the name of the place from which Matsyagupta might have hailed. The reading of the first letter as *ma* has been admitted to be doubtful. It may not be *ma*, but just two horizontal strokes, one above the other, meant for a sign of punctuation.

Two considerations are against the foregoing argument. The first is: *Maharasya Kaṇi*, it may be admitted, stands for *Mahārājasya Kanishkasya*, and just as here the first word is imperfectly written, so may it be in the case of *Mahārāja* preceding *Matsyagutasya*. Secondly, the name ending in *guta*, i.e., *gupta*, strongly suggests itself to be that of a king. Besides, the contraction *Kaṇi* may equally be significant here. Possibly the scribe was an employee of Matsyagupta, who attached more importance to the contents of the record than to the particulars of the date. He thought, his abbreviation *Kaṇi* was clear enough to serve the purpose, whereas he had to mention his master's name in full. Finally, it may be observed that the two human figures, noticed above as flanking the *triratna* symbol, that are not usually met with in such cases, in the present instance, may be taken to represent *Mahārāja Matsyagupta* and his daughter *Pushyadattā*. This lends some further weight to the supposition that in Matsyagupta we have a king and not an ordinary individual.

It will be worth while to search for more particulars about this *Mahārāja Matsyagupta* in literature and in epigraphy.

<sup>1</sup> That is how the syntax would have it, but possibly the meaning intended to be conveyed is 'in his own monastery', 'his' referring to the father of the lady.

<sup>2</sup> The equation of *Masyaguta* with *Matsyagupta* was kindly suggested to me first by Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao. I have no doubt about its correctness. Personal names in the period concerned are often after the names of various constellations such as *Pushya*, *Vishkha*, *Praktha*, etc. And in the present instance *Matsya*, i.e., *Mina*, is also one such.



## TEXT:

- 1 Maharasya Kani 23 gra 1 śtasya pu(r)vayath [ma]hārasya Matsyagutaaya dhītā Puśya[da]—<sup>a</sup>  
 2 bodhinattā[th]  
 3 [pantihāpayati]<sup>a</sup>  
 4 svake viharē [sarva-satvānān]....<sup>a</sup>

## TRANSLATION

The first fortnight of Summer, the year 23 of Mahārāja Kanishka—on this day, Puśya[da]tā, the daughter of Mahārāja Matsyagupta, establishes [this] Bōdhisattva in her own monastery.<sup>a</sup>

## No. 8—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF THE TIME OF NARENDRADHAVALA

(Plate I)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

There are in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund several sets of impressions of a copper-plate inscription which is now preserved in the Madras Museum. The impressions originally belonged to the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle. The find-spot of the record is unknown; but there is little doubt that it was secured from some locality in Orissa. According to the *Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, 1918, p. 58, the plates were received from the Collector of the Ganjam District. They were examined by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy and a short note on the inscription was published in his report for the year 1916-17, No. 11. This note was utilised by the compiler of the *Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*. It was, however, not noticed at that time that the record reveals the name of a new king of a hitherto unknown royal family of ancient Orissa. Considering the importance of the inscription, I examined the original plates which had been kindly lent to the Government Epigraphist's office by the Superintendent of the Madras Museum. I edit the record for the *Epigraphia Indica* with the kind permission of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of three oblong plates each measuring  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and 4" in height. They contain four sides of writing in all, the first and the third plates having inscription only on one side. There are ten lines of writing on the first plate, nine lines on the obverse and eight on the reverse of the second plate, and only five lines on the third plate. The size of an *akshara* is about  $\frac{1}{2}$ "  $\times$   $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The plates have no rim, but the incision is deep and the writing is in a good state of preservation. A layer of metal has, however, peeled off from some parts of the outer or blank

<sup>a</sup> From inked estampages kindly supplied, in July 1942, by Mr. M. M. Negar, the then Curator, Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathurā.

<sup>b</sup> What follows Puśya looks like the upper portion of a *da*. Possibly the name was Puśyadhātā (Puśyadhātā). The change of *dh* into *s* is common in this type of inscriptions. Compare Puśyadhātā and Puśyadhātā of certain other inscriptions from Mathurā (Liders' *List of Buddhist Inscriptions*, Nos. 16, 34).

<sup>c</sup> The word is faintly visible. The subscript *r* of *pra* looks more like medial *a*. The medial *r* of *ti* is hardly to be seen. The subscript *h* and medial *a* of *śhātā* are indistinct. The right-hand stroke of *pa* is mixed up with the left-hand stroke of *pa* that follows. While *pa* is fairly clear, the last *ti* is not at all clear.

<sup>d</sup> This must have been followed by *dhānukāyasthā* or some such expression.

<sup>e</sup> Or 'in his own monastery'. See above, p. 43, f. n. 1.





INSCRIBED SCULPTURE



(FROM A PHOTOGRAPH)

face of the first plate and this has also affected some letters of the inscription on the other side of the plate (cf. lines 1, 2 and 10). All the three plates have a ring-hole which is about  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " from the proper right margin. When the plates were examined in the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy there was no ring with them. This is known from a short note found with the impressions. The ring was apparently taken out by making a slit at the margin near the ring-hole, which is still noticed in the second and third plates. The margin near the ring-hole in the first plate is broken. The *Catalogue of Copper-plate Grants in the Government Museum, Madras*, however, describes the plates as "strung on a ring without a seal", and this ring is seen with the plates even today. Whether the ring was found with the plates or was later made for them cannot be easily determined.

Regarding the **palaeography** of the inscription, the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy says in his report, "The characters are of about the thirteenth century, like those of the plates of Dāṇḍimahādēvi (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 136)". He is no doubt right in assigning the record on palaeographic grounds to a date not much later than the age of the Bhauma-Kara queen Dāṇḍimahādēvi of Orissa; but it is impossible to believe now, with Kielhorn<sup>1</sup> whom he follows, that the characters of Dāṇḍimahādēvi's inscriptions belong to the thirteenth century. They are certainly earlier than the first half of the twelfth century, when the greater Gaṅgas were in possession of the lower part of Orissa. Dāṇḍimahādēvi must have ended her rule considerably before the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga who was crowned in 1078 A. D.<sup>2</sup> Some records of Dāṇḍimahādēvi are dated in the year 180 or 280 probably of the Harsha era.<sup>3</sup> The date would thus correspond to A. D. 786 or 886. It has also to be remembered that the date is written in the old style with symbols for 100 or 200 and 30 and that this system is not usually found in inscriptions of a date later than the tenth century.<sup>4</sup> The plates under discussion should, therefore, be assigned to a date not later than the tenth century A. D. As we shall presently see, this dating is supported by the internal evidence of the inscription.

Interesting from the palaeographical point of view is the use of the initial vowels *a* (lines 8, 14, 16, 18, 23, 27, 29), *ā* (line 6), *i* (lines 14, 26), *u* (lines 12, 13, 19, 30) and *ī* (lines 15, 17). Medial *ē* has two forms being used often above the consonant as in modern Devanāgarī and sometimes to the left of it as in Bengali and Oriya. The first type is quite common, while the second is employed only in a few cases. There is no distinction between the signs for *v* and *b* and between those for subscript *v* or *b* and *dh*. What resembles a visarga sign has in all cases been put before the *daṇḍas* apparently as a part of the punctuation mark.

The **language** of the record is only seemingly Sanskrit and is greatly influenced by the local dialect. The rare use of the case-endings, especially the first and the second, has rendered the real interpretation of the inscription greatly difficult. Attention may be drawn to the use of words like *bṛhata* (line 10) or *bṛhata* (line 8) for Sanskrit *bṛhat* and *pāṭham* for Sanskrit *prastāra* (lines 8, 10, 12, 13). Words like *māhāśāstrata* or *māhāśāstrā* (for *mahāśāstranta*, lines 13-14), *pāṭal* (for *pāṭalā*, line 26), *janya* (for *ganya*, line 24) and many others are interesting from the view point of **orthography** and exhibit influence of local pronunciation. The duplication of *dh* in *Aradhādhātri* (line 8) is also interesting. The *daṇḍas*, which have been quite extensively used, are in most cases not necessary at all.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Bhattacharya, *Ind.* No. 1099. The lower part of Orissa was conquered by Chōḍagaṅga from the Sāmavāṇḍi and not from the Bhauma-Karas.

<sup>3</sup> Above, op. cit., p. 139; Bhattacharya, op. cit., No. 1413. The correct reading of the hundred symbol seems to be 100 and not 200.

<sup>4</sup> G. H. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), 1918, p. 113.



The record is **not dated**. But as pointed out above, it has to be assigned to a date not much later than the tenth century. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the inscription refers to one Śilābhañja who seems to be no other than Śilābhañja I Āṅgaddi, founder<sup>1</sup> of the Bhañja royal family of Khijjāl-maṇḍala (about the Keonjhar State) ruling from Dhritipura and Vañjūlvaka. This is suggested by the fact that the record under discussion was engraved by Padmanābha who was a son of the *Vaṇḍī* Pāṇḍi and was an inhabitant of Gandhatapāṭi. Now this person seems to be identical with the *Vaṇḍī-samarābhāra* Padmanābha, son of Pāṇḍi and engraver of the Sonpur plates<sup>2</sup> of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja who was the son of Śatrubhañja and the grandson of Śilābhañja-Āṅgaddi. It is interesting to note that Śatrubhañja was also known as Gandhaṭa and was possibly the founder of Gandhatapāṭi, the native place of Padmanābha son of Pāṇḍi. The Patna Museum Plates<sup>3</sup> of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja mentions his queen Vijyā who was the daughter of Rāṇaka Niyārgama. It is very probable that this Niyārgama is no other than Rāṇaka Niyārgava mentioned in the Santa-Bonmāñi plates<sup>4</sup> of the Gaṅga king Dēvēndravarmān (dated Gaṅga year 520 falling in 1016-18 A. D.)<sup>5</sup> as the father of Bhīmakhēdi and the grandfather of Dharmakhēdi of the feudatory Kādamba family of Jayantyāpura. The Mandasa plates<sup>6</sup> (dated Śaka 917-995 A. D.)<sup>7</sup> mentions Kādamba Dharmakhēdi as the feudatory of Gaṅga Anantavarman. His grandfather Niyārgava or Niyārgama thus appears to have flourished about the middle of the tenth century which, or rather the third quarter of the tenth century, seems to have been the age of Raṇabhañja. It is then possible to assign Raṇabhañja's grandfather Śilābhañja to about the first quarter of the same century. As, however, the name of Gandhatapāṭi mentioned in our record seems to presuppose the rule of Śilābhañja's son Śatrubhañja-Gandhaṭa and as Padmanābha is known to have served under Śilābhañja's grandson Raṇabhañja, the inscription under discussion may be roughly ascribed to the age of the Bhañja kings Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja of Khijjāl-maṇḍala who, as already indicated above, probably ruled about the second and third quarters of the tenth century.

The record under discussion is a *kraya-sāsana* (cf. lines 4 and 7) which literally means 'a deed of purchase' and indicates actually a sale deed. It may also indicate 'land sold by means of a *kraya-sāsana*'. The village that formed the subject of the *kraya-sāsana* is called Taḍḍava-(va)ragrāma (line 7) which was apparently situated in **Khijjarasirūgha** (i.e., Khijjarasirūga), forming part of the **Gōmūṇḍa-maṇḍala** (or Mōmūṇḍa-) in the kingdom of the illustrious **Narēndradhava** (line 1). Gōmūṇḍa-maṇḍala (or Mōmūṇḍa-) may actually have been the name of Narēndradhava's kingdom (cf. Khijjāl-maṇḍala forming the entire kingdom of a branch of the Bhañja family). In lines 1-3 of the epigraph, it seems to be said that a person named Sōḍā, who was the son of the *Bhaṇḍāra* (Sanskrit *Bhāṇḍāgārīka*) Raniyā and the grandson of the *Kulaputraka* (nobleman) Vanadēva, purchased the above village from the illustrious Śilābhañjadēva, as a *kraya-sāsana*, paying some *cāpyaka*, i.e., silver or money; the purchase appears to have been made through the illustrious Rāṇaka Gbāṇḍaḷṭa who was the son of the illustrious Rāṇaka Vīkṣa and the grandson of the illustrious Rāṇaka Muḥḥavarāṭha (probably *Mūḥḥa-carāṭha*) and was a *śūn*

<sup>1</sup> The Jangalpada plates (JHERS, Vol. I, pp. 181 E) of apparently the 14th regnal year of Śatrubhañja appear to represent this Śilābhañja as the son of Malla-Gambhīraḍḍa and the grandson of Varāṇekhadēva. The identification of Śatrubhañja of this inscription with the homonymous ruler of Khijjāl-maṇḍala is, however, not entirely beyond doubt.

<sup>2</sup> JBORS, Vol. VI, pp. 483 E.

<sup>3</sup> Above Vol. XX, pp. 100 E; Bhattacharya, op. cit., No. 2063.

<sup>4</sup> JHERS, Vol. III, pp. 178 ff.; cf. Bhattacharya, op. cit., p. 238, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> JHERS, Vol. I, pp. 218-21.

<sup>6</sup> JBORS, Vol. XVII, p. 184.

<sup>7</sup> *Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 458, note 1.



of the Nāga family hailing from a locality called Dharagimpha or Dharagāi<sup>1</sup>; the *rāpyaka* seems to have been paid through *Rājaputra* Vighraha who may have been the son of Rājaka-Ghōṣṭhāka.

Lines 5-6, together with line 17, appear to say that, some years later, the village was resold by Śōḷā as a *bara-dāna* to three persons called *Thākura Kāvi*, *Thākura Umbā* and *Dōmbī* on receipt of an amount of *rāpyaka* specified as *plā 10 ā | mā 3 ga L*. In this specification *plā* stands for the well-known weight called *pala* which is equal to four *karṣas* or sixty-four *māśas*. It is, however, interesting to note that the form *plā* instead of *pala* is found usually in other early inscriptions of Orissa in connection with *rāpya* or *rāpyaka*. A copper-plate charter<sup>2</sup> of the Śōmavarmanī king Mahābhavagupta I Janamājaya which records a *bara-dāna* (i.e., a revenue-paying grant and not a revenue-free gift), has the following interesting endorsement: *prati-varṣā śa-ālra ānaṁ kara(ā\*) | paścha rāpya-plāni nishkaśhya bara-dānam-ānam dattam yatra rū plā 3*. The annual rent of the village granted to some Brāhmanas by the Śōmavarmanī ruler was thus fixed at five *palas* of *rāpya*. The Talcher copper-plate inscription of the Orissan ruler Gayāḍatunga, edited by N. N. Vaid<sup>3</sup> and by R. D. Banerji,<sup>4</sup> records a similar grant of a village in favour of three Brāhmanas with the following endorsement: *rāpya-plā chatvāri vāḥ rāpya plā 4*, although the learned editors of the inscription failed to decipher the passage correctly.<sup>5</sup> It is not made clear in the record whether the four *palas* of *rāpya* were realised as the nominal price of the village granted or were to be annually levied as revenue. Of the two other contractions used in our record, *ā | mā* is difficult to explain, although it is tempting to suggest that *mā* stands here for *māśa*. *Ga* is very probably an abbreviation of the well-known weight *gaṇḍā*, otherwise called *raṭṭikā* (modern *ratī*), which is one-sixth of a *māśa*. Thus the price or annual rent of the village of Taḍāśvaragrāma seems to have been fixed at silver weighing ten *palas*, two *māśas* and four *gaṇḍās*. The reference to silver instead of coined money is interesting from the view point of the economic condition of ancient Orissa. Probably there was dearth of coined money. It may, however, be suggested that the three contractions actually indicate three varieties of coins. But the paucity of ancient coins from Orissan sites as well as the fact that *ga* or *gaṇḍā* could not have been a coin possibly goes against the suggestion.<sup>6</sup>

Lines 7-13 of the inscription describe the boundaries of Taḍāśvaragrāma. In this description, the words *sāndhi* and *prākāśhāda* are repeatedly used. The meaning of both the words is uncertain. The former word apparently also occurs in some other early Orissan records. The Ganjam plate<sup>7</sup> of Dayjimahādāvi seems to use the same word in the form *sāndhi* (*sāndhi*?). I have tentatively taken it to mean the same thing as Sanskrit *sandhi* or junction. *Prākāśhāda* has been similarly taken to stand for Sanskrit *prākāśhāda* or the dividing line (i.e., boundary) well-known from former times. The village is said to have had in the east the big stone at the *sāndhi* of Chāmpā, the *gāḍa* (Sanskrit *garthā*) at the *sāndhi* of Paḍumā and the *prākāśhāda* of Arāha-ārātri; in the south the *prākāśhāda* of a *gāḍa* (fort); in the west the *sāndhi* of the Vōri *stūpa*; in the north-west the *prākāśhāda* of Kōn(imbā), that of Galachhinā on the big hill, that at the centre of the Srividā hill and that at the stone of Galachhinā to the north of the Srividā; in the north the boundary at the stone of Gaḍāsara; and in the north-east the *prākāśhāda* of the stone hill at Viga.

<sup>1</sup> JPAB, Vol. I, pp. 12-13. Cf. the word *pala* in *prati-varṣā-dāna-rāpya-plāni-pala-bara-dāna-simhāda* (ibid., p. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Archaeological Survey of Mysore, Vol. I, pp. 152-54.

<sup>3</sup> JAB, N. S., Vol. XII, pp. 292-94.

<sup>4</sup> Vaid (op. cit., p. 160) and Banerji (above, Vol. XII, p. 138) could not also read correctly the passage *Śāngarīmaṇḍa tris-śāśa va(rāpya-plā 3* in the Talcher plate of Sūti Khatambha. Similarly we have to read *va(rāpya-plā 4)* in lines 32 and 34 of the epigraphic text printed above, Vol. XXIV, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> For the miserable economic condition of Orissa in early times, note the observations of the seventeenth century writer Thomas Borne quoted by me in JNSI, Vol. VII, p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 140.



Lines 13-17 say that the village was offered as a *braya-dāna* with the consent of *Mahāsāmantā* Karāñhi, of Sōnapa who was the son of *Mahāsāmantā* Aicharā, of Khāṭarādāmayā,<sup>1</sup> of Thākura Bakulā and of Kadukulīngā. Lines 17-18 appear to contain the names of the following witnesses: Bhāṭaputra Ankura, Bhāṭaputra Vāghaḍa, Bhāṭaputra Kaṇḍḍiyā, Bhāṭaputra Hen and Māhā (i.e., *Mahā* or 'senior,' or *Mahāsāmantā* for *Mahāsāmantā*) Kaḍḍapola. In lines 18-28 are quoted some of the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit, although they contain all sorts of mistakes.<sup>2</sup> Line 28 also contains the *manḍala*: "Let there be peace to the cow, the Brāhmana and the world as well as to the king". In lines 28-29 there is a passage which seems to mean "the village is) to be enjoyed according to the custom prevalent in the country in succession by grandfathers, fathers and sons". Another interesting passage in lines 29-30 says that, even if there are passages in the deed which are short of letters or in excess of them, they should be regarded as genuine.<sup>3</sup> Lines 31-32 say that the deed was engraved by Padmanābha who was the son of the merchant Pāṇḍi and was an inhabitant of Gaṇiḥatapāṭi.

The name of king Narēndradhavaḷa is very interesting, as the name-ending *dhamala* seems to suggest the existence of a ruling family called Dhavaḷa in ancient Orissa side by side with the families of the Bhaṇḍja kings whose names end with the word *bhaṇḍja*. It is also interesting to note in this connection that there is a tract of land in the Singhbhūm District of Bihar still known as Dhalbhūm or Dhavalabhūmi, 'the land of the Dhavalas'. This name of the territory is associated with a line of kings whose names end with the word *dhamala*. Indeed some late-medieval rulers of Dhalbhūm, such as Gopināthadhavaḷa and his son Anantadhavaḷa who was the patron of the poet Jagannātha Sena, author of the *Hitopaddhā Pāñchālī*, are famous in the history of Bengali literature.<sup>4</sup> These Dhavaḷa kings were neighbours of the Bhaṇḍjas of Orissa. As a matter of fact, part of the Singhbhūm District containing Dhalbhūmgarh lies immediately to the north of Mayūrbhaṇḍj ruled by a Bhaṇḍja royal family up till today. There is, however, another Dhavaḷa ruling family in the heart of Orissa. Mr. P. Acharya of Baripada (Mayurbhanj State) informs us that the Rājās of Dompāra in the Cuttack District of Orissa belong to a Dhala or Dhavaḷa family. What relation may have existed in former times between the Dhavalas of Dompāra and those of Dhalbhūm cannot be determined. It is, however, not improbable that both these families are offshoots of an ancient royal family of Orissa to which king Narēndradhavaḷa of the record under discussion belonged. It is also possible to suggest that both the Bhaṇḍjas and Dhavalas were originally feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas and that they began to rule more or less independently only after the decline of the latter.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the location of only one place is certain. Gandhatapāṭi, mentioned also in several other Orissan records, is undoubtedly modern Gandhāḍāṭi in the Raṇḍhāṭe. I am unable to identify Khupḍarasiṅgha, Gōmudamaṇḍala or Mōmūṇḍa<sup>5</sup>, Dharagimpha or Dharagai<sup>6</sup> and Tagḍavaragrama. The localities mentioned in the description of the boundaries of Tagḍavaragrama also cannot be identified. The kingdom of the Dhavalas, however, appears to have been contiguous to that of the Bhaṇḍjas of the Ksonḍhar

<sup>1</sup> This expression may represent more than one personal name. Whether they were also the sons of Aichar cannot be determined.

<sup>2</sup> These verses were apparently inserted in order to represent the sale of land as a gift. Cf. *Māhātmya* on the Yāṅgulīga-kurāṭi, II, 114: *sthānasya sthāna-prahāṭhāt, dāna-prahāṭhāt-cha sthānasya kurāṭyā na sthānasya-śāṭhāṭi dātā dāna-rūpīṇa sthāna-sthānasya kurāṭi*. See Kane, *History of Dharmashāstra*, Vol. III, p. 567.

<sup>3</sup> For the same passage in other early Orissan records, cf. the Dhenkanal plate of Jayastambha, *J.BORS.*, Vol. II, p. 407. (See also above, Vol. XII, pp. 201, 263, etc.)

<sup>4</sup> S. Sen, *Pāñḍit Rājās Itihāsa*, Vol. I, second edition, p. 839. These Dhavaḷa chiefs are said to have lived at Ambukānagar and enjoyed the title Rājās.

region. Whether Kñiḍarasiṅgha has to be identified with the territory called Kñiḍasiṅḡ mentioned in the Dirghasi stone inscription<sup>1</sup> or Kaulasiṅghā in the S.I. sheet map 73H/5a2, cannot be definitely determined.

## TEXT

## First Plate

1. [Siddham]<sup>1</sup> Kñiḍarasiṅgha<sup>2</sup> |<sup>3</sup> Śrī-Narēndradhavaia<sup>4</sup>-rājyē | Gōmupḍa<sup>5</sup>-maṇḍalē |  
Dharanīmpa<sup>6</sup>-vī.<sup>7</sup>
2. nīrṣita | Nāgavansa-sambhava | rājaka-īri-Madhavarāja<sup>8</sup> |<sup>9</sup> aṭṭa-rājaka-īri-Vikāra-
3. | Vikāra<sup>10</sup>-suta-rājaka-īri-Ghōṅghākōna | rājaputra-Vigraha-śaśasthēna<sup>11</sup> | rupyaka-śā<sup>12</sup>
4. padhinā | kraya-śāsanatvēna | kulaputraka | Vayadōva<sup>13</sup>-suta | bhaṇḍāri-Rajiyā
5. | Iasya aṭṭa Sōḷā | īri-Silābhañjadōva-kṛita<sup>14</sup> | thākura-Kōnvi | thākura-
6. Umvā(mbā) | Dōmvi(mbī) | ayōbbhanadaggē tīrna<sup>15</sup> | rupyaka pla 10 ā |<sup>16</sup> mā 2 ga 4 ||<sup>17</sup>
7. Taddivavagrāma | chatur-simā-pariyantayā | śa-śaila-vana-kānanna-samēta | purva-
8. diśas<sup>18</sup> | Chāmpā-sāndhi-vṛi(bṛi)hata-pāthara | Paḍumvā(mbā)-sāndhi | gāḍa Ardhaha-
9. prākachhōḍa | dakshinē gāḍa-prākachhōḍa | pāchinēna Vōri-stupa-sāndhi | pa-
10. śchima-utarēna Kōm(mvra)-pāthara-prākachhōḍa | vṛi(bṛi)hata-parvata | Gaḷla-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> From the original plates preserved in the Madras Museum and impressions preserved at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Cochinamund.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly the reading intended is *nīrṣita* for *īrṣita*.

<sup>5</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous. The *vīraṇḍa*-like sign before the *daṇḍa* is a part of the stop (cf., e.g., *Annual Report of the Madras Museum for 1939-40*, p. 8 and plate). With the exception of a few only, the *daṇḍa*, so abundantly used in the inscription, are superfluous. In many cases the *daṇḍa* has been used just as a hyphen is done in English.

<sup>6</sup> Metal has peeled off from some places on both sides of plate I. The damage is fortunately on the blank side. Due to the peeling off, the passage *śrī-Narēndradhavaia-rājyē* | *Gō* (or *Mō*) has been partially damaged. Whether the partial effacement of the king's name was intentionally done by some person is difficult to say. But it seems to me that the peeling off is natural. Cf. remarks at p. 44 above.

<sup>7</sup> What has been read as *Gō*<sup>2</sup> may possibly also be read as *Mō* or *Oō*.

<sup>8</sup> What I have read as *śī* may possibly be also read as *śā*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *vīraṇḍa*-*Nāgavansa-sambhava*.

<sup>10</sup> The correct form of the name was possibly *Mārīka*.

<sup>11</sup> It is better to omit the name here.

<sup>12</sup> See *śaśasthēna* seems to be intended.

<sup>13</sup> *Sōḷā* is possibly intended.

<sup>14</sup> The correct form of the name would be *Vana*.

<sup>15</sup> The idea seems to be: *Kōnvi-suta* *śā* *śaila-samēta* *īri-Silābhañjadōva-kṛita*.

<sup>16</sup> Possibly *śā* which stands for Sanskrit *śaśasthēna* and refers to the three persons, viz., Kōnvi, Umvā and Dōmvi. Does *ayōbbhanadaggē* stand for *śābhanadaggē* and indicate the place where the three persons were living? The superscript of the *śā* looks like *śā* and the *śā* may be *śā*; but the *ś* sign should then have been longer. The idea may be: *thākura-Kōnvi-śā thākura-Umvā-śā thākura-Dōmvi-śā* *śā* *śaila-samēta* *īri-Silābhañjadōva-kṛita*.

<sup>17</sup> This *daṇḍa* is not straight like the others but is slanting and peculiar.

<sup>18</sup> Possibly *rāpyaka-pla 10 ā* *mā 2 ga 4* *ś* is intended.

<sup>19</sup> In Sanskrit the passage would stand: *Taddivavagrāma chatur-simā-pariyantayā śa-śaila-vana-kānanna-samēta purva-diśi*. The following passage (lines 8-13), describing the boundaries of the village *Taddivavagrāma*, is greatly influenced by the local Prakrit. As already noticed above, the words *śāndhi* and *prākachhōḍa* are repeatedly used, but their meanings are not absolutely certain. *Śāndhi* possibly means the same thing as *śāndhi* or *śāndhi-śāndhi*, while *prākachhōḍa* possibly stands for *prāk-śāndhi* meaning *prāk-śāndhi-śāndhi*, dividing line of former times, i.e., the well-known boundary.



## Second Plate : First Side

- 11 chhinā-prākachhēda | Svivīḍā-parvata-madhya-prākachhēda | Svivīḍā-nta-  
 12 rēna | Galachhinā-pāthara-prākachhēda | utara-disēna | Guḍḍara-pā-  
 13 thara-nimaya | utara-parvata-disēna | Viṇa-pāthara-parvata-prākachhēda | Mā-  
 14 hāśamanta-Ka-ṭhi | Māhāśamanta-Aśhara | uta-Sōnara | Khā-  
 15 tāvādīmaya<sup>1</sup> | Bhākura-Va(Ba)hulā | Kujukullīnga śtatta-a-  
 16 teva-śamanta<sup>2</sup> | dāyōdya-maṇḍala-vihāramēna<sup>3</sup> | āsana-ka-  
 17 rpa-ābhār<sup>4</sup> | gāmō = yam kraya-śāsanam pradata<sup>5</sup> | Esāna vidi-  
 18 tay<sup>6</sup> | Bhāṭaputra-Aśhara | Bhāṭaputra-Vāghaḍa | Bhāṭaputra-Ka-  
 19 ṇḍiyā | Bhāṭaputra-Haḍ | Māhā-Kuḍḍapōla | yāvadagḍ<sup>7</sup> bha-

## Second Plate : Second Side

- 20 vōdebhumi | sama-chhōḷā śasōbhānām | tāvda-yuga-saharāy  
 21 Rudra-lōkaḥ-cha tishhath<sup>8</sup> | 'sa-datām-vā para-datām-vā | yō har-  
 22 ti vaṣṇandharā | viśhīḥyām kṛimi bhūta | pitṛbhī sāha paṇiyatō |  
 23 tatāktānāḥ sahaśrēṇa | asva(kva)mōdhe-śatēna cha | gōghna<sup>9</sup>-  
 24 sahaśrēṇa | bhūmi-hartā na sūhiyati | ja yaṣya ja(va)ya yaśā  
 25 bhūmi | tasya<sup>10</sup> tasya tadā phalaḥ<sup>11</sup> | karatē<sup>12</sup> hārayatō bhūmi |  
 26 maṇḍa-vuḍḍi tam-ārya | as vadhō vāruṇai pāsi |  
 27 ārya-vōḷka jāyati | A(Ā)ḍityō Varagō Vinna | Vrahmā<sup>13</sup>

## Third Plate

- 28 Sōma(mō) Hutāsa( ma[h\*] | Su(Sū)lapāni(n)je-ta bhagavām(vān) | abhinamānti bhū(hhū)-  
 29 midant(dam) | gō-Vrā(Brā)hmanya-vivō(avō)bbhyaḥ<sup>14</sup> | rājās(jāś) sū(śā)nta-bhābhavati<sup>15</sup> |  
 pītā-<sup>16</sup>  
 30 mūha-pāṭāna | bhō(ka)kta)vyarū | dāśa-maryādayā | nūn-āksharam-a<sup>17</sup>  
 31 āk-āśha(śaḥ) mōḷ(vā) | sarvā pūmānam-iti | Gandhaṭapāṭi-vāstavya-  
 32 vanika(k) Pāṇḍi | uta-Padmanābha<sup>18</sup> | śāśana śdagistam-iti  
 33 [A number of daṣṭas together with a lotus indicating the end]

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 44, n. 1. Possibly we have to suggest 'magdā in the plural.

<sup>2</sup> The idea seems to be: Bhāṭa's curia-samantāna referring possibly to the ascent accorded to the dead by the persons mentioned in lines 13-15. Māhāśamanta is no doubt the same as Māhāśamanta.

<sup>3</sup> The idea may be: dāyōdya-maṇḍala-brahma.

<sup>4</sup> The meaning of the passage is not clear. It may suggest that the income of the village had to be used for alms and kuryas, i.e., for food and cloth.

<sup>5</sup> Correctly speaking: grāmō-gaḥ kraya-śāsanam pradattāḥ.

<sup>6</sup> The idea may be: as sūhiyāt referring to the persons who are mentioned in lines 17-18 and who may have been witnesses to the deed. Māhā may be a contraction of Māhāśamanta standing for Māhāśamanta.

<sup>7</sup> The verses in Sanskrit are hopelessly corrupt owing to the want of the writer's knowledge of that language and to the influence of the local pronunciation. Read yāvad-āntā bhāṭa-bhāṭa sama-āśhāḥ sūmānta | pūmānam-āśhāḥ vāstavya-śāśana-śdagistam-iti |

<sup>8</sup> Read ma-dattāḥ para-dattāḥ sū gō harthā vrahmāntaḥ | as rājās(jāś) sū-śānta-bhābhavati |

<sup>9</sup> Read gō-śāśana-pradattāḥ bhāṭa-bhāṭa as sūhiyati |

<sup>10</sup> Read bhāṭa-bhāṭa. The first half of this verse (bhāṭa-bhāṭa-dattā sū gō harthā vrahmānta) is evidently omitted.

<sup>11</sup> Read harthā bhāṭa-bhāṭa-dattā sū gō harthā vrahmānta | as sūhiyati vrahmānta pūmānam-āśhāḥ sūmānta |

<sup>12</sup> Read Vrahmā-śāśana.

<sup>13</sup> Bhāṭa or bhāṭa-bhāṭa is apparently intended.

<sup>14</sup> The idea may be pītā-pūmānam.

<sup>15</sup> Read sū-śāśana.

<sup>16</sup> Read Padmanābha-śāśana-śdagistam-iti.

## No. 8—MADANPUR PLATE OF SRICHANDRA ; YEAR 44

(1 Plate)

R. G. BASAR, Calcutta.

This copper plate was found in June, 1946, while earth was being dug out for the foundation of a wall on the land belonging to one Sekh Newajuddin in the *mausam* of Madanpur, near the old and famous village of Sabhar, situated about 15 miles north-west of the city of Dacca in East Bengal. After its discovery, the plate was made over to the father of Babu Saniti Ranjan Roy, a pupil of Mr. Gura Prasad Ganguli, B.A., B.L., Head Master of the Sabhar H. E. School, to whom the former brought it for presentation. I am thankful to Mr. Ganguli, who was himself a student of mine during my professorship at the Rajshahi College long years ago, for his kindly sending the plate to me for decipherment. The plate was, at first, in many places of its surface, covered with a thick coating of hard earth and veridigris, but after it was cleaned by me, it was found that the inscription on it was in a fair state of preservation. Unfortunately, a portion of the plate towards its proper right corner at the bottom was obliquely cut away by some one amongst the ignorant finders, probably for testing its metal out of greed for gold. This has caused a loss of a few letters from the beginning of each of the lines 15 to 25 on the obverse side, and also at the end of each of the lines 29 to 42 on the reverse side. Most of these missing letters could, however, be restored with the help of the published plates of Śrichandra.

The chronology of the discovery of the five copper plate grants, including the present one, of king Śrichandra of East Bengal may be interesting to epigraphists and historians. The Edilpur (Faridpur) plate, the existence of which in the house of a rich man of the locality for several decades past was known to scholars in Bengal, but which has not yet been available to them for decipherment of the inscription thereupon in spite of strenuous attempts on their part, was the subject of a note on its contents gathered from a hurried study by the late Babu Ganga Mohan Laskar, published in the October issue of the now defunct journal, the *Dacca Review*, in the year 1912, and extracts thereof were quoted by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattachali, in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 189-190. The second grant of this king, the Rampal (Dacca) plate, was first brought to light by the present writer in April, 1915, and was edited and published by him in this journal, Vol. XII, pp. 136-142 and plates. The third one, the Kodārpur (Faridpur) plate, was found in April 1919 by Dr. Bhattachali, the then Curator of the Dacca Museum, and was edited and published by him in this journal, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-193. The fourth epigraph, the Dinulla (Dacca) plate, was also discovered by Dr. Bhattachali in 1925. It is deposited in the Dacca Museum, it remains unpublished, but a short account of its contents was published by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in an Appendix to his edition of *Inscriptions of Bengal* (Vol. III, pp. 165-6), published by the Varanasi Research Society, Rajshahi. The present plate is, therefore, to be regarded as the fifth amongst the grants, hitherto discovered, of this king. Thus within the course of 34 years (1912-1946) Bengal historians have come in possession of five grants of king Śrichandra to help them in reconstructing the history of East Bengal under the Chandra dynasty.

This is a single plate inscribed on both sides. It measures about  $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ . Its edges are raised into rims on the obverse side, evidently for the preservation of the writing. It bears a seal attached to the middle of the top, measuring about  $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ . It projects about  $1\frac{1}{4}''$  into the inscription thereby causing a break in the middle of the first three lines of writing on the obverse. This seal has a protuberant top and a pedestal-like bottom. It contains in the middle four concentric circles, the outermost having floral decorations which adorn the base. The innermost circle, the diameter of which is nearly 2'', has in its upper part the famous Buddhist emblem of the *Dharmachakra* (the wheel of law) flanked by two conchant deer, which device must be representing



the *reṣa-dāra* (the deer park) of Kāśī (now Sarnath, Banaras) where the Buddha delivered his first sermon on Dharma. Just below this representation, between two lines, occurs the legend *Śrī-Śrīchandradēvaḥ* written in relief. There is also a floral base for the support, as it were, of the legend, as is the case with the wheel emblem within its own circle. It may be noted that the Buddhist Pāla kings of Bengal also used the same emblem on the seals attached to their copper charters.

The inscription consists of 42 lines, the obverse containing 23 lines and the reverse 19 lines. The execution of the writing is excellent, the letters in all lines being almost of uniform size, which is about  $\frac{1}{16}$ ". The characters employed in the inscription belong to a variety of the northern alphabet which was used, specially in Bengal, in the 10th-11th century A.D. From a comparison of the script of the Viṣṇupāda (Gayā) temple inscription<sup>1</sup> of the 7th year of king Nārāyaṇapāla and of that of the Naraṇīśadēva (Gayā) temple inscription<sup>2</sup> of the 15th year of king Nayapāla, with that of our inscription (though engraved on copper), it may be assumed that our inscription belonged to a period intermediate between these two kings' reigns. It may also be surmised that the script of this inscription does not belong to any period much earlier than that of the inscriptions<sup>3</sup> of the time of the Varman kings of East Bengal. Of initial vowels we have the signs for *a* (in *auṣṭa*, line 15, *ardha*, line 24, *a-chāṭa*, line 27, *a-kūṭa*, line 27 and *Apāṭya*, line 28); *ā* (in *ādhāra*, line 11, *ādika*, line 25); *i* (in *i-*, line 7, *ai*, line 31 and 40, *ie-*, line 33); *u* (e.g. in *ubha*, line 33) and *ē* (in *ēa*, line 3, *ēkūṭa*, line 15, *ēkadāsa*, line 35). It is noteworthy that as in Nārāyaṇapāla's inscription referred to above and in the Śilīmpur stone-slab inscription<sup>4</sup>, the initial *i* is represented in this plate also by two ringlets placed side by side with a short horizontal bar above them. There are to be noticed some peculiar forms of consonantal conjuncts, such as *kāḥ* (in *dhāḥaka*, line 4, *didhāḥaka*, line 9, *dhāḥaka*, line 23, *dhāḥa*, line 25, *dhāḥaka*, line 33); *ky* (in *dhāḥyā*, line 7, *ky-antaḥ*, line 20); *ma* (in *amāra*, line 28, *kṛmā*, line 28, *dhāḥmā*, line 39); *sh* (in *[śi]shya*, line 13); *hy* (in *grāhyā*, line 27); *va* (in *-ātma*, line 29), *ya* (in *ayajāḥ*, line 15, *rājā*, line 21); and *rya* (in *pārya*, line 5, *-Pārya*, line 5, *svaryā*, line 8 and line 9, *svaryā*, line 9).

As regards orthography, as almost in all the eastern epigraphs specially in Bengal, the letter *ḥ* is throughout expressed by the sign for *s*. Other peculiarities which call for special notice are the following:—(1) almost all consonants such as *g*, *ch*, *ṣ*, *t*, *m*, *y* and *v* are doubled after a *r*; (2) *s* is substituted for the *visarga* before a following *s* (in *śma-sa*, line 1, *śma-sādhya*, line 24, etc., but the *visarga* sign has been retained after *pāṭhikāḥ saha*, line 39); (3) the sign for *avagraha* has sometimes been used (as in *chandra-bhāṭa*, line 3) and sometimes omitted (as in *Dharmadā-py*, line 2); (4) final *t*, *n* and *m* are indicated by signs of the letters smaller in size, but the final *m* has a peculiar shape of its own in *chāṭa* *m*, line 15, *trītyāśa*, line 28; and (5) the guttural nasal *a* has been used instead of the *anuvāda* before the palatal sibilant *ś* (*śaśā*, line 4, *śaśāḥ*, line 7).

The language is Sanskrit, which is generally correct, except where some mistakes occur due to the inadvertence of the scribe or the engraver. After the introductory words *Om svasti* the inscription contains 8 verses in praise of the predecessors of the royal donee, which are followed by about 13 lines of prose after which we have 6 verses describing the genealogy of the donee and ennobling the donee himself. The grant then has again 2 lines of prose and this is followed by three of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. It may be noted here that the first 8 verses which describe the history of Śrīchandra's dynasty are identical with the 8 verses in the Rāmpāl plate of the king. So far as these verses in the present plate and the (yet

<sup>1</sup> Vide R. D. Banerji's *7th Palae of Bengal* (Mem. A. N. B., Vol. V, No. 3), plate No. XXIV.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, plate No. XXVI.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the Balava plate of Bhūjavarmanadēva, above, Vol. XII, plates opposite pp. 40-41.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 294 ff. and plate.



i.

१. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ १ ॥  
 २. वीर्यवान् ॥ बालावका ॥ अश्वत्थाम ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ श्रीविष्णवे  
 ३. ॥ विष्णवे ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ विष्णवे ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ विष्णवे ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥  
 ४. यत्किञ्च ॥ कथञ्च ॥ सत्त्वं ॥ कुलपुत्रकः ॥ वलयेव सुतः ॥ रुद्राक्षरलि  
 ५. ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीविष्णवे ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥  
 ६. ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥  
 ७. नरेन्द्राक्षरमः ॥ नरेन्द्राक्षरमः ॥ नरेन्द्राक्षरमः ॥ नरेन्द्राक्षरमः ॥  
 ८. ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥  
 ९. श्रीकण्ठः ॥ श्रीकण्ठः ॥ श्रीकण्ठः ॥ श्रीकण्ठः ॥ श्रीकण्ठः ॥  
 १०. ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥

ii.a.

१. किंवा ॥ किंवा ॥ किंवा ॥ किंवा ॥ किंवा ॥  
 २. ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥  
 ३. ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥  
 ४. ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥  
 ५. ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥  
 ६. ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥  
 ७. ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥  
 ८. ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥  
 ९. ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥  
 १०. ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥ सुप्रसन्नचित्तः ॥



20 वेदुमिः। गमकेयाः। सुखा रुमाः। तावृषुगसदसालि 20  
 सुदुलोकैषतिष्ठतिः। सयतामायनयतामाः। व्याहृते  
 22 निवसुवताः। विष्ठायां कसिरुतः। विरुदिगदयशुतः। 22  
 तलाकां सद्रुसैः। सुसुमेव शतैवतः। गीसु  
 24 सदसैः। सुमिदुतां सुप्रतिः। सस्यतस्य यया 24  
 सुमिः। तस्य तस्य तयाफलः। हनते हानयते सुमिः।  
 26 मवृषुति तमावृतः। सवती वा सुलोयासु००ः। 26  
 तिष्ठाया विमुदायतिः। जदित्या वरुणी विमुः। वृद्धा

28 सौमद्रतासवः। सुलया विमुगवाः। जदित्या वरुणी 28  
 विमुः। गीवाद्वा विस्वैशुः। गीवासा विरुदुवतिः। विता  
 30 मोदयानेवः। सौक्यं। येन मयाययाः। विदुमाक्षरस्य 30  
 विकाक्षमाः। सवृषमा लितिः। गवतया विवाशुय  
 32 वलिकया। सुतयद्वा मरुतगा समरुदुतीनी तमिति 32  
 ॥ ॐ ॥



unpublished) Dhulla plate of this king are concerned, the draft seems to be almost identical, the latter having only a ninth verse added to it which is the seventh one of the Kedārpur plate mentioned above. These three plates come from the Dacca District. The Edilpur and Kedārpur plates which belong to the Faridpur District have greater affinity between themselves with regard to these eulogistic verses. The opening verse in honour of the Buddhist *triratna* (the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha) is, however, common to all the five plates of Śrichandra, hitherto discovered.

Our grant is dated the 44th year, evidently referring to the regnal year of the king, and the 28th day of the month of *Mārgga* (śiraha), i.e. November-December. This date is followed by the abbreviated forms of two official endorsements, viz., *Mahāsā nī ana nī Mahā(kaṇa)* which indicate 'approved by the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* and then by the *Mahākaṇapatalika*'.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of rent-free land measuring 8 *śroṅgas* exceeded by 8, . . . , in a locality called *Vaṅgasāgara-sambhāṇḍāriyaka* in *Yōlāmaṇḍala* (mentioned also in the Dhulla plate<sup>1</sup>), situated in the *Puṇḍrabhukti* (i.e., *Puṇḍravardhamabhukti*), by the *Paramasaṅgata Paramānura Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Śrichandradēva* who meditated on the feet of his father, *Mahārājādhirāja Trailōkyachandradēva*, to a *Brāhmaṇa*, named *Śukradēva*, son of *Hara*, grandson of *Varāha*, and great-grandson of *Mahādēva* who was himself born in the family of three *śaṃsapitā* *Brāhmaṇas*, named *Mākha*, *Rāma* and *Dhruva*, having the three well-known *pravara*s. The *gṛha*, *śāla* and *kīṣkī* of the family are, however, not mentioned. The grant was issued from the royal victorious camp (or capital) situated at *Vikramapura*. The king dedicated the grant in the name of Lord Buddha-bhāṭṭāraka, after having bathed on the *Agastipitṭhā* day, for the sake of enhancing the merit and fame of his parents and of himself.

A summary of the historical information that can be gathered from the plate may be given here for ready reference. King Śrichandra calls himself a *Saṅgata* and all the charters issued by him bear the royal seal containing the emblem of the Buddhist *dharma-cakra* and describe with devotion, in the opening verse, the Buddhist "three jewels", the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. The next verse describes the place of origin of the *Chandras* who possessed vast fortunes, enjoyed by them at a locality called *Rōhitāgiri*. Bengal scholars differ in their view regarding the identification of this place-name. Some take it to be Rohtasgarh in the Shahabad District of Bihar and others headed by Dr. N. K. Bhattacharya suggest it to refer to the Lalmai Hills, situated west of Comilla in East Bengal.<sup>2</sup> So it remains yet a question as to whether the *Chandras* emigrated to Eastern Bengal from outside, or were original inhabitants of that part of Bengal. It appears, however, that the first nobleman in the dynasty, named *Pūrṇachandra*, became very famous; his name could be "read on the pedestals of images and on (stone) pillars of victory and copper-plates in which new epigraphs were inscribed." Such is his description in verse 2 of this inscription. This description and the reference in verse 2 of the Kedārpur plate to *Pūrṇachandra*'s parasol, in the form of the canopy of dust raised by his vanguard, being resorted to by his enemies, make it possible to presume that in his own land he behaved like an independent ruler, though not declared as a formal king. The next two verses (vv. 3 and 4) disclose the fact that *Pūrṇachandra*'s illustrious son, *Suvarṇachandra*, was known in the world as *Buddha*. So it is clear that he was the first in the dynasty to embrace Buddhism. He also is not described in the inscription as having ruled as a king. His son, *Trailōkyachandra*, with his title *Mahārājādhirāja* mentioned in all the records became the first independent king, ruling probably from *Vikramapura* as the capital of his kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 165-6.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Published by Dacca University, 1943), p. 194.



He is described in verse 5 of the Keldārpur plate as having his desire of conquering the earth, (bounded) by the four oceans, fulfilled, and he is further spoken of as having extinguished the fire of his enemies by means of the water of his creeper-like sword in many a battle. This description certainly corroborates the view of Dr. R. C. Majumdar,<sup>1</sup> that "Trailōkyachandra laid the foundation of the greatness of the family." In verse 5 of our inscription we have an indication as to how he strove to expand his territories. The most important epithet of Trailōkyachandra, as we find in this verse, "*ādihārī Harikēlarāja*-(ka\*)*[kudā-chchhātra-smulānān śrīgān]*", read along with "*gāt-Chandr-ōpapadē va(ba)hūva nripatir-dvipē*", conveys the fact that at first he was a king of Chandradvīpa and later became "the repository of the Fortune (goddess) whose smile was the (white) umbrella, the symbol (of royalty) of the king of Harikēla". Bereft of rhetorical figurativeness, the epithet leads one to believe that Trailōkyachandra acquired the royal fortunes of the Harikēla kingdom. The interpretation put on this phrase by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar and quoted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Dacca University History of Bengal*, Vol. I, does not stand scrutiny. The net result of the political achievements of Trailōkyachandra seems to be that he was at first a king of Chandradvīpa but later became the ruler over the whole of Harikēla. Who can rouse that in the period under discussion Vikramapura was not the capital of Harikēla itself? Of course it is difficult to ascertain the exact political relation previously prevailing between the kingdoms of Chandradvīpa and Harikēla. Although in the seventh century A.D. the country of Harikēla is referred to by I-tsing<sup>2</sup> as 'the eastern limit of Eastern India', yet during the 10th-11th century A.D. we should follow the lexicographer Hēmachandra<sup>3</sup> (born 1089 A.D.) who identified Harikēla with Vaṅga (*Vaṅgā-ka Harikēlīyā*) and explain the reference to Harikēla in our inscription as identical with Vaṅga whose capital was Vikramapura in those centuries. As to Chandradvīpa, it was a territory in the South-east of Bengal in the district of Bakerganj and in mediaeval period it was known as Bāklā Chandradvīpa which comprised within its boundaries some portions of the modern districts of Bakerganj, Khulna and Faridpur. Trailōkyachandra's wife was Śrīkāśchānā who gave birth to her illustrious son, who was destined to be a great king, having been born in an auspicious month of *Rājā-yōga* (vv. 5-7). Then we have a description of this son, Śrīchandra (v. 8), which indicates clearly that this Buddhist king attained full paramount power, by putting his enemies into prison-cells. That this king had to fight some enemies and become victorious in battles (*raṇācha jayī*) is mentioned in verse 7 of the Keldārpur plate also. But it is difficult to surmise as to who these enemies of Śrīchandra were. It only seems evident that this king's father, Trailōkyachandra, who was at first a king of Chandradvīpa only, in the south-eastern portion of Bengal, began gradually to extend his dominion towards the north, i.e. towards the localities represented by the modern districts of Faridpur and Dacca, and ultimately took possession of the citadel of Vikramapura which was in all probability in the hands of the Pāla kings of Puṇḍra-vardhanabhukti and Magadha. In still earlier centuries we have epigraphic evidence to prove that Kāntidēva and later Lajabhachandra ruled independently in East and Southern Bengal, the former's kingdom having probably comprised a portion of Western Bengal also. We know that a great calamity overtook the Pāla kingdom during the reigns of Gōpāla II and his son and successor Vīrahapāla II during the latter half of the 10th century A.D. It is quite probable that the Chandra rulers of East and South Bengal were able to found an independent kingdom during that epoch, and that Śrīchandra, whose rule continued at least for 44 years, might have been a contemporary of the great Pāla king, Mahipāla I (a. 988-1033 A.D.). On this chronological basis it may be surmised that the king Gōvindhachandra of Vaṅgāladēla (East and South Bengal) who had to make

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 194-195.

<sup>2</sup> I-tsing (Yakakana), p. xlv.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II by Winternitz (English translation published by Calcutta University, p. 482).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 224.



\* *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 309.



mention the word *tarani-sambhāsana* used in the *Rāmācharita*<sup>1</sup> of Sandhyākaranandin which is explained by the old commentator as *naulā-mūlakēna* (a fleet of boats). All these three words refer, however, to fleets of boats plying in the Ganges. Some other inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Magadha have introduced the word *navu-cīṭaba* in their description of the riparian capital towns like Pāṭaliputra and Mudragiri (Munghyr) and also other towns like Villārapura and Rāmavutī, which possessed, in addition to elephants, cavalry and infantry, also *navu-cīṭaka* 'a fleet of boats'. The reference to the word *navu-cīṭa* in the Kamauli plate<sup>3</sup> of Vaidyadēva in connection with his victory in a battle in *anuttara-Vaṅga* (probably South Bengal) makes it clear that the word must be interpreted as a fleet of boats and the war-cry of the navy is what is described in that inscription as *navu-cīṭa-hi-hi-ravah*. In the context of our plate the word *navu-cīṭaka* may, therefore, refer to the Head of the royal navy, and a junior officer in charge of half a division of the fleet may have been referred to by the term *ardha-navu-cīṭaka*.

## TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1, 3, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 2, 5, *Śārdūlavikīrṇā* ; vv. 4, 7, 8, *Upajāti* ; v. 6, *Indra-vajrā* ; vv. 9-10, *Anushubh* ; v. 11, *Pushpitāgrā*.]

## Obverse

- 1 Ōm<sup>4</sup> Svasti || Vandyō Jinas-sa Bhagavān-karun-āka-pā-
- 2 tra[m] Dharmanō-py-asa viyajayatō jagad-āka-dīpah |yat-sāvayā
- 3 sakala ēva mahānubhāvaḥ surasāra-pāram-upaga-
- 4 chehhati Bhīṣama[ṣ]ghaḥ || [1] \*] Chandraṇām-īha Rōhitāgiri-bhujāḥ vaśāḥ (vaśāḥ)  
viśāla-śrīvāṇ vi-
- 5 khyātō bhūvi pūrṇa-chandra-sadīśaḥ Ari-Pārṇapachandrō<sup>5</sup> bhavat aśohā(rehah)uāṇ  
pada-pīṭhikāsu pāṭhitah sātī-
- 6 [mā]ṇ-agraśah-tāṅk-ōtkīrṇa-nava-prāśastīḥ jaya-stambhāḥ tāmrāḥ cha || [2] \*]  
Vu(Bu)ddhasya yaḥ Śākā-
- 7 jātaka-m-āka-samsthān bhakti vi(hi)bhārati bhagavān-amṛt-ākar-āṇu(r-āṇu)ḥ Chandra-  
ya tasya kula-jāta ī-
- 8 va Van(Bu)ddhaḥ putrah aruṭ jagati tasya **Suvarṇapachandraḥ** || [3] \*] Darś-ēya mātā  
kila dōhadēna dīpti-
- 9 khamān-ōdayi chandra-vicharā(himam) suvarṇa-chandrōḥ hi tōśat-ēti Suvarṇapachan-  
drō<sup>6</sup> yam-udāharanti || [4] \*] Putra-
- 10 -tasya pavitrit-ōbhayakulāḥ kaulina-bhūt-āyō(yai)-traiḷōkyē vāditō diśām-atīthi-
- 11 bhīḥ-Traiḷōkyachandrō guṇāḥ ādhārō **Harikēśa-rāja**-(ka\*)kula-chehhatra-amitānāḥ  
śrīvāṇ [ya]-

<sup>1</sup> V. 10. of Chapter II, p. 46 of the Vasundra Romach Museum (Kajchahi) edition, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> Gupta-Māhamāyā. Divyapāla's Munghyr plate, p. 28 ; Nāṭyanapāla's Bhagalpur plate, p. 60 ; Mahipāla's Bangor plate, p. 68 ; and Madanapāla's Manali plate, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130, text, ll. 15-6.

<sup>4</sup> From the original plate.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol. Some scholars take it to be the swastika mark. [In a Buddhista record like the present one, the symbol may perhaps better be taken for *siddha* ; cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 352, n. 8 ; Vol. XVII, p. 232—B. C. (3).]

<sup>6</sup> Read *śīghra*.

<sup>7</sup> Here I read incorrectly *śamudāharanti* in my edition of the Rāmpāl plate of Śrīchandra (above, Vol. XII, p. 153).





१ श्री श्री चन्द्रादि  
 २ श्री श्री चन्द्रादि  
 ३ श्री श्री चन्द्रादि  
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 १२ श्री श्री चन्द्रादि  
 १३ श्री श्री चन्द्रादि  
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 १८ श्री श्री चन्द्रादि  
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 २० श्री श्री चन्द्रादि  
 २१ श्री श्री चन्द्रादि  
 २२ श्री श्री चन्द्रादि



[illegible]



- 12 s=chandr-ōpapedē va(ba)bhūva nripatir-dvipē Di(Di)lip-ōpamaḥ || [5 || \*] Jyōtan-ēva Chandrasya Śach-iva
- 13 [Ii]jagōr-gGauri Harasy-ē(va\*) Harēc-iva Śrīḥ tasya priyā kūchama-kāntir-āst Śrīkūchcha-
- 14 n-ōty-añchita-śāsanasya || [ 6 || \*] Sa rāja-yōgēna śubhē muhūrttē mahūrttikaiḥ sūchita-rāja-
- 15 [chikna]m | avāpa tasyām tanayam naya-jāḥ Śrīchandrām-ind-ōpamam-Indra-tējāḥ || [7 || \*] Ēk-ātapa-
- 16 [tr-ābhara\*]hām śriya[m] yō va(ba)bhāra<sup>1</sup> vaidhōya-jan-āvidhōyaḥ cakāra kārīsu nivṛtī-ā-
- 17 [rir-yaśa\*]ḥ-sugandhini diśār mukhāni || [8 || \*] sa khalu śri-Vikramapura-samāvāita-śrī-
- 18 [maj-jaya\*]-akandhāvārāt-Paroma-saujatō Mahārājādhirāja-śri-Trailōkyachandradēva-pā-
- 19 [dānudhyā\*]taḥ Paroma(mē)śvara[ḥ\*] [Para\*]mahattāraḥ Mahārājādhirājaḥ Śrīmān Śrīchandrādē-
- 20 [vaḥ kuśa\*]ḥ śri-Paundra[bhu\*]kty-antahpāti-Yōlāmaṇḍalē Vaṅgasāgara-sambhāṇḍ-  
-āriyakō
- 21 [. . . .<sup>2</sup>]jag-ādhiḥ-śaṭṭa-drōṇa-bhūmas samnugat-āśeṣa-rājñi-rājaka-rājaputra
- 22 [rājapa\*]rōhita mahāśāndhivigrahika | mahāśeṇāpati | mahāśānta |
- 23 [mahādharmā(?)\*]dhyakṣa maha(hā)sarva(vvā)dhikṛta | mahātāntrādhyakṣa mahā-  
-pīlupati gōchcha[ka]-

## Reverse

- 24 pati<sup>3</sup> arddhanauvātaka | nauvātaka | dussādhyasādhanika | gō-mahishy-aj-ā(dy-adhya(?)\*)-
- 25 kālān-anyānā-eh-ānuktān Vra(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān mānayatī vō(bō)dhayatī | vadatī ā(di)śa-
- 26 ti cha | bhūmīr-iyam sva-sim-āvachchinnā | s-ōddēśā | sa-guvāka-nālikērā | s-āmra-pa-
- 27 nāsā | sa-gartt-ōharā | a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśā | a-kiñchid-grāhyā | sa-das-āparādh[ā] [sa-(?)]
- 28 prajā Agātya<sup>4</sup>-tritiyāyām snātva vidhivad-udaka-pūrvvakam kṛtvā bhagavantam Buddha-  
[bhaṭṭā]-
- 29 rakam-uddiśya mātā-[pi\*]trōr-ātmanas-cha punya-yaśō-'bhiva(vri)ddhayē Mākha-Rāma-  
-Dhruv-ākārā [ya]ñi(?)
- 30 yāḥ sōma-pitimah(naḥ) bhūmī-dēvāḥ kil-ābhuvana(n) su-khyāta-pravara-trayāḥ || [9||\*] Tad-  
-anvayō [samutpa\*]-
- 31 mō Mahādēva iti dvijaḥ dēvēśv-iva Mahādēvō bhū-dēvēśu va(ba)bhūva yaḥ || [10||\*] Śruti-  
-krato-pri(pri)ya-
- 32 s-tasya Varāḥ-ākhyah autō-bhavat Harēr-Ādi-varāhasya sālōkyam prōtya yō-gamat  
|| [11 || \*] Dhara(dha)-
- 33 sa-samakāḥ yaḥ sākāḥ=Dhara iv-āparah Harō nām-ābhavat-tasya tanayō vinay-  
-āvitaḥ || [12 ||\*] Bhāvi[ta?]-

<sup>1</sup> A portion of the plate is broken and lost on this side. The letters within square brackets here and in the following lines are supplied from the published records of the king.

<sup>2</sup> The Rāmpāl plate reads here *caḍḍāga* which appears to be a better reading, in the absence of a *cha* in the verse for grammatical concord.

<sup>3</sup> The term *gōchchaka* is not clear.

<sup>4</sup> The original reading looks like *Agatya*. The engraver appears to have used his chisel twice to correct his error. The proper reading should be *Agatya* (adjective), or, *Agatā* or *Agatya* (both noun).



- 34 Vārdhakaḥ-trayyaṁ-āryyaḥ-sajjana-Vāsavaḥ | Yadukaḥ Kramukaḥ Śrīmān Śukradēvō-  
bhavat-ta[taḥ] [ || 13 || \* ]
- 35 Ēkadēśa-bhavaḥ-tasmai amita-pūrvābhībhāṣiṇē Śrīmātē Śukradēvāya Śrīchandra-  
nripa[tir-dā\*].
- 36 dān<sup>1</sup> [ || 14 || \* ] Tad-bhavadbhīr-anumōdaniyā<sup>2</sup> bhāvibhīr-āpi bhūpatibhīr-bha(bhū)mi-dānē  
mahāphala-[gauravāt] harapē [cha mahā].
- 37 pātaka-darśanād-anupa(pā)lanīy-ēti [ || Bhavanti ch-ātra dharmma-ānusaśi(śamā)naḥ ślōkāḥ  
[ || \* ] Bhū[mi]n yaḥ pratigri\* ].
- 38 kṛāti yaś-cha bhūmim prayachchhatī ubhan tau puṇya-karmamāṇau niyataḥ svargga-  
gāminau [ || 15 || \* ] [Sva-dattāc\*].
- 39 para-dattāmivā(m vā) yō harēta vasmadharāc(m) sa viśvāyāc kṛimīr-bhūtvā pitṛibhīḥ  
sa[ha pachyatē] [ || 16 || \* ]
- 40 Iti kamala-dal-ādhvu(mbn)-vi(hi)ndu-lōlām āriyam-anuchintya manushya-jīvitāc-cha [ sa-  
[kalam-idam-u\*].
- 41 dāhṛitāc-cha vu(bu)dhvā(ddhvā) na hi puruṣaiḥ para-kīrtīyō vilōpyāc [ || 17 || \* ] Śrī-Śrīcha-  
ndra[dēva<sup>3</sup>-pādiya(?)\*].
- 42 samva(sariva)t- 44 Mārgga-dinē 28 Mahā Sā ni ann ni Mahā[kṣa(?)\*].

## TRANSLATION\*

(V. 9) It is said that there were Brāhmaṇas (lit. gods on earth) like Māka, Rāma and Dhruva who were ritualist and soma-drinking and who had the three well-known *pravaras* (noble ancestors).

(V. 10) In their family was born a Brāhmaṇa (*devija*) named Mahādēva who was as prominent amongst the Brāhmaṇas (*bhūdēvas*), as was the god Mahādēva, amongst the gods (*of heaven*).

(V. 11) His son was, by name, Varāha who, after death, attained the same world with the Primeval Boar (*incarnation*) of Hari (Vishnu).

(V. 12) His son, self-restrained (or full of modesty, or well-disciplined), was Hara, who was, as it were, a second Hara (i.e., the god Śiva), in presence of the Dharādharma (the mountain, or Vishnu).

(V. 13) From him were born (*three*) sons, Yaduka, Kramuka and Śukradēva, each of whom was noble (*āryya*) and eminent amongst good men, and displayed maturity (*of wisdom*) in the three Vēdas.

(V. 14) King Śrīchandra who belonged to the same country (*of his domes*) made a gift (*of the land*) to this illustrious Brāhmaṇa, Śukradēva, who used to speak (*with people*) with a smile.

<sup>1</sup> This verb is evidently to be connected with some such words as *indam śāstram* understood, as its object.

<sup>2</sup> These two words are to be connected with the words *śāstravijṇa* in line 26.

<sup>3</sup> Such a word as this, or *śāstravijṇa* seems relevant here.

<sup>4</sup> The unpublished Dhruva plate of this king has *Mahākṣa* here.

<sup>5</sup> I need not translate the whole inscription, as the translation of the first 8 verses already occurs in my edition of the Rāmpāl plate of Śrīchandra in this journal (Vol. XII). I, therefore, put in here the translation of the six new verses (vv. 9-14) which describe the genealogy of the donor Śukradēva.

## No. 10—GODACHI PLATES OF KATTI-ARASA ; YEAR 12

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

These copper plates were discovered in 1927 by Dr. S. C. Nandimath, Principal, Basavēśvara College, Bagalkot, Bijapur District. They were in the possession of a Svāmi of a Virāṣaiva Maṭha at Godāchi, a village in the Torgal taluk of the Kolhāpur District, Bombay State. Nothing is known in regard to their previous history and how they came into the possession of the Svāmi. Dr. Nandimath has edited the record on these plates twice.<sup>1</sup> But on account of certain misreadings in the published text and other defects, I edit it here again in this journal.<sup>2</sup>

The plates which are **three** in number and contain holes bored at the extremities must have been originally held together by a ring which is now missing. It is not known whether the ring bore the seal also. The writing is engraved on one side only of the first and the third plates and both sides of the second. The plates are of almost equal size and each measures 6.75" in length, 2.46" in breadth and about  $\frac{1}{16}$ " in thickness. The diameter of the circular hole is  $\frac{5}{16}$ ". The total weight of the three plates put together is 31 tolas. Though the rims of the plates are not raised, the writing is in a good state of preservation. The record comprises twenty lines which are distributed evenly on the four sides.

The **characters** are boldly incised and belong to the southern class of alphabet which was prevalent in the Kannada country in the 6th century A. D. They are quite regular for the age and the locality. The initial *a* occurs in three places, viz., lines 2, 5 and 11. The letters *r* and *k* present two-fold forms, viz., one having its lower loop half developed (l. 4) and the other fully developed (l. 3). The medial short and long *i* are distinguished by a complete circle and a spiral respectively drawn at the top of the letter; for instance, *Hārī* in l. 2, *ṛpavī* in ll. 3-4, *sī* in l. 9, etc. The sign for the ligature *ri* of the letter *ri* is made out in two different ways, one by a hook attached to the lower end of the letter *k* (l. 4) and the other by suffixing a knotted curve underneath it (ll. 8 and 16). The form of the letter *dh* in the expression *śivamādhā* in l. 3 is rather peculiar in that it looks more like *b* (cf. ll. 11 and 12) as contrasted with its more normal forms in ll. 4, 5, etc. The Dravidian letters *r* and *ḷ* are used once each in the expressions, *mṛgamaṇṇa* and *Nuḷḷa* respectively in l. 13.

In regard to **orthography**, the consonant following *r* in a conjunct letter is invariably doubled with the exception of *rsha* in l. 19. The writing is generally free from errors. The following two instances of wrong spelling may, however, be noted; *śāstrārtha* for *śāstrārtha* in l. 5 and *daṭṭa* *va* for *daṭṭa* *va* in l. 19. The last mistake may be attributed to the undue stress laid on the syllable *va* in pronunciation.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit.

The inscription is of great importance in more than one respects. It is the earliest epigraphical record of the Western Chālukya house with the solitary exception of the Bādāmi Rock Inscription of Chalukya Vallabhēśvara, of Śaka 465, discovered recently in 1941. No copper plate records of the early rulers of this family have been discovered so far till we come to the reign of Puṣyakēśin II. So it may be further claimed that this is the **first copper plate document of the family**.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the University of Bombay, History, Economics and Sociology series*, Vol. V, pp. 163 ff.; *Prabuddha Keralaka*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>2</sup> My thanks are due to the Government Epigraphist for India for having kindly secured the copper plates for my study and to Dr. Nandimath for his kind permission to edit them here.



The epigraph commences with the *prasaśti* of the Western Chālukya family and introduces the king **Katti-arasa** as the favourite son of Raṣavikrama Dharmamahārāja. At the request of Vyāghrasvāmin, the king made a gift of land to a learned Brāhmaṇa by name Kṛishṇasvāmin in the 12th year of his reign.

Katti-arasa is a new name<sup>1</sup> in the genealogy of the Western Chālukya house. But there seems to be little difficulty in regard to his identification with Kirtivarman I. For he was the son of Raṣavikrama, i.e., Pulakēśin I.<sup>2</sup> Kirtivarman is similarly referred to by his other names or titles, such as Kirtirāja<sup>3</sup>, Pūruṣaparākrama<sup>4</sup> and Śrīvikrama.<sup>5</sup>

The charter is dated the **full moon day in the month of Kārttika of the 12th year of the king's reign**. The Bādāmi Vaiṣṇava cave inscription of Kirtivarman I mentions all the details of the above date with the addition of the Śaka year 500.<sup>6</sup> So taking this clue from the latter record we may assign the date of the present record as A.D. 578.

The title *Dharmamahārāja* applied to Raṣavikrama or Pulakēśin I in this record is significant. This is the first and the only record so far discovered, wherein a Western Chālukya king is given this epithet. The title with its variants, such as *Dharmarāja*, *Dharmamahādhirāja* and *Dharmamahārājādhirāja*, was borne by many rulers of the Western Gaṅga, Kādamba and Pallava dynasties of South India.<sup>7</sup> The Kādambas were the last to exhibit this title which is found even in the records of the last rulers of the house, viz., Harivarman and Kṛishṇavarman II.<sup>8</sup> The Western Chālukyas who succeeded the Kādambas to the sovereignty of Karnaṭaka appear to have adopted in the beginning the larger portion of the Kādamba *prasaśti* including this title. The Kādamba *prasaśti* which was concise, expanded after its adoption by the Chālukyas.<sup>9</sup> The form of the Chālukya *prasaśti* appears to have been in a fluid state until the time of Pulakēśin II, in whose reign it was regularised by giving a fixed form.<sup>10</sup> It is no wonder therefore that the Chālukya *prasaśti* of the

<sup>1</sup> The following instances seem to bear affinity with this name: (i) Mahāśaṃkanta Katiyera of the Chālukya family, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 64. (ii) Kattiyars of the Chālukya lineage in the Dāggar inscription, above, Vol. VI, p. 203. (iii) Kattiyaradāva probably identical with Kirtivarman I or II of the Western Chālukya family; above, Vol. V, p. 20. (iv) Kattirāja in an archaic Telugu record, *A. R.* No. 529 of 1923. (v) Kattirāja, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 798.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 345.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 139-40.

<sup>8</sup> The title *Dharmarāja* is met with in one of the three copper plate records of Harivarman, viz., the Saṅgoli plates which give him the latest regnal year, above, Vol. XIV, p. 168. Kṛishṇavarman II is associated with the title *Dharmamahārāja* in three out of four copper plate records of his, so far discovered. In the remaining one, viz., the Banahallī record, the same title is applied to his great grandfather Kṛishṇavarman I, above, Vol. VI, p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> The original expression in the Kādamba records was only *Śaśai-Mahāśaṃk-Mātrigapa-saṃdhyat-ādhikāśik-śreṇa*; and it assumed the expanded form in the Chālukya records as *Saṅga-Lohamāyābhīṣa Saṅga-Mātrigapa-saṃdhyat-ādhikāśik-śreṇa*. *Kārttikya-paripālen-śreṇa-prāpa-laiyāsa-parasparāṇa*.

<sup>10</sup> That the Chālukya *prasaśti* had not attained fixed form in the beginning, is illustrated by the following instances. The Bādāmi Vaiṣṇava cave inscription of Kirtivarman I and the Nūr copper plate record of Mangallā contain the simple expressions, *Śaśai-pāṇasādhyaśikāśa* and *Śaśai-Mahāśaṃk-pāṇasādhyaśikāśa*. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 59 and Vol. VII, p. 161.) The Sāśa grant of Viśṇuvarḍhana I bears in addition the following uncommon epithets: *Mātrigapa-saṃdhyat-paripāśik-śreṇa-laiyāsa*, *Kārttikya-paripālen-śreṇa-saṅga-saṃdhyat-ādhikāśik-śreṇa*, *Paripāśik-śreṇa-laiyāsa*. (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 309.) The enlarged Chālukya *prasaśti* is met with for the first time in the Hyderabad grant and Koppam plates of Pulakēśin II. (*Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 12 and above, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.) Even in these records we may note the following variations in the standard form of one of its components, *Kārttikya-paripālen-śreṇa-paripāśik-śreṇa* and *Kārttikya-paripālen-ādhikāśik-śreṇa*.



present charter which falls within this transitional period, is not only in accord with the Kadamba *prāsasti*, but retains the characteristic title *Dharmamahārāja* which was dropped in the Chālukya records of subsequent date.

Kirtivarman I carried on extensive expeditions against the enemies<sup>1</sup> and consolidated the kingdom founded by his father. According to the implications of the statement in the Chiplug grant of the time of Pulakāṣin II, he rebuilt and made improvements in the capital of Bādāmi.<sup>2</sup> The conditions conducive to an undertaking of this nature would have prevailed after he had completed his conquests and established internal peace in the country. Such a state of affairs appears to have been in existence by A.D. 578, the date of the present record which expressly avers (lines 6-8) that 'he had vanquished all the foes by virtue of his diplomacy and valour and kept all the subjects contented by protecting them according to the rule of the *varṇas* (four-fold classes) and *śāstras* (four-fold orders of life)'.<sup>3</sup>

Vyāghraśvāmīn who figures in this record for the first time, appears to have been a very eminent and versatile personality. He was learned in the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas; he was well-versed in the science of polity; he owned exceptional mastery in grammar, logic, poetry, drama, historical literature, music and *Purāṇas*. He is styled Mahā-Brāhmaṇa and Bṛhaspati (the preceptor of the gods) of the present age (lines 9-11). Lastly he is described as holding the foremost responsibility of the entire kingdom (*rājya-sarvasa-dhurandhara*, ll. 11-12). From this description we might infer that he was the chief minister and head of the administrative affairs of the Chālukya kingdom.

The donee Kṛishṇasvāmīn, we are told, belonged to the Kanyāḍīya *gātra*, was proficient in the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas and was *sa-dvītīhī*. The last expression consists of three words (*sahīta*, *dvī* and *atīthī*) and means 'along with two guests'. This sounds like a queer epithet of the donee and does not afford proper sense by literal interpretation. In the Vedic context *atīthī* means 'fire' and Agni is familiarly addressed as *atīthī* in the Vedic hymns.<sup>4</sup> This metaphorical sense of the word *atīthī* fits in the context. Thus the expression connotes 'he who possessed or maintained two fires'. The 'two fires' are the 'Śrauta-agni' and the 'Smārta-agni', which every householder is expected to maintain according to the injunctions of Vedic ritualism.<sup>5</sup>

The gift land comprised twenty-five *vinetanas* measured by the royal standard (*rājamāna*) and belonged to the village Nulgāla. The gift was inclusive of all the produce (*sarva-jātsakam*), garden cultivation (*sa-tōttam*), *jiraka*, water, and house—*site* (*niśēṣa*). *Jiraka* need not be interpreted literally as cumin seed.<sup>6</sup> It may be taken to represent any wild or cultivated crop of the cumin variety; or equating it with *jīrapata*<sup>7</sup> or *jīrsa* it may mean 'whatever is inured in the soil'. Another expression figuring in the context is *marumanna*. This word along with another *uśāhamaṇṇa* is met with in the records of slightly later period.<sup>8</sup> The interpretation of this word is still a puzzle.<sup>9</sup> This is the earliest occurrence of the word so far known. The village Nulgāla cannot be identified.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 4-5 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell: *Vedic Mythology*, p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *The Institutes of Vishnu*, pp. 190-91 (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. VIII).

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Nandimath construes that the gift was made by pouring water along with the cumin seed. This is unwarranted. (*Bomb. Unt. J.*, Vol. V, p. 170.)

<sup>6</sup> This interpretation compares well with the familiar expression, *withi-nikāḥpa-pāṭhān-sahita*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 68; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 244, etc.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion on the interpretation of these terms see *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XI, pp. 163-7. Mr. R. S. Panthanukhi suggests that *maru* may be equated with *maru* meaning 'land' and *maru-maruta* or dry. This suggestion is invalid particularly in the context of the present passage which shows that the gift land was neither waste nor dry. Further, little credit will redound to the donor of a waste land.



There are clear traces of the influence of Kannaḍa in this record. Apart from the words *Nulgāla* and *maṛumanna* which contain the Dravidian letters *l* and *ṛ*, the name *Katti-arasa*<sup>1</sup> appears to be purely Kannaḍa. More pronounced is the compound expression *sa-tōṭṭam* (l. 13) wherein the word *tōṭṭa* or *tōṭa* is glaringly Kannaḍa. In this passage which is prose, the poet could have easily substituted its Sanskrit equivalent.

## TEXT\*

## First Plate

- 1 Svasti<sup>1</sup> [ \* ] Svāmī-Mahāsēna-Māṭṛigaṇ-ānuddhyāt-ābhishikṭānāḥ<sup>2</sup> \*Mānavya-sa-
- 2 gōtrāgām Hāriti-putrāpām Chalukyānāḥ<sup>3</sup> Agniśiṭṭom-Agnichayana-
- 3 Vājapōya-Bahusavarṇa-Paṇḍarīk-Āsvamē<sup>4</sup> [ dh-ā ] vahhṛitha-saṇṇa-pa-
- 4 vitṭikṛita-sarirasya Rāṇavikrama-Dharmma-mahārājasya<sup>5</sup>
- 5 priya-tanayaḥ<sup>6</sup> Katti-arasa-nāmadhēyaḥ sarva-kṣētr-ārta(rtha)-

## Second Plate : First Side

- 6 pāra-gaḥaṇ-ārabōdha<sup>7</sup> amṛit-dhāraṇa<sup>8</sup> -kṇsala-buddhi(r-na)ya<sup>9</sup> pra-
- 7 tāp-śāśidina-sarva-dāyādah<sup>10</sup> varṇa-ārta-ma-nyāya-paripāla-
- 8 a-ānurampita-sarva-prakṛitḥ svarājya-sathvatsarē dvādaśē<sup>11</sup> Kārtti-
- 9 ka-paṇṭṭamāsyām Vēda-Vēdāṅga-pāragōna nitiā<sup>12</sup> tra-viāśradōna
- 10 sa-pala-vyākaraṇa-nyāya-kāvya-nāṭak-śīhāsa-gāndharva-purāṇē-

## Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 shv-aśādhāraṇa-vyākhyāna-saṁpālā adyaktāla-Bṛihaspatinā rā-
- 12 jya-sarvasava-dhuraṇḍharēṇa Vyāghraśv[ā]minā mahā-Brāhmaṇēna vi-
- 13 [hūpitaḥ]<sup>13</sup> Nulgāla-grāmaṇya maṛumannaṁ sarva-jātakaṁ sa-tōṭṭam sa-jīra-
- 14 kaṁ sa-pāṇiyath sa-nivēlaṁ rājamāṇēna pañchavimśati nivantanaḥ
- 15 kshētraṇaḥ Kaṇḍjīnya-sagōtrīya Vēda-Vēdāṅga-pāragāya<sup>14</sup>

## Third Plate

- 16 sa<sup>15</sup> dv-ātithayō Kṛishṇasvāmīnō dattavāḥ<sup>16</sup> [ \* ] ya ēnath īnraṭi
- 17 sa pañcha-mahā-pitaka-saṁyuktō bhavati [ \* ] ya ēnam amupā-
- 18 layati sa puṇya-pālabhāg-bhāvati || Sva-dattāḥ para-da-
- 19 tām vā(vā) yō harēta vasuṇḍharāḥ [ \* ] shashṭim<sup>17</sup> varsha-sa-
- 20 haṛāgi narakē pachyatē tu saḥ || ☉

<sup>1</sup> In the literal sense *kuti* means 'a sword' and *arasa* 'a king.'

<sup>2</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>3</sup> This word is engraved in the left-hand marginal space between ll. 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> The dot denoting the anasvara is wrongly engraved on the top of the previous akṣara *āṇ*.

<sup>5</sup> This akṣara looks more like *āṇ*. Dr. Nandimath has read this akṣara as *āṇ*, which has no justification.

<sup>6</sup> The sandhi has not been observed here.

<sup>7</sup> This akṣara is not clear enough. It looks more like *ba* and the mark denoting the length is not fully drawn up.

<sup>8</sup> This expression has been read as 'sarvasa-mahārājasya' by Dr. Nandimath.

<sup>9</sup> A small horizontal curve denoting punctuation is engraved after the *śaṅga*; but it is unnecessary.

<sup>10</sup> It would be better to read 'par-ārabōdha-ārabōdha'.

<sup>11</sup> This akṣara is rather peculiar and may be taken to be the curve form of *sa*.

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Nandimath's reading is 'śāśidina-sa'.

<sup>13</sup> The sandhi has not been observed here.

<sup>14</sup> This word is omitted in the text of Dr. Nandimath's Kannaḍa article.

<sup>15</sup> This akṣara looks like *sa*.

<sup>16</sup> The sandhi has not been observed here.

<sup>17</sup> A small horizontal curve is engraved after this for punctuation, but it is superfluous.

<sup>18</sup> This akṣara looks like *śaṅga*.

<sup>19</sup> Dr. Nandimath reads the expression as *dattāḥ datta* and corrects it into *dattavāḥ*.

<sup>20</sup> The reading given by Dr. Nandimath is *śaṅga-saraka*.



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## No. 11—POLSARA PLATES OF ARKESVARADEVA ; YUGABDA 4248

(1 Plate)

DINES CHANDRA SINHA, DUTTAMUND

In the last week of December 1949, I received for examination some copper-plate inscriptions belonging to the Utkal University, Cuttack, from its learned Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Chintāmaṇi Āchārya. The inscription under discussion was one of them. It was collected by Mr. Sadāśiva Ratha Sarmā, who has been appointed by the University a Research Assistant to go round different parts of Orissa and collect materials for the compilation of an authentic history of the country. On the 7th August 1949, in course of his tour in the Ganjam District, Mr. Ratha Sarmā found the present set of copper plates with an inhabitant of the village of Polsara, named Dwitiya Parida, who had discovered them while tilling a piece of land about the beginning of May 1949. I thank Mr. Āchārya for kindly allowing me to publish the inscription.

The set consists of three plates each measuring 7 inches by 3·7 inches. They are held together by a ring to which a seal is soldered. The seal, although smaller in size, closely resembles the seal attached to the copper-plate charters of the imperial Gangas and bears the figure of a seated bull in full relief, facing front and bedecked with ornamental drapery and a bell tied to its neck. The first and the last plates are engraved on the inner side only, while the second is written on both sides. The incision is deep and the writing is clear, although most of the letters show signs of additional scratches probably due to some defect of the engraver's tool. There are altogether 40 lines of writing of which the first plate bears 11 lines and the third 9 lines only, while the second plate has ten lines of writing on the obverse and ten on the reverse. The plates without the ring weigh 80 tolas, while the ring with the seal weighs 24 tolas.

The characters belong to that variety of the East Indian script of the early mediæval period which is usually called proto-Bengali, although, as I have suggested elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> a more appropriate name for the script is Gaudī. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription is ascribable to the 12th or the 13th century. The characters closely resemble those employed in a copper plate charter of Ganga Anāgabhūta III (c. 1211-33 A. D.) recently examined by me.<sup>2</sup> Of initial vowels, we have in the inscription only *a* (lines 33, 40) and *ri* (cf. *Rishibhūgā* in line 14), the latter little differing in shape from *ja* in *Jhāḍakhaṇḍa* (line 18). As usual with East Indian epigraphs of the age in question, *ḍ* is generally indicated by the sign for *v*. But in some cases both *ḍ* and *v* appear to have a slanting stroke across the loop (cf. *ḍānu-samvāddhita*<sup>3</sup> in line 9 and *uḍ* in line 35) which resembles the stroke distinguishing *ḍ* from *v* in Devanāgarī. It, however, seems to me to be nothing but a scratch, to the existence of which in the formation of most letters of the inscription reference has already been made. The inscription employs the numerical figures, 2, 4 and 8.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There is, however, Prakrit influence in the name Śrīyādōvī (lines 11, 40) as well as in the word *śrīyā* standing for Sanskrit *śrī* in line 10. With the exception of the four imprecatory verses at the end, the entire record is in prose. As regards orthography, little calls for special mention besides the reduplication of *dā* before *y* as in *bhāḍādāhyakha* (line 27) and *Maddhyādāsa* (line 15), the preference for the *anuvāra* to the *anugiya* nasals in spelling words like *kund-ānu* (line 4), *anigata* (line 9), etc., the occasional reduplication of certain consonants after *r* and the non-observance of the rule of *sandhi* as, for instance, in *Arkkāḍāra*<sup>4</sup> in lines 39-40.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. E. A. S. B., Letters, Vol. XIV, pp. 115-16.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription will also be published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.







and poets.<sup>1</sup> The list of *rāj-ōpaṇiṃs*, to whom Arkīsvara's order regarding the grant was issued, includes *narapati*, *rājaputra*, *amātya*, *mahāśāstricragrahika*, *mahākṣapatalika*, *mahāpātra*, *mahāśāstricragrahika*, *bhāṣpādhyakṣika*, *daṇḍapātrika*, *khaṇḍapātra* and *viśayapātra*. Of these, the official designation *mahāpātra* seems to be peculiar to Orissa. *Pātra* and *Mahāpātra* are still popular surnames in the Orissa region. According to the *Tārīkh-i-Firās Shāhī* of Shams-i-Sirāj, "In the country of Jājnagar (i.e., Orissa), the *maktas* (i.e., *mantrins*) are called *pātras* (i.e., *pātras*), and the Rāj of Jājnagar (i.e., Gaṅga Bhānādēva III, c. 1352-78 A. D.) had twenty *pātras*, otherwise called *maktas*, under whose advice he conducted the affairs of his state".<sup>2</sup>

Considering the fact that the 24th regnal year of Arkīsvara corresponds to A. D. 1147-8, he must have ruled from A. D. 1124-5 to a date falling sometime after the 6th February A. D. 1148. Thus he was ruling contemporaneously with the imperial Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (A. D. 1078-1147). It is difficult to believe that an independent Gaṅga monarch was ruling side by side with the Gaṅga emperor in the second quarter of the twelfth century. This coupled with the fact that no royal or imperial epithet is used in connection with the names of Arkīsvara and his father Pratinādi may suggest that they were mere feudatories of the Gaṅga emperor, although the issue of the present charter without any reference to the overlord is rather difficult to explain. Arkīsvara's grandfather Guṇāṅga is given the imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. But whether he is to be identified with one of the known monarchs of the imperial Gaṅga house or whether this is to be regarded as an improper use of the epithet can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. We know that kings of the Gaṅga house of Svātaka were ruling side by side with the kings of Kāṭiyanagara for a long time, sometimes as feudatories and sometimes as independent rulers. The latest known member of the Svātaka branch of the Gaṅga family may have been Dēvendra-varman<sup>3</sup> who flourished in the second half of the eleventh century as an early contemporary of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. It may not be impossible that Guṇāṅga was another name of this Dēvendra-varman, who was apparently subdued by Chōḍagaṅga, and that his son and grandson were subordinate to the Gaṅga emperor. The absence of any reference to the overlord in our record may have been due to the expectation of regaining independence raised in the hearts of the feudatories by Chōḍagaṅga's death.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the reference to Jhāḍakhaṇḍa-dēśa is very interesting. It was the name applied to the wide area of rather jungle land extending from South Bihar to Orissa, although its exact southern boundary is difficult to determine.<sup>4</sup> The grant of Narasimha II referred to above mentions Dakṣiṇa-Jhāḍakhaṇḍa. In the north, the temple of Vaidyanātha at Deoghar near the junction of the Santal Parganas, Monghyr and Bhāgalpur Districts is often described as lying in Jhāḍakhaṇḍa. A sixteenth century inscription is said to describe a Rāja of Jājpur in the Ganjam District as the ruler of Jhāḍakhaṇḍa, while the Rājas of Band are known to have claimed the same title. The village called Valigrāma and the *viśaya* or district named Varittani cannot be satisfactorily identified, although the latter may be the same as the Varāha-varittani or Kōla-varittani *viśaya* mentioned in many other Gaṅga records.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> (See above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 134-164.)

<sup>2</sup> See Bay, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 493. Verse 90 of the charters of Narasimha II (cf. J. A. S. B., Vol. LXV, Part I, 1896, pp. 351-352) refers to the 16 *pātras* serving the king's father Bhānu I (c. 1364-78 A. D.).

<sup>3</sup> He is known from such sources as the Madagadma grant of Śaka 988 (A. D. 1066) and the Kamalakaya grant apparently of Śaka 1002 (A. D. 1081). See J. E. H. B. S., Vol. I, pp. 230-21.

<sup>4</sup> Macumdar, *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 63-65. According to B. Singh Deo (*Newspaper*, p. 18), the chiefs of Jājpur or Koraput call themselves "Lord of Jhāḍakhaṇḍa" even today.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 185, IX, pp. 94-99; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 275; J. A. S. B., Vol. I, pp. 43, 108; A. E. S. I. E., 1896, p. 17, No. 229, etc.



ancient village of Khōṇna in Varāhavarṇaṇi has been identified with modern Kōṇi near Kalīṅga-pāṭaṇi in the Ganjam District. This shows that Varāhavarṇaṇi comprised parts of the Ganjam District where king Arkṣēvara also apparently ruled. Hīṅgulā, probably the capital of the particular branch of the Gaṅga family to which Arkṣēvara belonged, seems to have been situated, as already indicated, on the banks of the Rishikulyā, no doubt the river of that name flowing past the town of Ganjam in the Ganjam District of Orissa. The river has retained its old name in the list of rivers issuing from the Mahēndra range (i.e., the Eastern Ghats) mentioned in the geographical sections of the *Parāśara*.<sup>1</sup> The exact location of Hīṅgulā is, however, unknown, although it may be modern Hingul of the Survey of India sheet maps 74A/11 c 1 and 74A/15 s 1. Madhyadēśa, to which the Jōṇes's family originally belonged, was the name applied to the central region of Northern India roughly between the Himalayas and the Vindhya and between the Eastern Punjab and the Eastern United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh).

## TEXT

## First Plate

- 1 [Siddham] [ ] Svasti [ ] śrīmad-Gaṅga-kula-tilaka-paramamāhēśvara-paramahha(tā)ra-  
saka-
- 2 la-gnyagan-āṇḍikṛita-śrīmad-Guṇa[roṇa]vadōva āṣṭa-tat-putrah sakala-dēśa-vi-
- 3 khyāta-kīrtti-eva[ra] [ ] apburad-asama-pratāp-ānala-dagdā-āśēśa-tatru-
- 4 ā[ra]hahā śrīmat-Pramāḍidēvaḥ saṁbhūtaḥ ta(ta-ta)sa-cha-sūnuḥ kumuda-kurud-āṇḍa-
- 5 dhavala-yakṣ-vihāramahā-śvētina-dā-chakravālāḥ sa[ra]jjaṇa-manah-kama-
- 6 da-vana-vikāśana-nirmala-pāṇa-āṇḍikārahā [ka(m)]ya-raṅga-sadiga-
- 7 ta-[ra]ri-vaśa-rudhira-dhār-ā[ra]hā-chāru-apburata(t)-khadga-va[ra]hā-mah-
- 8 āṇḍa-prachanda-dōr-dāṇḍa-nirjit-āśēśa-rīpa-va(ba)hā[ra]hā dvīja-vaśa-kama-kama-
- 9 l-āṇḍa-sadigata-dān-āṇḍa(ma)-māva(sa)va[rā]hā-riddhita-pratata-puṇya-tarur-vilata-pratā-
- 10 p-ānala-jvālā-māla-saṁlīhā-āśēśa-dvīkhi-patāṅga-vrātaḥ Śrīyādēvi-
- 11 charita-parīṭāna-śrī-Śrīyādēvi-mayana-mamadhu-kata-pōṇya-

## Second Plate : First Side

- 12 māna-vadana-paṇḍitaḥ śrīmad-Arkṣēvaradēvaḥ kuśali-chaturvīṇṣatī(ta\*)-
- 13 mā rājya-saṁvatsarē pravarddhamaṇa-vijaya-rājyē Hīṅgulā-kaṭakād-ā-
- 14 galya Rishikulyā-tīrē Māgha-paurṇamāsyāṁ Bhṛiguvārē sōma-
- 15 grahaṇa-samayē Śrīyādēvi-priya-paṭṭamahādēvi-sahāh(tā)
- 16 Madhyadēśa-vinirgatāya Parāśara-sā[ra]gōtrīya Jivakarāśarma-
- 17 gah-potrāya Madhukarāśarmahāḥ putrāya Vṛddhikarāśarmahā
- 18 [Brā]hmaṇya Yajurveda-Kāṇva-śikh-ādhyāyīnō Jhāḍakhaṇḍa-dēś-āntarvya-
- 19 rīti-Varttani-vishayē Valligrāma-nāmaḥ grāmaḥ-ārdhāḥ pūrva(rva)-siddha-
- 20 tūh-ā[ra]hā-m-āvaśchhina-bhūkhandaḥ sa-jala-sthala(m\*) sa-matsya-kachha(chchha)patā-

<sup>1</sup> Baychoudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> From the original plates lent by the Vice-Chancellor, Utkal University, and from the impressions prepared in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Omit *etwapa*.

<sup>5</sup> *Śrīpā* apparently stands for Sanskrit *Śrī*, i.e., the goddess of prosperity.

<sup>6</sup> Read *mahe*.



[illegible]

12 12  
14 14  
16 16  
18 18  
20 20



ii, b.

22 ॥ काले मा. क. घ. द. व. द. (हं) क. म. घ. म. वी. क. य. मा. क. घ. मा. 22  
 24 ॥ रो. म. न. घ. ॥ घ. णा. वि. द. हा. य. घ. न. घ. णा. वि. म. म. वि. व. 24  
 26 ॥ द. घ. रा. त. द. क. धि. ति. म. क. ल. द. वा. य. वा. क. ल. क. वि. न. 26  
 28 ॥ अ. म. घ. ण. ग. न. ण. घा. न. त. र. घ. डी. ब. न. मा. न. ग. रा. क. घ. मा. 28  
 30 ॥ या. न. ह. य. वि. वि. द. ति. क. म. द. म. घ. घ. ति. क. म. द. म. 30  
 ३२ ॥ इ. म. दी. पा. म. न. वि. वि. ति. क. म. द. म. घ. घ. ति. क. म. द. म. ३२  
 ३४ ॥ उ. म. न. वि. घ. घ. घा. न. य. क. न. न. ण. घ. रा. ण. घ. डी. वि. न. ३४  
 ३६ ॥ ह. म. न. य. ति. पा. र्थ. य. ति. व. म. क. म. घ. र. व. न. वि. ग. मा. द. क. ३६  
 ३८ ॥ इ. म. क. ण. य. व. ति. क. र. ड. म. ॥ म. घा. द. न. ३८  
 ४० ॥ घा. ल. न. म. घ. र्ण. दि. ४०  
 ॥ घ. ल. न. म. ॥ न. द. घ. र. व. लि. म. हा. री. र. वा. दि. न. त. क. घा. क. र. घा. द.

iii.

32 ॥ मि. धा. न. मि. द. क. व. दि. क. ॥ व. दि. घा. ल. नी. घ. मि. ति. ॥ ३२  
 34 ॥ म. व. ल. नि. म. धि. ल. ॥ म. का. ॥ व. दि. ति. व. म. घा. द. ड. रा. ड. ३४  
 ३६ ॥ रु. म. घ. वा. दि. ति. ॥ म. घ. म. घ. घ. द. क. मि. घ. घ. ३६  
 ३८ ॥ घ. ल. म. म. मि. घ. ल. म. का. व. ॥ घ. र. द. क. ति. घा. वि. व. म. घ. ३८  
 ४० ॥ घा. ल. म. न. न. घ. र. द. क. न. घा. ल. न. ॥ म. व. ड. घ. र. द. क. ४०  
 ॥ घा. ह. व. ल. म. न. व. र. वा. म. व. ल. म. न. व. र. वा. ॥ म. व. ल. म. न. ॥ ४०  
 ॥ घ. र. व. ल. ॥ म. म. का. म. व. र. व. ति. व. र. म. व. र. घ. र. म. ४०  
 ॥ म. व. र. व. क. म. ॥ म. ति. घा. व. र. व. ति. व. र. ॥ म. व. र. ॥ ४०  
 ॥ वी. म. र. व. र. दि. व. म. व. र. व. ति. व. र. ॥ ४०

21 ksha-gulma-latākam sa-māhi s-ōpani(dh\*)kam a-chatṭa-bhaṭṭa<sup>1</sup>-pravāsam-u

*Second Plate ; Second Side*

- 22 [tā]rṇya-sarv-ōpadraya-varjita-tāmrām-a[ka\*]rṇitya mātā-pitrō-  
 23 r-ātinanah<sup>2</sup> puṇya-yasō-v[ī]viddhayō patra-paṇṭr-ādi-santati-viṇi-  
 24 ddhayō ch-ā-chandr-ārīka-kakiti-sama-kālah datvā(ttvā) yathā-kāla-bhāvinaḥ  
 25 samuṣāgatān-nāśhān-natapatn-varttamānān-cha rājaputr-ān-  
 26 tyān-mahāsāndhivigrahika-mahākshapaṭalika-mahāpā-  
 27 tra-mahāsāmanta-dauvārīka-bhārdvājādihyāksha-da[m\*]dāpāni(ā)ka-kha[m\*]-  
 28 dāpāla-vishayapāla-prahṇitān-nāśhā-rāj-ōpaṭivinaḥ(nō) yath-ā-  
 29 dharm-nānayati prārthayati cha matam-astu bhavatān Valigrām-ārīka-bhū-kha[da\*]-  
 30 dām [Brā]hmanāya Viddhikaradarmmaṇē mayā dattaḥ(tuam) [ī\*] pālanē evarg-ādi-  
 31 phala-sādhanaḥ-apaharaṇē mahārāṇy-ādi-naraka-pāta-bhayaḥ-dhū-

*Third Plate*

- 32 mī-dānam-idam bhavadbhīr-[bh]āv[ī]bhūh pāleniyam-iti [ 0 ]  
 33 atra dharm-ānusarī(kam)inaḥ chlo(ā)kāh [ Va(Ba)hulbhīr-vasudhā dattā rāja-  
 34 bhūh Sagar-ādibhūh ] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā  
 35 phalan(lam) [[ī\*] Mā bhūmi(d-a)phala-śākhā va] para-datt-ēti pāthivāh [ sva-dānū-  
 36 t-phalam-ānantyast para-datt-ānupālanaḥ(nō) ] Sva-dattān para-dattān vā  
 37 yō harēch-cha vaśundharād(rām) [ sa vishbhāyān kpmir-bhūtvā pitṛbhūh saha  
 38 pachyātē ] Gān-ākān evargga-raktān cha bhūmēr-apy-arddham-ā(m-ach)ga-  
 39 lāh(lam) [ haran-narakam-āpnōti yāvad-ābūta-mukhplavah(vam) ] Śrīvādē-  
 40 vi-Arkkōśvaradēvasya<sup>3</sup> suṇmatam [ Yug-āvdā(bdāh) 4248 ]

No. 12—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATE OF BHUVANATRINETRA

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

A set of five copper plates was received from the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras, in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy in 1935-36. They were strung together on a bare elliptical ring and gave the appearance that the whole formed one set. But on decipherment of the writing, it was found that they comprised three distinct records<sup>4</sup> belonging to different rulers.

<sup>1</sup> Better read *chātṭa-bhaṭṭa* usually found in this context in epigraphic records.

<sup>2</sup> Read *\*anāśhā*.

<sup>3</sup> Better read *Śrīvādēy-Arkkōśvaradēvasya*.

<sup>4</sup> These inscriptions have been noticed as Nos. 5 to 7 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1935-36*. The first two of these records belong to the Rāṇḍu Chōla chiefs, Brīhaṇṇa Chōla and Rāṇḍu Chōla Mahārāja. They have been published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XV, pp. 20-49 and 243 ff. and plates.



The present inscription which is being edited here for the first time<sup>1</sup> is engraved on the **fifth plate** of the set described above. The plate measures  $9\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and about 3" in breadth. It has slightly raised rims all round. The record is engraved on one side only and consists of 8 lines. The **alphabet** is Telugu-Kannaḍa of the transitional stage and perhaps it is for this reason that a certain measure of indifference is noticeable in the formation of the letters.

In regard to **orthography**, the use of *anuvāsa* in place of class nasals may be noted in a large number of cases. The expression (*saṁvīṣṭa*) in line 3 appears to be a mistake for *saṁvīṣṭa*. The record contains a few minor clerical mistakes which have been corrected in the body of the text.

The **language** of the inscription is archaic Telugu.

The document belongs to the family of subordinate chiefs known as the Vaidumbas. All the records of this family discovered so far are inscriptions on stone. This is the only copper plate record of the family.

The record is brief. It commences with the familiar *prakāśa* of the **Vaidumba family** and introduces the chief **Bhuvana-Trinētra** who had assumed the title *Mahārāja*. It is dated **Saka 893, Āshāḍha śu 7, Thursday, Dakṣiṇāyana-saṁkrānti**. The inscription states that this chief, residing at Potṭepi in the Pāka-nāḍu, made a gift of the village *Kāṭinberuva*<sup>2</sup> situated in the tract of Kaḍapa-Twelve to the god Lōkēśvara Bhagāra of Agṭistvula. The gift was entrusted into the hands of *Kuchibhaḍḍa*,<sup>3</sup> a resident of Muḥṣaram, who was to protect and enjoy the charity for the merit of Bhimarāja and Rāchavva. *Sirama Peggeḍa* was the executor of the document and *Dēsarati Bhimanna* the engraver. The charter ends with the expression *tri-Adhinata-cūka* which would have been the chief's title used as the sign-manual.<sup>4</sup>

The date is irregular. If Saka 893 is a mistake for Saka 891 (expired), the details regularly correspond to A. D. 969, June 21, Thursday. But both these dates are, so to say, inadmissible in view of the statement of an inscription from Upparapalle in the Cuddapah District which speaks of the coronation, in Saka 894, of Bhuvana-Trinētra Vaidumba Mahārāja who is apparently identical with this chief.<sup>5</sup> But we can get over this difficulty by assuming that though he was wishing authority from an earlier date, the formal consecration ceremony of the chief took place later, on account of the disturbed political conditions.

We are not in a position to assign due place to Bhuvana-Trinētra in the genealogical account of the Vaidumbas. On account of the paucity of information and the disconnected nature of the sources it is difficult to reconstruct the history of the Vaidumba house, even partially, although a good many inscriptions of the family have been discovered so far. From the different names and titles of the chiefs available to us we are led to believe that there existed more than one branch

<sup>1</sup> My thanks are due to the Government Epigraphist for India for the kind permission to edit the record.

<sup>2</sup> The original expression is *Kāṭinberuva*, a plural form. Perhaps the termination *va* stands for *śa* of the locative case. If so, we have to assume that the gift consisted of some land in the village.

<sup>3</sup> His name proper would be *Kuḍubhāḍḍa* who was evidently the managing priest of the temple.

<sup>4</sup> *Adhinata-cūka* means 'one whose speech is ruler-worthy'. This is an early instance of a ruler using the title for the sign-manual. The famous instance of the later period is *śri-Viśūpalaka* of the Vijayanagara Kings. But in the latter case it is the titular duty and not the title of any ruler or ruleress.

<sup>5</sup> *Mad. Ep. Coll.*, No. 325 of 1905.

<sup>6</sup> The inscription on the front wall of the Śiva temple at Kakada, Varāṅgaḍa taluk, Chittoor District (No. 444 of 1940-41 of *Mad. Ep. Coll.*) records certain concessions by the Vaidumba king Bhuvana-Trinētra Irūṅgeya Mahārāja on the occasion of his coronation. This epigraph is not dated; but may be roughly ascribed to the 10th century A. D. on palaeographic grounds. Except for the characteristic title and probable contemporaneity, attaching evidence is lacking for the identification of Bhuvana-Trinētra of the present document with Bhuvana-Trinētra of the Kakada record. It is, however, not unlikely that they refer to one and the same person.



of this family of chiefs. The Vaidumbas appear to have reached the height of their power in the 9th century A. D. under Gajja-Trinētra who was ruling over the territory of Rēnāja 7000,<sup>1</sup> the home province of the Telugu-Chōja chiefs. Bhuvana-Trinētra might be a direct descendant of Gajja-Trinētra removed by a few generations. Vaidumba Mahārāja mentioned as the subordinate of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III in an inscription from Pālagiri<sup>2</sup> in the Cuddapah District, was probably a predecessor of Bhuvana-Trinētra. By the time of Bhuvana-Trinētra, the Rāshtrakūṭa power had reached its final phase and it is significant to note that neither of the inscriptions of this chief contains any reference to the emperor. Bhimarāja and Bāchavva, for whose merit the gift was maintained, might be the parents of this chief.<sup>3</sup>

Reverting to the place names occurring in the epigraph, **Pottapi** is identical with Pottapi in the old Pallampet or the present Rajampet *taluk* in the Cuddapah District. This town is said to have been founded by Madhurāntaka Pottapi Chōja, an early ancestor of the Telugu-Chōja family.<sup>4</sup> **Kaḍapa**, the headquarters of the small tract of Kaḍapa-Twelve which included the gift village, is identical with modern Cuddapah. **Artirēvula** has been identified with Attirāla in the Rajampet *taluk*. **Manjaram**, which seems to be identical with Mandaram mentioned in the two accompanying records referred to above, may be identified with Mandapalle in the same *taluk*.

Lastly, we take up the region called **Pāka-nāḍu** which contained the tract of Kaḍapa-Twelve. This seems to be the earliest reference to the territorial unit and it would be useful to recall here in brief its origin and history. In the Prākṛit inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa<sup>5</sup> (circa 3rd century A. D.) is mentioned a people or clan called the Pākīyas. The domicile of these people appears to have been styled the Pūgi or Pūṅgi Dēsa by the Sanskritists as attested by a late epigraph.<sup>6</sup> In Sanskrit *pāga* or *pūgi* means arcañt<sup>7</sup> and its corresponding equivalents, *pāka* and *pākka* are found in Telugu and Tamil. Consequently, Pūgi Dēsa might have been changed to Pāka-nāḍu in course of time, its other variants being Pākī-nāḍu, Pākkaī-nāḍu, etc. This territorial unit preserved its entity till the 16th century A. D., though its extent and content might have varied under different regimes. From the provenance of the inscriptions<sup>8</sup> containing allusions to this region, it may be gathered that Pāka-nāḍu extended approximately over the major portion of the Nellore District including parts or whole of the Venkatagiri, Rapur, Nellore, Atmakur, Kovur, Kavali and Kanigiri *taluks*, small areas of the Ongole and Bapatla *taluks* of the Guntur District and the Cuddapah and Rajampet *taluks* of the Cuddapah District. Under the Chōja regime during 12-13th centuries A. D., the western portion of this tract was designated Mēṛ-Pākkaī-nāḍu forming part of the Jayasōṅḍachōjamandalam and Adhirājēndrachōjamandalam.<sup>9</sup> A subdivision of the Mēṛ-Pākkaī-nāḍu was called Pottapi-nāḍu,<sup>10</sup> evidently after the village Pottapi noted above. Under the Vijayanagara administration Pāka-nāḍu was incorporated in the Udayagiri-nāḍu.<sup>11</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>12</sup>

1 Svasty-anāka-samāra-saṅghattān-ōpalabdhā-vijaya-lakṣmī-saṁālīṅgita-viśāla-vakṣasṭhaḥ  
Bhu-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> No. 323 of 1935-36 of Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>3</sup> A. R. S. I. E. for 1935-36, part II, para. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VII, p. 121.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XX, pp. 5, 12, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Nellore Inscriptions, Vol. III, p. 1028. Compare A. R. S. I. E., 1935-36, p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> Compare, above, Vol. XX, p. 12. *Pāga* also means 'a multitude' or 'a corporation'.

<sup>8</sup> Nellore Inscriptions, Kanigiri No. 11, Kavali Nos. 8, 43; Nos. 243 of 1897, 298-99 of 1911, of Mad. Ep. Coll., etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Venkatagiri, No. 1; Nos. 298-99 of 1911 of Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>10</sup> No. 399 of 1911 of Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>11</sup> Nellore Inscriptions, Nellore No. 34 A, etc.

<sup>12</sup> From ink-impresions.



- 2 vana-Trinētra-śrīmad-V[ai]ḍumbha-mahārājulu Sa(Sa) 803 nūpti A(Ā)śhu(Ā)(j)ha  
su(su)dha 7 Guruvārahbugā[th] Bā-  
3 ka-nūpti Pottopī-viṭa Dakṣiṇa(nā)yana-saṅkrānti-nimittam(u)nan-Artirēvula ('sannimi-  
tra Lōkēśvara-  
4 Bha[ṭṭa]śalakuṇṇa Gaḍapa-Paggeṇṇilōni Kā[ṭṭ]heguvulu yichēhi[ri] [i\*] Dimkin va-  
5 krambha vachchinavāru Bāraṇa(nā)ṇi Śrīpa(r\*)vratambunna-aḥṇavāru [i\*] dīnha jākoni  
kāchi  
6 kuḥcheḥuvāru Maṇḍaramuna Kuchibhōḷālu Bhatmājunakun Bāhavarri-  
7 ki dharmunavugān-ichēhiri [i\*] A(Ā)ṇṇi Sirama-paggeṇṇa [i\*] Dēsarati Bhimana vālu [i\*]  
8 Ari-Abhinata-vāku [i\*]

### No. 13—HIREGUTTI PLATES OF BHOJA ASANKITA

#### (I Plate)

P. B. DERAI, OOTACAMUND

In the course of my annual tour in the Bombay-Karnataka area during 1949-50, I secured the loan of this highly interesting set of copper plates from Sri Uddanda Bommayya Gannkar, a resident of Hire Gutti in the Kunte taluk of the North Kanara District, Bombay State, who owned it as an heirloom. It became possible to obtain its loan from the reluctant owner through the kindness of Sri S. P. Gannkar of Ankola, M.L.A., who had informed me of its existence about a decade ago. I am editing the inscription on these plates here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of **three plates** strung together on a **copper ring** passing through a hole,  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, at the centre of the margin on the left side. The ends of the ring which measures  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and whose thickness is about  $\frac{1}{8}$ ", are secured at the bottom of a circular seal. The plates are of uniform size; they measure 7" in length,  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and about  $\frac{1}{16}$ " in thickness. Only one side each of the first and the third plates and both sides of the second plate are engraved. There are 10 lines of writing which are distributed equally on the four faces. The seal measuring 1" in diameter, bears in relief, the rough figure of a miniature elephant in motion facing the proper right. The weight of the plates is 27 tolas and that of the ring with the seal 8 tolas. The plates are in a good state of preservation notwithstanding their age.

The charter is written in the **southern alphabet** of the early age. The average height of single letters is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " and of conjuncts  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The characters are of the normal variety, that were in vogue in the Deccan and western part of South India. For general appearance they may be compared with the script of the Sangoli plates of Harivarman,<sup>1</sup> Halmidi stone inscription,<sup>2</sup> Bādāmi Vaishnava cave inscription<sup>3</sup> and Gokachi plates of Katti-arasa.<sup>4</sup> Two trends, viz., slightly more advanced and somewhat less advanced, are noticeable in the formation of letters like *ḷ*, *j*, *v*, *ḷ* and *y*. The letters *t* and *n* are not generally distinguished. The medial short *i* denoted either by a curve or a circle at the top, is distinguished from long *ī* indicated by a curve with a loop on the left above the letter.

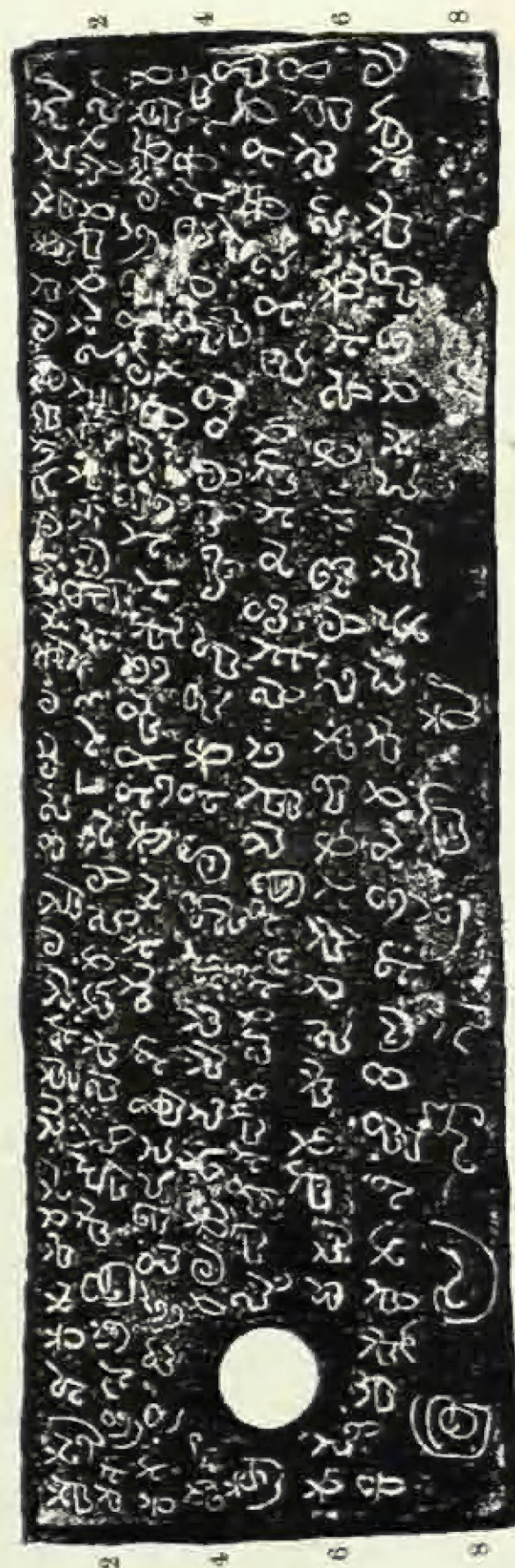
<sup>1</sup> The reading of this expression is doubtful as some of the letters are not legible. The character *sa* is engraved below the line and this inscription is denoted by a cross incised between the characters *sa* and *[sa]*.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, plate between pp. 106 and 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1936, plate XXII, facing p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 62.







In regard to **orthography** the consonant after *r* is invariably doubled, the only exception being *reṣa* in line 11. This is justified according to the rule of grammar,<sup>1</sup> which is however optional. The reduplicated letter is further subjected to the *saṁdhi* rule as may be noted in respect of *reṭhya* and *reṭha* in line 6, wherein the dental unaspirate is substituted for the corresponding aspirate.

The **language** of the epigraph is Sanskrit. The invocation and the imprecation are in verse. The rest of the record is composed in prose. The writing contains a few minor errors which have been corrected in the body of the text and in the footnotes.

The inscription commences with the praise of Lord **Buddha**. He is described as one 'whose feet are licked by the rays of the shining jewels in the coronets of gods and demons' and 'a reservoir of countless virtues'. Significant in this connection is the epithet, 'affectionate without a motive', applied to him. Next is introduced the king **Asankita**,<sup>2</sup> 'the moon in the firmament of the lineage of the Bhōjas who were endowed with Fortune'. The object of the document is to record gift of the village *Ṣandarikā*, situate in the *Dipaka viśaya*, for the enjoyment of the Buddhist *vihāra* belonging to them,<sup>3</sup> by the king, at the request of the chief Kottipeggilī born in the lineage of the Kaiśyās of Nandipallī. The gift village was entrusted to the Ārya Saṅgha, i.e., assembly of Buddhist monks in charge of the monastery. It was bounded by Kuruvā in the east, the roaring stream<sup>4</sup> of Marṭtikajjū in the south, the water-fall on the mountain in the west; its northern boundary extended up to the boulder with the mango tree. The charter ends with an exhortation to protect the charity bestowed upon the Ārya Saṅgha and an imprecation against its violators.

The epigraph bears no date. So the only means left to us for determining its date is **palaeography** whose evidence may be reckoned as fairly approximate. The alphabet of the inscription betrays archaic traits and appears to be older than that of the four epigraphs mentioned before for general comparison. It bears closer affinity with the script of the copper-plate record of the Kadamba king Mṛigēśvarman, dated in the 4th regnal year,<sup>5</sup> except for the box-headed character of the latter. Of the four records noted above the Sangolli plates of Harivarman are the earliest with some precision in date. They have been ascribed to the middle of the 6th century A.D.<sup>7</sup> Hence it would be reasonable if we assign the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century A.D. as the most likely date of our record.

More than one interests centre round this brief document inasmuch as it opens up certain new facts regarding the political and religious history of the south-western region of India in that early age. Firstly, it introduces a new prince of the ruling family of Bhōjas. If we go to the early age of the post-Vedic literature and that of the epics, the Bhōjas figure as a class or clan of rulers<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Aśaṅkhyai*: *oṣṭa saṁdhiḥ* (VIII-4-46). This sūtra explains the circumstances when the reduplication can take place. The exception is indicated by another sūtra: *śaṁdhiḥ* (VIII-8-49).

<sup>2</sup> This name occurs in the combination of two words combined by *saṁdhi*. It is possible to construe the king's name as *Saṁkita* also. But on consideration of sense it would be better to take it as *Asankita* which means 'the fearless one'.

<sup>3</sup> The *eva* in *eva-vihāra* can be interpreted as relating either to *Asankita* or to Kottipeggilī or to both. I would prefer the last alternative. This would be in keeping with the fact that both the king and his chief had their leanings with the Buddhist faith as indicated by the circumstances. *Eva* may also point to 'their own faith'.

<sup>4</sup> *Vīruva* means 'a roar, thunder'. It is suggested by the natural context that this expression is used here to denote 'a noisy mountain stream'.

<sup>5</sup> One of these is the Halmidi inscription. I had a discussion in regard to the dating of this record with Mr. N. Lakshminarasayan Rao, Superintendent for Epigraphy, who holds that it should be placed in the 6th century rather than in the 5th century A.D. *Contra. Mys. Arch. Rep. for 1936*, p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> *Iud. Ant.*, Vol. VII: plate between pp. 36 and 37.

<sup>7</sup> *Above*, Vol. XIV, pp. 163-66.

<sup>8</sup> K. P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity* (second edn.), pp. 36 and 72.



claiming some importance. According to the *Āṭarīya Brāhmaṇa*, the chiefs of the Śātvata clan were termed *Bhōjas* and it is stated that the former were regulated by the Bhanuja constitution wherein the authority seems to have been vested in the chosen representatives or leaders of the people.<sup>1</sup> This institution of leaders which was non-hereditary in the first instance appears to have developed as a hereditary class by itself;<sup>2</sup> for, the *Bhōjas* are mentioned as a subdivision of the *Yādavas* in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>3</sup> The *Bhōjas*, as specified by the *Āṭarīya Brāhmaṇa*, were confined to the southern region. It is interesting to note that this general statement in regard to the domicile of the *Bhōjas* in the south has been confirmed by the specific allusions found in the early epigraphs ranging from the times of Aśoka. In his Rock Edict XIII, the *Bhōjas* are mentioned along with the *Pitṛikas* and it is surmised that the former hailed from the western part of India.<sup>4</sup> The *Bhōjas* again, associated with *Rāshṭrikas*, are referred to as fighting against the Kallīga king *Khāraveḷa* in the *Hāthigumphā* inscription.<sup>5</sup> According to the *Dakṣiṇāmūrtiśaṅkarī* which seems to reflect certain historical facts, *Vidarbha* was ruled by a king named *Puṇyavarman* who belonged to the ancient *Bhōja* race.<sup>6</sup>

Some of the *Bhōja* chiefs who had emerged as a ruling class of some importance, seem to have preferred to style themselves *Mahābhōjas*. The *Mahābhōjas* figure in a number of *Brāhmī* inscriptions<sup>7</sup> of about the first and second century A.D. from the western parts of the Bombay State and the sphere of their activities seems to have been confined to that region. They were connected by matrimonial alliance with the *Mahārājās* on the one hand and the *Chūjas* on the other.<sup>8</sup> The *Mahābhōjas* were adherents of the Buddhist faith.<sup>9</sup>

But the existence of the *Bhōjas* as an independant ruling family or families of note, prior to the advent of the *Chālukyas* on the political horizon of South India, is being unravelled for the first time by a series of copper-plate records discovered recently. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has noticed them in detail in his note on the *Siroda* plates of *Dēvarāja*,<sup>10</sup> which are the earliest of the series. Next in chronological sequence after the *Siroda* plates comes the present epigraph. This is followed by three charters, one issued by *Dharmamahārāja Kāpālīvarman* and two others by *Piṭhivimallavarman*.

Thus it has been seen that as many as five copper-plate inscriptions of the *Bhōja* family have come to light so far. They range in age from the 4th century to the 7th century A.D. In the absence of more information on the genealogical relationship of these rulers it is not possible to say that they belonged to one and the same lineage. It is likely that they were members of various branches. *Dēvarāja* of the *Siroda* plates and *Aśāṅkita* of the present epigraph probably represent different lines. *Kāpālīvarman* seems to be connected with yet another line. This prince appears to have been a ruler of dignified status and we may note the distinguished title *Dharmamahārāja* borne by him. This title was assumed by more than one prince of the *Pallava*, *Kadamba* and the *Western Gaṅga* families. It is not unlikely that *Piṭhivimallavarman* of the said plates belonged to the line of *Kāpālīvarman* as suggested by the common name-ending; but we have to observe the absence of the title *Dharmamahārāja* in respect of the former. The provenance of these

<sup>1</sup> *Āṭarīya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Hindu Polity*, pp. 79-80 and 86.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36 and 80.

<sup>4</sup> *C. I. I.*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. xxxix.

<sup>5</sup> *Above*, Vol. XX, p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> *A. B. O. S. I.*, Vol. XXVI, parts 1-3, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Leaders' List*, Nos. 1021, 1037, 1043, etc.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1021 and 1186.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1032, 1063, 1111, etc.

<sup>10</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 237 ff.



charters and other indications obtained from the place-names occurring in them would show that these princes held sway generally over the strip of land on the west coast, roughly comprising the present day territory of Goa and the North Kanara District.

Secondly, our epigraph brings into relief the state of religion prevailing at the time. Save the present inscription, all the Bhōja charters noted above register grants to the Brāhmaṇas. True, no definite conclusion can be arrived at merely on the basis of this fact, but there are other grounds which lead to the assumption that these chiefs were adherents of the Brahmanical faith. Only Atāṅkita and other members of his house probably owed their allegiance to the doctrine of Lord Buddha. Not merely from the fact that he made the generous grant of a village to a Buddhist *vihāra*, but also from the adoption of the elephant, the symbol of Buddha, as their emblem, it would be reasonable to assume that the family of Asankita was Buddhist by persuasion. This is in keeping with the traditions of the Mahābhōjas whose Buddhist leanings are already known. Nothing was known in regard to the state of Buddhism in the Western Deccan after the 3rd century A.D. But this epigraph throws welcome light to the effect that that faith had not lost its ground completely and that it was held in esteem at least by a section of the society about the 6th century A.D. This is seen from the reference to the Buddhist monastery, the congregation of monks who held its charge and the patronage and support they received from the ruling king and the feudatory chief. Leaving behind the Brāhmī cave inscriptions of Western India, the Buddhist records are few and far between and the present one appears to be the only Buddhist copper-plate record of the early period so far known.

Thirdly, the seal of the present plates presents a noteworthy feature. Whereas three of the above documents bear no seals and the figure on that of the Siroda charter is couched in some doubt,<sup>1</sup> the seal of the present epigraph is well-preserved and distinct. As seen before, it contains the representation of an elephant. The Buddha is symbolically depicted as an elephant<sup>2</sup> and the family of Asankita appears to have chosen this figure as the characteristic emblem on their crest to mark their Buddhist leanings.<sup>3</sup>

We may incidentally notice here a few facts bearing on the history of Buddhism in this part of the country. A statue of the Buddha in the meditative pose, attributed to the early age of the Christian Era, was found some years ago at Colvale in the Goa territory.<sup>4</sup> According to an inscription from Nāgārjunikonda, of about the 3rd century A.D., the region of Banavāsī, approximately representing the North Kanara District, was converted to Buddhism by the Buddhist monks of Ceylon.<sup>5</sup> This piece of information is confirmed by the evidence of the *Mahācāṇakī*.<sup>6</sup> Kōḍabalisiri, a princess of the Ushvāku house which was a great patron of Buddhism, figures in a Nāgārjunikonda epigraph as the foundress of a *vihāra*.<sup>7</sup> She was consort of the *Mahārāja* of Vanavāsī (i.e., Banavāsī) who may be identified as a prince of the Chuṭa family.<sup>8</sup> The Buddhist influence over the members of the Chuṭa family is indicated by the Banavāsī Prakrit inscription according to the

<sup>1</sup> The late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari has stated that the figure on the seal is a swan. Mr. Fienlekar thought it was a peacock. Mr. Mirashi suggests it to be a lion. See *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 43, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, e.g., H. Harpignies: *Buddha Story in Stone*, pp. 7-8; *Arch. Surv. of South India*, Vol. I, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> An early instance of a Buddhist record on copper-plate comes from the Tippera District in East Bengal. It is dated in the year 188 of the Gupta Era, corresponding to A.D. 507, and registers a grant to a Buddhist *vihāra* by the king Vainya Gupta who, however, was not a follower of the Buddhist faith; *I. B. Q.*, Vol. VI, pp. 45 ff. (I owe this reference to Dr. D. C. Sircar). The Pāla rulers of Bengal were Buddhist by persuasion and they had chosen the Dharma Chakra as their characteristic symbol, which is displayed on their copper-plate documents. If the above surmise be correct, this would be the only instance of a ruling family that had adopted as their emblem the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha.

<sup>4</sup> *Kodumba Kala*, p. 254.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XX, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> K. Gopalachari: *Early History of Andhra Country*, pp. 127-28.



gift of a Nāga, and a *vihāra*.<sup>1</sup> Bōdhidharma, founder of the Zen school of Buddhism in China during the early part of the 6th century A.D., hailed, according to one account, from a royal family ruling over the West Coast of South India.<sup>2</sup> It is suggested that he might be a prince of the early Kadamba family.<sup>3</sup> This suggestion seems to be untenable in view of the fact that the early Kadambas are not known to have directly ruled over the West Coast. Nor is the evidence available to show that the Kadambas ever came under the influence of Buddhism. So could it be that Bōdhidharma was connected with the family of Bhōjas some of whom were influenced by the Buddhist doctrine?

Lastly, we are introduced to a new branch of the Kaikēya family. The Kaikēyas originally hailed from the Kēkaya country situated between the rivers Bias and Sutlej in the Panjab.<sup>4</sup> They are mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*.<sup>5</sup> They seem to have subsequently migrated to the south and consolidated their position by contracting matrimonial alliances with the princes of the Hośyāku, Early Kadamba and Pallava families.<sup>6</sup> It appears that there were several branches of the Kaikēyas who had settled in different parts of South India. This may be gathered from the specific reference to the family in the present epigraph as the Kaikēyas of Nandipalli, to distinguish it from others. Allocation of this branch of the Kaikēya family rests on the identification of Nandipalli which appears to have been its headquarters. It may possibly be identified with Nandivalli which was one of the gift villages mentioned in the Vakkalēri plates<sup>7</sup> of the Western Chālukya king Kīrtivarman II, dated in A. D. 758. It was situated on the southern bank of the river Agadore or Dharmā in the Pānnōgal *vishaya* or the territory adjoining modern Hāngal in the Dharwar District. If this identification be correct, it may be assumed that Aśāṅkita's authority extended over a part of the area of the Dharwar District; for, the Kaikēya chief Kottipeggili was his subordinate.

The name Kottipeggili is interesting; for, it is only an epithet and not a proper name. It is constituted of three words, *kottu*=to strike, *peggu* (*peyagu*)=back and *i*=not; and may be derived according to the rules of Kannaḍa grammar.<sup>8</sup> The whole expression would thus mean, 'one who is not a back-stabber'. Similar epithets, e.g., *Kakkili*= 'one who is devoid of crookedness' were in vogue in the early age.<sup>9</sup> These expressions are purely Kannaḍa.

The following place-names are mentioned in the epigraph: *Dipaka vishaya*, *Sundarikā*, *Kurvā*, *Martikattu*. The first is evidently a territorial division and the last three are villages situated in the former. I am unable to identify the latter and in regard to the former I may only suggest two possible alternatives. *Dipaka vishaya*, appears to have derived the name from the *dīpa* or an island. It may be either the Anjidiv island, five miles south-west of Karwar<sup>10</sup> or the island of Divar on the north of the island of Goa. The latter is mentioned under the name *Dipavati* in the *Skanda Purāṇa*.<sup>11</sup> If these names are to be derived from *dīpa* meaning 'light', they would have derived the appellation on account of the existence of some lighting arrangement like light-house on them.

<sup>1</sup> *Liders' List*, No. 1186; *Early History of South Country*, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Myore University Journal* (Prahastha Karnāṭaka), 1933, No. 55, p. 39; cf. E. J. Thomas: *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> *Mya. Us. Journ.* (op. cit.) p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> *Pargiter: Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 103, 164, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXI, pp. 176-77.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 23 ff. and above, Vol. V, pp. 200 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Sahitya Akademi* (Sahitya Parishat edition), *idra*, 186.

<sup>9</sup> For instance, Maḥi-Yuvakīja, a prince of the Eastern Chālukya family, had a son named Kakkili; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> *Bomb. Geog. Jour.*, Vol. XV, part ii (1883), pp. 249 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Geographical Dictionary* (op. cit.), p. 57.



i.

1  
 2  
 3  
 4

ii.a.

6  
 7  
 8

ii.b.

10  
 11  
 12





SEAL



(From a photograph)

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Jayati sur-āsura-makṣa-sphoṭa-maṇi-kīraṇ-āvalīdha-charaṇa-  
 2 yugaḥ [ ]<sup>2</sup> aparimita-guṇa-gaṇa-nidhir-anishkāraṇa-vatsalō Bu-  
 3 ddhaḥ<sup>3</sup> [ ]<sup>4</sup> Śri-bhājān Bhōjānām-anvay-ānava<sup>5</sup>(mbar)-āndan = Āsankita-rājēna Na-  
 4 ndipalli-Kaikōy-ānvaya-prasūtēna Kottī<sup>6</sup>peggilā-ābhya-

## Second Plate : First Side

- 5 rithyamānēna eva-vihāra-paribhōg-ārttham Dīpaka-vishayē Sundarikā-  
 6 nāma-grāmō dattaḥ [ ]<sup>7</sup> tasy-āvadhiḥ pūrvvasyān diāi Kurvā dakṣi-  
 7 pasyām Marttikattu-virāva[ ]<sup>8</sup> paśchimasyān parvvatasy-ōpari pā-<sup>9</sup>  
 8 niya-patana ēva uttarasyām-āmra-sahitō<sup>10</sup> pāshāṇa-<sup>11</sup>

## Second Plate : Second side

- 9 paryyantaḥ [ ]<sup>12</sup> imaṇ yō lōbhād-ava[ ]<sup>13</sup>harati sa pañcha-mahāpātakō bha-  
 10 viśhyati [ ]<sup>14</sup>Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [ ]<sup>15</sup>śhaṣṭīm  
 11 varaha-sahasrāṇi vi[ ]<sup>16</sup>ah<sup>17</sup>[ ]<sup>18</sup>hāyām jāyatō krimi[ ]<sup>19</sup>Manu-pra-  
 12 bhṛtā<sup>20</sup> bhīr-inmānyai<sup>21</sup>=bhuktā yady-āpi rājābhīḥ [ ]<sup>22</sup>yasya yasya ya-

## Third Plate

- 13 dā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalūḥ [ ]<sup>23</sup> Āryya-saṅghāya dattām yō vī-  
 14 tīm pālāya mātava<sup>24</sup> [ ]<sup>25</sup> sa divaṁ prāpya divy-ātmā kalpa-kōṭi-  
 15 ahu mōdatō<sup>26</sup> [ ]<sup>27</sup> Lōbhād-grīhṇāti mand-ātmā yaḥ pumān-pāpa-mō-  
 16 hitaḥ [ ]<sup>28</sup> narakō pachyatē ghōrō sa hi kalpān-anēkaśaḥ[ ]<sup>29</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates.<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Āryā*.<sup>3</sup> The mark of punctuation in the original is peculiar.<sup>4</sup> The letter gā looks like ed.<sup>5</sup> The subscript vis indicated by a circle.<sup>6</sup> This letter may be read as ai also, but the above reading seems to be better; cf. that in line 6 and *ni* in line

14. Its interpretation also warrants this reading.

<sup>7</sup> This letter looks like tā.<sup>8</sup> Read *sahitā*.<sup>9</sup> There is a punctuation mark after this letter, which evidently indicates that the word is not completed.<sup>10</sup> The metre of this and the next three verses is *Āśāpāt*.<sup>11</sup> The superscript *ah* of this letter looks like *u* as the left hand hook at the top is not joined to the lower oval body of the letter.<sup>12</sup> There is a break in the engraving of this letter.<sup>13</sup> The formation of this letter is peculiar.<sup>14</sup> The punctuation mark consists of one horizontal stroke.<sup>15</sup> The construction of this clause is faulty. The defect will be amended if we read *pālāpāt* narak.<sup>16</sup> The *ś* sign of this letter is peculiar, being a curve with a hook towards the left.<sup>17</sup> This mark of punctuation consists of a wavy horizontal stroke.



## NO. 14—SHELARWADI CAVE INSCRIPTION

(I Plate)

C. C. DAS GUPTA, CALCUTTA

There is a well-known series of Buddhist caves at **Shelārwaḍī**, a place twenty miles north-west of Poona.<sup>1</sup> There are at present altogether seven caves in this group. On the outer face of the Cave No. 1 there is an early Brāhmī inscription which has been known for a long time.<sup>2</sup> That inscription informs us that one Siagutapikā, wife of the ploughman and householder Usabhapaka with her son, the householder Nanda, residing at Dhāṇukākāḍa, made the gift of this cave. When I had gone to see these caves in January 1940, I discovered another inscription on the door-lintel of the proper left cell in the back side of the cave No. 2. Except one or two letters, the whole inscription was concealed under a thick coat of mud plaster. The mud plaster having been removed, the present record, a hitherto unknown inscription, was brought to light.

The inscription measures 4' × 1' 1" and consists of five lines of writing. The last line, consisting of only three letters, is just below the end of the fourth line. The script is of the variety adopted in the undated inscriptions of Kuṣā, Nos. 1—5, 11, 20,<sup>3</sup> and may be ascribed to about the 2nd century A.D. With regard to the formation of individual letters it may be pointed out that *a*, *gh*, *ch*, *t*, *dā*, *m*, *l*, and *ś* have two different forms<sup>4</sup> each as found respectively in the following examples : *ato* (line 1) and *bālibā* (line 2) ; *Ghapa*<sup>5</sup> and *Saghā*<sup>6</sup> (line 2) ; *cha* (lines 3 and 4) ; *dhagata* (line 1) and *śi(k)āya* (line 2) ; *śidha* (line 1) and *Budha*<sup>7</sup> (line 2) ; *dhama* (line 3) and *māpato* (line 5) ; *bāli*<sup>8</sup> (line 2) and *kuleha* (line 4) ; *Sidhā*<sup>9</sup> (line 1) and *śahi* (line 4). Besides, *s* has four different forms,<sup>10</sup> as in *śidha* (line 1), *Saghā*<sup>6</sup> (line 2), *śaha* (line 3) and *sacchi* (lines 3—4). The medial vowels used are *ā*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*. Among these, only *i* has two different forms<sup>11</sup> as found in *śiṣiṣya* (line 1). The language used is Prākṛita.

The object of this inscription is to record the gift of a *chaitya* hall by two ladies **Budhā** and **Saghā**. The latter was the daughter of Ghaparā, a female disciple of the elder (*thera*) Bhāṇṭa Siha (Siṅha). There are certain interesting points in this inscription which deserve notice. Of the four names in this inscription two, viz., **Saghā** and **Budhā** seem to be peculiar, as such names are usually found with some other suffix such as *māta*, *datta*, etc. This inscription also gives us the evidence for the first time that this particular cave was meant to be the *chaitya* hall of the Buddhist monastery which was situated on this hill. Regarding this cave, Fergusson and Burgess remarked : "The front is entirely gone, and a thick wall has been built, to form a new front, a few feet farther in than the original, with two circular arched doors. The hall has four cells on the right, two in the back, besides a large shrine, and three on the left,—a fourth being entirely ruined. In the shrine recess had stood a *dāgoba*, the capital attached to the roof as in the Kuṣā

<sup>1</sup> This series of Buddhist caves was first noticed by the late Dr. John Wilson in 1830, *J.E.A.S.*, Vol. III, part II, page 54, where he observes : "A little below the summit of that hill fronting the south-west, we found an excavation with four small cells, containing a *gōpi*, and at present sacred to Shiva, which appeared to us, from a bench going round the excavation in front of them, to have been originally Buddhistical. On examining the hill more particularly, we came upon a considerable *Vihār* below them, running E.N.E. and containing about a dozen of cells. Here we found a Buddhist inscription of five lines, which we copied, and which we still preserve. It is very possible that some *Chaitya* may be in the neighbourhood". It was also noticed by G. H. Johns (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 352 f.), Fergusson and Burgess (*The Cave Temples of India*, pp. 246 f.), Burgess and Indrap (*Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, pp. 38 f.), Burgess (*Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and Their Inscriptions*, pp. 25, 92, Pl. XLVIII., No. 19), Lüders (*A list of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 1121).

<sup>2</sup> Lüders, *A list of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 1121.

<sup>3</sup> Bühler, *Indische Paläographie*, Tafel III, Col. XV. *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 84, etc.

<sup>4</sup> [The difference noticed is perhaps not a substantial one.—Ed.]





# SHELARWADI CAVE INSCRIPTION



caves,—but this has been hewn away to make room for a small low *chavarsinga* or Śaiva altar. From this it is apparent that from the architectural point of view also it was originally a *chaitya* hall which was later transformed into a Śaiva shrine and this inscription establishes beyond doubt that it was the *chaitya* hall of this Buddhist establishment.

## TEXT

- 1 Sidha || therāpaṃ bhayata-Sihāpa atēsiṇiya
- 2 pāvullī[k]pāya Ghapa[rā]ya bālīkā Saghāya Budha(dhā)-
- 3 a<sup>1</sup> cha chetiya-gharo deya-dhama mātā-pitā uliss saha [cha] sa-
- 4 vohi bhikkhā(khu)-kulehi sahā cha āchari[ya]hi bhata-vireyehi<sup>2</sup> sa-
- 5 māpito

## TRANSLATION

Success. The meritorious gift of a *chaitya* hall is made by Budhā and Saghā (Sachghā) (who was) the daughter<sup>3</sup> of the nun Ghaparā, a female disciple of the elder (thera) Bhadanta Siha for the sake of parents together with all communities of the *bhikkhus* and the teachers.

## No. 15—MORE LIGHT ON GHUMLI PLATES; GUPTA SAMVAT 513

B. CH. CHRADRA, OOTACAMUND

Early in 1936, twelve copper plates were unearthed near Ghumli in the Nawanshar State of the United States of Saurashtra. They constitute six separate charters of certain Samdhava rulers. The charters have been edited by Dr. A. S. Altekar. They are indicated as A, B, C, D, E and F. In this note, we are concerned with the charter A. It is a grant of the time of Agguka II, dated in the [Gupta] year 513.<sup>1</sup> The last line of this document contains the following recapitulatory verse:

Śrī-Jayasēnō mahyaṃ grāmam=adāḍ=Dhaṅka-tīrtha-nāmānam [ | \*]  
Gulamayikā-grāma-das-ānā(ā-ānā)-sahitam=atibhaktir=Udag-ayaṇḍ ||

This is followed by the date *Saṃvatsara 500 10 3*. The information briefly conveyed by the couplet is the main theme of the charter, set out in detail in lines 27-33. It may be observed that, in the verse, the king Jālka is mentioned under the Sanskrit or Sanskritised form of his name, and that Gulamikā is spelt as Gulamayikā for the sake of the metre.

The point at issue, however, is that the verse has been considered by the learned editor to be an interpolation. Moreover, the interpolation is supposed to be the work of the donee himself. That this can hardly be the case is shown below.

<sup>1</sup> Ferguson and Burgess, *The Cave temples of India*, pp. 246-7.

<sup>2</sup> It seems that one wrong letter was engraved after *y* which was effaced and the letter *r* was then chiselled in the next space.

<sup>3</sup> [The reading of this syllable is definitely *rā*.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> It may at first appear that *Saghāya Budha* cha may mean "to the Buddha and the sangha"; but there is one difficulty for which this interpretation cannot be accepted. There is no dative in Prakrit and the sense of dative is conveyed by possessive in this language. The reading should, therefore, have been *saghāya Budha* cha if it had meant "to the Buddha and the sangha".

<sup>5</sup> The meaning of the word *bhata-vireyehi* is not clear.

<sup>6</sup> From the context it appears possible that both Saghā and Budhā were the daughters of Ghaparā; but as the form *bālīkā* which precedes *Saghāya* is singular, I have taken only Saghā to be the daughter of Ghaparā.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 197 ff., and plate.



While introducing the verse, the learned editor remarks that it 'summarises the contents of the grant mentioning once more the names of the grantor, the grantee, the village granted and the time of the grant'. Continuing, the learned editor says: "Since the donee speaks of himself in the first person in this verse, it may be well doubted whether it really formed part of the original record. In copper-plate charters, we do not usually come across the phenomenon of the donee himself stating at the end that he had got the grant from such and such a king on such and such an occasion. It would appear that the last verse was probably composed by the donee himself and added in the space available at the bottom of the plate".<sup>1</sup> The learned editor, as a matter of fact, is convinced of this state of affairs, as has been evinced by himself in the course of drawing a contrast between this Charter A and Charter D of the series. There, he points to the fish emblem that occurs at the end of the record instead of on its seal, and comments: "In a way it is no doubt a better method to prevent additional matter being interpolated in the documents in the space lying vacant at the end of the record, as was done by the grantee of Charter A. The seal emblem on the ring does not prevent such a tampering with the original record".<sup>2</sup>

Now, there are certain considerations that not only do not favour the conclusion arrived at by the learned editor, but positively discredit it. In the first place, the verse in question does not show any hidden motive behind it which would prompt a tampering with the original. Secondly, having no reason to the contrary, we may credit the donee with sense enough to know that any such interference on his part would only go against him, nay, would even annul the grant, legally speaking. These two considerations preclude the possibility of attributing to the grantee any bungling of the suspected sort. It may, however, further be observed that, as shown above, after the so-called interpolated verse comes the date which the learned editor evidently does not take as a part of the interpolation. Since the date occurs nowhere else in the record and he has accepted it as authentic, it may be inferred that he considers the date portion as a part of the original document itself. It follows therefore that the engraver incised the date at the extreme end on the right, leaving on the left a blank just enough to accommodate an *Āryā* to be inserted later on by the donee, so to say. Here again an element of improbability! Supposing that, after finishing the verse in line 44, the engraver had only the date portion left to be engraved, a more natural course for him would have been either to commence the next line by engraving the very date or to engrave it somewhere in the centre, leaving some space unengraved on either side. Even granting that the insertion of the date is also the doing of the donee, the evidence of the handwriting is strongly against the interpolation theory. It may be seen from the illustration that there is absolutely no difference in the duct of writing between the last line of the record and the rest of it, whereas in the event of any addition by the donee some difference in handwriting was bound to show itself. In the Sone East-Bank copper plate of Indradēva and Udayarāja, we have a clear instance of an interpolation by one of the donees, where the difference in handwriting is as obvious as the object of the interpolator is manifest.<sup>3</sup>

So far as the practice of summarising the contents of a grant at the end is concerned, there is nothing strange about it, though it is not of a frequent occurrence. In a way, it occurs again in charters D, E and F of the series.<sup>4</sup> The same is found in certain other records as well.<sup>5</sup> It would no doubt have been very unusual if, in the present instance, it had been done by the donee himself, as the learned editor believes it has been. According to him, the verse mentions *inter alia* the name of the grantee. This is not true. Further on, however, he makes himself clear by

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 223, 226 and n. 1, plate facing p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 217, text line 34; p. 221, text lines 35-36; p. 226, text lines 38-39.

<sup>5</sup> For example, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 197.











The inscription records the grant of a village called *Ardhākamaṇḍuka* together with another locality called *Chandanavāṭaka*, both situated in the *Parakichalamārgga viśaya*. It was made by *Mahārāja Dharmarāja* who was ruling at *Padmakhōḷi* as a feudatory of *Prithivivigraha-bhāṭṭāraka* when the latter was governing *Kaliṅgarāṣṭra*, apparently forming a part of the *Gupta-rājya*. *Dharmarāja* is described as a descendant (possibly son)<sup>1</sup> of *Mahārāja Ubhaya*,<sup>2</sup> as born of the queen *Bappadēvi* and as devoted to the deity *Sahasraraśmi*, i.e., the Sun-god. The localities mentioned above were made an *agrahara* or free gift in favour of a number of *Brāhmanas* belonging to various *gotras* and *charakas*, only the chief amongst them being mentioned as the *upādhyāya* (teacher) *Maṇḍuvāmin* who was an inhabitant of the *Hornvaka* *agrahara*. The *Brāhmanas* are said to have been men of good conduct and learning. The order of *Mahārāja Dharmarāja* was issued to the persons connected with the administration of the region in his time as well as to those who would be associated with it in future. These include the *Sāmanta-mahārāja* (or *Sāmanta* and *Mahārāja*), *Rājaputra*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Uparika*, *Paṭāyuktaka*, *Dāpāvatika*, *Sthānāntarika*, *Vyavahārika* and *Vaichayika*. The land was made free from the obligation of paying any tax or revenue and from all obstacles (*sareka-bam-piṭā-carjita*). It was granted together with the *vidēia* (i.e., space above the *tala* or ground) and *aparibhata* (i.e., rent to be realised from temporary tenants). The charter was written by *Dānuka* the *ādhyakṣika* (i.e., an officer attached to the *ādhyakṣa* or an office of administration). It was sealed (for the purpose of affixing the seal) by a person named *Lakṣhaṇavāmin*.

The most important historical problems raised by the inscription under discussion are three. In the first place, it says that in the Gupta year 250 (A.D. 569) the *rājya* or empire of the Guptas was *śrīṭamśa*, i.e., 'still existing.' Secondly, the *viśaya* (territory or province) of *Kaliṅga* is implied to have formed a part of the Gupta empire. Thirdly, *Prithivivigraha-bhāṭṭāraka*'s rule over the *Kaliṅga-rāṣṭra* apparently as a viceroy of the Guptas in the second half of the sixth century has now to be adjusted with the already known facts of that country's history.

As regards the first problem we know that the Gupta empire broke up about the middle of the sixth century, that is to say, some two decades earlier than the date of the Sumandala inscription, when it is said to have been existing. The latest imperial Gupta record is dated in the Gupta year 234 (543 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> There is a Jaina tradition recorded by *Jinasena* that the Gupta emperors ruled for 231 years.<sup>4</sup> As the Gupta era started in 320 A.D.,<sup>5</sup> which seems to be the date of the beginning of the Gupta sovereignty, the end of the empire, according to the tradition noted above, appears to have come about 551 A.D. That the heart of the Gupta empire in Bihar and the U.P. passed soon after that date to the Maukharis is indicated by the *Harīkṣa* inscription,<sup>6</sup> dated *Vikrama* Sastvat 611 (A.D. 555), of the time of *Isānavarman*, the first imperial ruler of the Maukhari family, as well as by the *D65-Barsanark* inscription<sup>7</sup> referring to the rule of *Śarvavarman* and *Avantivarman*, son and grandson respectively of *Isānavarman*, over the *Shahabul District* of Bihar.<sup>8</sup> The present inscription indicating the continuity of the imperial Gupta rule as late as A.D. 569 thus seems to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Successors of the Śālistambas*, p. 259; *Nalanda*, V, 124, where *Nala* is described as *Vīrasena-kula*-*śreṣṭha* although he was *Vīrasena*'s son.

<sup>2</sup> [See below, p. 84, note 5—ED.]

<sup>3</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 337.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India*, 1939, p. 531; *J. R. A. S. B., Letters*, Vol. XI, p. 70.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Guptaśālikā-kula-draṅga-mūla-triśatichakā-candika*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Smith, Early History of India*, 1924, p. 296.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff. and plate.

<sup>8</sup> *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 215 ff. and plate.

<sup>9</sup> *J. R. A. S. B., Letters*, Vol. XI, pp. 72-74.



suggest that, even after the disintegration of the empire, there were some members of the family who claimed the status of their imperial predecessors. Whether their position was nominal like that of James III of England or of the Mughal Emperor Shāh 'Alam II and his successors can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. There is, however, no doubt that till A.D. 369 viceroys like Prithivivigraha-bhāṭṭāraka of Kālīṅga continued their allegiance to the Gupta emperor. The word *bhāṭṭāraka* attached to Prithivivigraha's name may suggest that he ruled practically as an independent monarch; but he did so without officially throwing off the yoke of the Guptas. It is possible to conjecture that he had blood relationship with the Guptas and was eager to display it to improve his own case against those of other rival rulers of the country.<sup>1</sup>

The second problem raised by the record, viz., the expansion of the Gupta rule over Kālīṅga, is equally interesting. Roughly speaking, Kālīṅga was the name of the coast land between the Mahānadi and the Godāvarī, although it included the valley of the Vartaragī river on the north-east. But this was Kālīṅga in a wider sense, the name being applied in a narrow sense only to the Puri-Ganjam area of modern Orissa. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 38—9, associates the Kālīṅga country especially with the Mahendra (i.e., the Mahēndragiri peak in the Ganjam District) and locates the Utkala country, comprising the present Balasore District together with parts of the Midnapur and Cuttack Districts, to its north-east.

In the fifth and sixth centuries some rulers, having their headquarters at cities like Śimhapura (modern Singupuram near Chicacole or Sirkākulam), Vardhamāna (modern Vadama in the Palakonda *tāluka* of the Vizagapatam District), Dēvapura (capital of Dēvarāṣṭra in the Yellamāchili *tāluka* of the same District) and Pishāpura (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) assumed the title "lord of Kālīṅga".<sup>2</sup> From the last decade of the fifth century kings of the Eastern Gupta dynasty were ruling from Kālīṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam in the Ganjam District) and Dantapura (near Chicacole) often with the same title. These Guptas were devoted to the deity Śiva-Gōkaryāśvara installed in a temple at the top of the Mahēndragiri. In the records of the Eastern Chālukya kings of the Āndhra country, a portion of the Vizagapatam District was sometimes called Madhyama-Kālīṅga or Elamaśebi-Kālīṅga. It is interesting to note that the Gupta emperor Samudragupta led an expedition, about the middle of the fourth century, against a number of kings of Dakṣiṇāpātha, some of whom ruled over different parts of the Kālīṅga country. The Allahabad pillar inscription<sup>3</sup> of Samudragupta, while giving a list of these kings, mentions kings Svāmūlatia of Kōṭṭāra (possibly Kōthur near the Mahēndragiri), Mahēndragiri of Pishāpura, Damana of Erandapalla (probably near Chicacole) and Kuśāra of Dēvarāṣṭra. It is said that Samudragupta captured the kings of Dakṣiṇāpātha including the above rulers of the Kālīṅga region, but that he let them off. The implication is that the Gupta emperor reinstated the defeated kings in their respective kingdoms. This may be a mild way of saying that Samudragupta failed to establish his supremacy over the countries of the south. But there are some indications of the spread of Gupta influence over many parts of South India. The Guptas are known to have contracted matrimonial alliances with the Vākāpakas of the Sotat region and the Kalambas of the Karmāṇa country.<sup>4</sup> The Gupta era seems to be used in an inscription of Kāṁsthavarman of the Kadamba dynasty.<sup>5</sup> The Arang copper-plate inscription of Bhīmashāna, a ruler of Dakṣiṇa-Kōśala in the present Chhattāgarh region, is also dated in the Gupta era<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of the claims suggested by the medals issued by certain Indo-Greek kings (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 320-24).

<sup>2</sup> See *Successors of the Śālokhana*, p. 77; *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, pp. 76-84.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Inscriptions*, pp. 226-7 and plate.

<sup>4</sup> *Successors of the Śālokhana*, pp. 82n, 256.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234n.

<sup>6</sup> *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 83.



and coins of king Prasannamātra of Śaralānapara in South Kōśala exhibit influence of Gupta coinage.<sup>1</sup> Recently coins of the South Kōśala king, Mahēndrāditya, who seems to have been named after the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I Mahēndrāditya, have been discovered.<sup>2</sup> This may actually indicate that the Gupta suzerainty was accepted by the kings of this family of South Kōśala.<sup>3</sup> Of course the discovery of a large hoard of Kumāragupta's coins at Satara may or may not indicate the expansion of Gupta influence over that part of the Deccan, but the other evidences cited above have to be taken into consideration in this connection. As regards the question of Gupta influence in Kalinga in particular, we may refer to the use of the Gupta era in that country. The Ganjam inscription of the time of Śaśāṅka, as we have already seen, is dated in the Gupta year 300 (A.D. 619). The Soro<sup>4</sup> (Balasore District) and Patnakella<sup>5</sup> (Cuttack District) inscriptions mentioning a king named Saṁbhayadāsa who was the ruler of Tōsalī, both North (roughly the Balasore District) and South (Puri-Cuttack region together with the eastern portion of Ganjam at least in the age of the Bhūma-Karna), are dated in the Gupta years 250 (A.D. 579) and 283 (A.D. 602) respectively. Tōsalī (modern Dhanū in the Puri District) was the name of the chief city of northern Kalinga in the days of the Mauryas and it seems that the rulers of the Puri region in northern Kalinga felt the necessity of giving this new name to their kingdom sometime after the Eastern Gāṅgas had established themselves at Kalinganagara in the last decade of the fifth century and were describing themselves as lords of Kalinga. In any case, South Tōsalī was practically the same as the northern part of Kalinga. The use of the Gupta era in the records of Saṁbhayadāsa, ruler of both north and south Tōsalī, is thus additional evidence in favour of the spread of Gupta influence over the Kalinga country. Till now, however, there was no direct evidence to prove that Kalinga formed an integral part of the Gupta empire. The present inscription proves this fact for the first time. The Guptas may have entered Kalinga either through South Kōśala or through South-West Bengal, more probably through the latter. Samudragupta is known to have extirpated Chandravarman who, according to the Susunia inscription, ruled over South-West Bengal from his capital at Poshkaragūḥ (modern Polkharua on the Damodar).<sup>6</sup> Thus South-West Bengal formed an integral part of the Gupta empire since the middle of the fourth century. The rule of Śaśāṅka, king of the Gāṅgas who were political successors of the Guptas in Bengal, in the Kōśagōḍa country, comprising the eastern part of the Ganjam District, as well as in Utkala, as indicated by the Ganjam and Midnapur<sup>7</sup> inscriptions seems to be merely an after effect of the Gupta occupation of Kalinga. For the extent of Gupta domination over Kalinga and its duration we have yet to wait for further evidence.

The third problem raised by our inscription relates to chronology, viz., fixing the date of Prithvivigraha's rule over Kalinga in relation to some known facts of Kalinga history. We know that the Eastern Gāṅgas began to rule at least in the Ganjam District with the exclusion of its eastern part from a date falling in the period A.D. 495-98.<sup>8</sup> Kōśagōḍa on the Puri-Ganjam border was under the Śaśodbhavaras at least from the middle of the sixth century, since Mādhavavarman II Samyubhāta, who was the fourth ruler of this family, is known to have been reigning in A.D. 619

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *J. N. S. J.*, Vol. X, pp. 137-42.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Successors of the Śāśodbhavaras*, pp. 176, 245n, where instances of Gāṅga kings bearing Pallava names indicating their subordination to the Pallava monarchs are given.

<sup>4</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXIII, p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 335 and *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 24n.

<sup>6</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 341-42.

<sup>7</sup> *Prasasti, Śrāvana*, 1350 B.S., pp. 291-300; *J. R. A. S. B., Letters*, Vol. XI, pp. 1-3 and plates.

<sup>8</sup> *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol. I, pp. 219-21.



as a laudatory of the Gauda king Śaśāṅka. As we have seen, king Śambhuyāsa was ruling over Uttara- and Dakṣiṇa-Tōsali, i.e., the country extending at least from the borders of the Midnapur District up to those of the Ganjam District, in the period A.D. 579-602. It thus seems that, about A.D. 569, Prithiviviraha was ruling over that part of Kalinga which lay to the north-east of the Eastern Gāṅga kingdom. The Śailōdbhavas appear to have originally owed allegiance to him and, through him, to the Guptas. The dynasty represented by Śambhuyāsa probably overthrew the family to which Prithiviviraha belonged. One of the records of Śambhuyāsa speaks of the suzerainty of the Mānas. It appears that Gupta rule in Orissa was substituted by that of the Mānas shortly after Prithiviviraha. The Mānas in their turn were probably ousted by the Gandas. Thus the Śailōdbhavas appear to have acknowledged the suzerainty at first of the viceroys of the Guptas, then of the Māna family to which Śambhuyāsa belonged or owed allegiance, and ultimately of the Gandas. An as-yet-unpublished copper-plate inscription discovered from a locality called Kanā in Orissa is said to speak of a king named Lōkaviraha.<sup>2</sup> It is possible to suggest that Prithiviviraha and Lōkaviraha belonged to the same family.

Little is known about the kings Ubhaya<sup>3</sup> and Dharmarāja from other sources. It seems that Padmakhōḥ was not only the name of the capital of Mahārāja Dharmarāja but also that of his kingdom which lay around the present Khallikōṭ in the Ganjam District.

Of geographical names mentioned in the Sumatṭala inscription, we have already discussed the location of Kalinga-rāṣṭra. The city of Padmakhōḥ has been suggested to be no other than modern Padmakhol near Narayankhol in the now defunct Khallikōṭ State. The *vishaya* or district called Parakkhalemārga must also have been situated in the Khallikōṭ region. The localities Anikāmaṇḍuka, Chandunavāpaka and Homvak-āgrahāra cannot be satisfactorily identified.

### TEXT

#### First Plate

1 [Siddham ]]] Sva[ati ] cātar-udadhi-mākhāyām sapta-dvīpa-pa[r]vata-sa[ri]ḥ  
t-patta[sa]-

2 bhūḥaṇāyām-va(yān va)muḥharāyām-va(yān va)rttamāna-Gupta-rājya varsha-  
śata-dvayā

3 pañchāśad-uttarē Kalinga-rāṣṭram-anuśāsati śri-Prithiviviraha-

4 bhāṭṭārakē tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Padmakhōlyām mahārj-Ūbhay-ānvayā<sup>4</sup>

5 Va(Ba)ppadōvyām-utpanna-tannḥ Sahaśraraṁi-pāda-bhaktā mahārja-Dharm-  
marā-

6 jah kuśalt Para[kkha]lamārgga-vishaya varitamāna-bhaviṣṭ[ya]-t-sāma[nta]-

#### Second Plate : First Side

7 mahārja-rājaputtra-kumārāmāty-ōpanika-tadāyaktaka-dāp[avā]ka-<sup>5</sup> nṭhān[ā]-

<sup>2</sup> See *Memoranda*, loc. cit. After this paper had been sent to the press, I received the Kanā plate of Lōkaviraha for examination. That inscription will also be published in this journal. A faulty transcript of the Kanā plate has since been published in *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, Pt. II-III, pp. 202-3.

<sup>3</sup> [See below, note 5—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> From the original plates and their impressions.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> This may be the *śloka* of names like Ūbhayajāta (*Matras Purāṇa*, 193, 31) and Ūbhayachara (*cf. Upanishads*) as epithets or titles like Ūbhayadāyaktaka (above, Vol. XII, p. 282). (Ūbhaya as proper name of a person sounds rather queer. Mr. Rajaguru takes it to be *Abhaya*. More probably this is what is meant. The reading in that case may be given as mahārj-ābhay-ānvayā. Or, better still, it may be corrected into mahārj-ābhay-ānvayā, otherwise Abhaya will go without the title Mahārāja, whereas Dharmarāja will have it mentioned twice.—Ed.)

<sup>7</sup> *Dadōpāka* is no doubt intended. [See above, p. 80 note 3—Ed.]



[illegible]

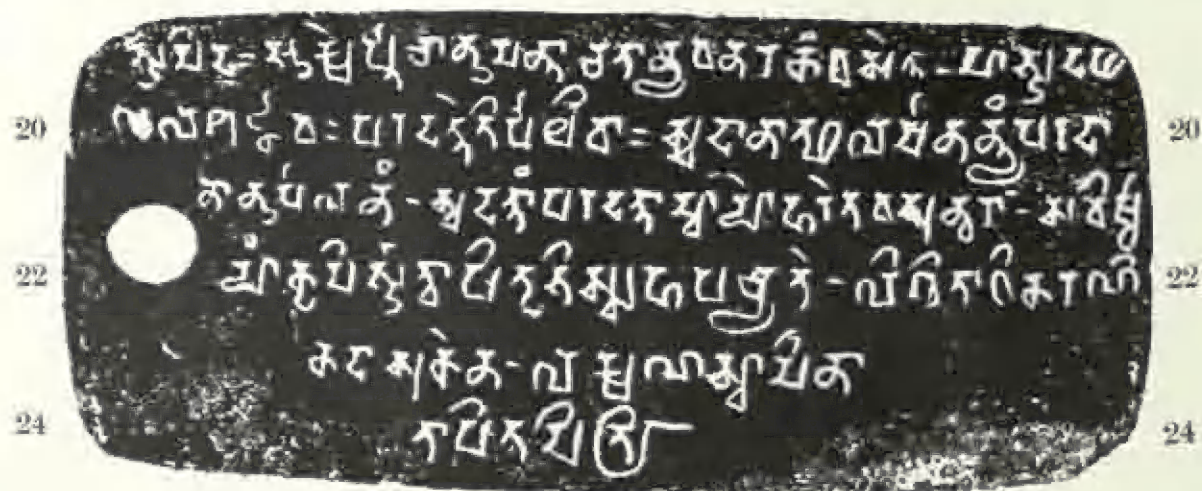
ii. a.

8  
 10  
 12

ii. b.

14 14  
16 16  
18 18





Seal



(From a photograph)

8 ntarikān-ayānā-cha(ayānā-cha) vallabha-jāt(yān-rāja-pād-ōpa)tvinō vya(va)hāri-  
vaishō(sha)-

9 yikānō-cha(hānō-cha) yathārham-mānayatī-āśatī cha viditam-asu vō ya(th)-ā-  
10 amābhūh Māgha-kṛishṇasy-aikādeśyām-uttar-āyanō śtat-vishaya-sam.<sup>1</sup>

11 [tiiv] Ā[rddhā]kamaṇḍuka-grāmas-Chandanavāṭaka-sahitō-grahāṇḍikīya Hom-  
vak-āgra-

12 hāriya-brāhmaṇ-ōpādhyāya-Matūsvāmi-pramukhānān nānō-gōttra-charaṇā-

*Second Plate : Second Side*

13 nān vṛitt-ādīhyayanavatān brāhmaṇānām(nā)m-ā-chandr-ārka-sama-kāla-śhūṭṭyō  
tāmra-[pa]-

14 [t-ābhilīkhitā] sarva-kara-pṛdā-varijitā s-ōddēśā s-ōparikarā mā(tā)-

15 pātrōr-ūtmanā-cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayaṇ prastigrahēṇa prastipādītā[?]

16 tad-ēch-āmad-dattir-ōdharima-gauravāt prastipānty-ēti | uktaṇ-cha dharima-

17 śāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhīr-vvaendhā dattā rājabhīr-Sagar-ādhībhih [?]<sup>2</sup> yasya yasya ya-

18 dā bhūmīa-tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [?]<sup>3</sup> śhaśṭim-va(ēṭim va)śha-sahasrāṇi  
svarggō mōdati

*Third Plate*

19 bhūnōdāh [?]<sup>4</sup> ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva sarakām(kō) vasēt [?]<sup>5</sup> Mā bhūd-  
e-pha-

20 'la-śaṅkā vah para-datt-ēti pāriluvāh [?]<sup>6</sup> sva-dānāt-phalam-ānantyaṇ para-dā-

21 n-ānupālanaṇ(nā) [?]<sup>7</sup> sva-duttān para-dattām-vā(nān vō) yō harōta vvaendharām(zām)]  
as viśhṭhā-

22 yān kṛimir-bhūtvā pīṭribhīr-saha pachyatē [?]<sup>8</sup> līkhit-ādīhikarāṇi<sup>9</sup>

23 ka-I[ā]śukōna | Lakshagavāminā<sup>10</sup>

24 tāpitam-iti [?]<sup>11</sup>

**No. 17—TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SALAIGRAMAM**

*(I Plate)*

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

*Sālaigrāmam* is a village in the Paramagūṇi *tāluk* of the Ramnad District, a region which once formed the core of the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyas. The village contains an old temple of Śiva worshipped under the name of Varaguṇēśvara, an appellation evidently associated with the Pāṇḍyas among whom there were two kings of the name of Varaguna. The goddess bears the name, Kāmākshī-Amman. Mr. K. Ramaswami Aiyangar, the then Revenue Officer of the Ramnad Samsthanam, drew the attention of the Government Epigraphist for India to the historical associations of the temple and to its antiquity borne out by the old inscriptions in the temple and by

<sup>1</sup> Read *amābhūh-ārddhā*.

<sup>2</sup> *Before* *la*, another *la* was incised; but it seems to have been rejected by the engraver owing to damage in its lower part.

<sup>3</sup> *Līkhitā* qualifies a word like *tipi* understood here.

<sup>4</sup> *Lakshagavā* seems to have been intended. *Tāpitam* qualifies *śamman* understood.

<sup>5</sup> The *i* sign of *ti* is joined cursively with the long horizontal stroke at the end indicating full-stop. This characteristic is also found in other records. Cf. Sora plate (C), line 16 (above, Vol. XXIII, Plate opp. p. 302); Ashrafpur plate (B), lines 17, 23 (*Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. I, Plate VII); etc.



references in ancient Tamil literature to the place. Two verses in the *Perantogai*<sup>1</sup> refer to a chief, Tenkojunār Vēṇāḍan, who is stated to have founded Sālaigrāmam and endowed thirty-two *kuḷis* of land in it to god Varagunavichehuvārar, who was responsible for the routing of the hostile kings and making them climb the northern mountain. The local people of the village derive the name Sālaigrāmam from *sālai* or road-stead for the pilgrims proceeding to Sēta and Rāmēsvaram. It may be noted, however, that the inscriptions secured from the place, which are edited here, give its name as Sālaigrāmam.

The inscriptions under publication (A and B)<sup>2</sup> are engraved on the left and right door jambs of the entrance into the *maṇḍapa* of the temple. Both are engraved in Vatteḷuttu characters and their language is Tamil. The Grantha alphabet is employed wherever letters or words of the Sanskrit language had to be written, e.g., *brahmadēyam* (A. lines 7-8; B. lines 9-10), *Paramasvāmī* (A. lines 10-11; B. lines 24-5); *Sālaigrāmam* (A. lines 8-9; B. lines 10-11), etc. In the word *Kōṇḍiṇmai-kōṇḍāṇ* (A : lines 30-1), we have a title which bears close similarity to *Kōṇḍiṇmaikōṇḍāṇ* and *Kōṇḍiṇmaikōṇḍāṇ* found in inscriptions of much later date than the present record and which have been generally understood to mean 'one who had no rival king' (*Kōṇḍiṇmai-kōṇḍāṇ*) and 'the unequalled among kings' (*kōṇḍiṇmai-kōṇḍāṇ*).<sup>3</sup> But neither of these derivations can suit the form of our inscription. Apparently, its meaning has to be derived as *kōṇḍiṇmai-kōṇḍāṇ*, i.e., 'one who had no ill health'. This would correspond, as Venkayya thought, to the term *kūṣṭhī* of Sanskrit inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> Both the records are engraved with care and the writing may be attributed, on palaeographical grounds, to the 10th century A. D. A few orthographical peculiarities found in the inscriptions may be noticed. Instances of the use of *s* for *ś* are found in *iṇṇaḍu* (B. line 14) and *vaḷa-gōḍu* (A. line 5). The following uncommon usages of certain words due, evidently to colloquial expression, may be noted: *yēri* for *ēri* (A. lines 19, 23, 33; B. 52); *vaḷuṇāṭṭu* (A. lines 22-3) for *vaḷuṇāṭṭu*; *iṇṇiṇṇiṇṇi* (A. lines 30-1) for *iṇṇiṇṇiṇṇi*.

Record A is dated in the 2+1st year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ and registers the order issued by Kōṇḍiṇmaikōṇḍāṇ to the *sabbā* of Sālaigrāmam, a *dēvādāna*-*brahmadēya* village in Mayimākara-vaḷaṇḍu alias Tuvvūr-kūṭṭam, to use the waters of the *Kulucāṇṇi-ēri* for irrigating the lands of the god Varagunavēvaruttu-Paramasvāmigaḷ. It is also stated that the permission so granted was in accordance with the *śrīmaḥom* (Skt. *Śrīmukha*) of Perumāṇḍigaḷ Śivallabhādēvar (Śivallabhadēva) granting the village as *dēvādāna* to the god with facilities for irrigation. *Kōṇḍiṇmaikōṇḍāṇ* was evidently the title of king Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ. As far as I know this is the earliest mention of the title in Pāṇḍya records.

Record A is engraved immediately below another short Tamil inscription<sup>5</sup> in Vatteḷuttu and Grantha characters which states that the *niḷai* (door jamb) was set up by Vāṇḍēva-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kōṭṭaiyūr. Since the characters of this record are so similar to inscription A it may be supposed

<sup>1</sup> Edited by M. Baghava Ayyangar (1935-36), Nos. 1231-2.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 32a and 34 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1946-47.

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 291, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> No. 25 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1946-47. The text of the record runs —

1 Śaḍai Śrī[\*] Śāḷai.

2 grāmattu Kōṭ.

3 tāiyūr Vāṇu.

4 dēva Nārāya.

5 *ṇaṇ* ṇṇa.

6 *niḷai* [1\*]



that both were written at the same time, if not by the same hand, soon after the setting up of the door jamb.

**Record B** is dated in the year 15+5 of the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍya, 'who took the head of the Chōla'. The date quoted here is the highest known regnal year of this king. I have not been able to make out the full sense of the record owing to the complicated wording of the text, the syntax of which is not clear. Its main purport seems to be to register the grant of 35 *pāṭakams* of land made evidently to god Varaguna-śvara of Sālaigraṁam by the *sabbi* of Sālaigraṁam, a *dēvādāya brahmadēya* in Tuvūr-kūgram alias Mayimākara-vaṇaṇḍu. It also seems to say that Perumāṇḍiga (i.e., the king) abolished a tax of 9000 *kōṭu* which he at first said he would levy on Tirukkulūṅgaṭūr, but later decided not to do so. A sum of 100 *ilakkōṭu* is separately mentioned in the record as an endowment made for the purpose of supplying ornaments (*tīru-āḍḍaṅṅam*) and cake-offerings (*tīru-uppam*) to god Varaguna-śvara. It is not clear who the donor of the 100 *kōṭu* was; whether the assignment of 35 *pāṭakams* of land made by the *sabbi* was made in consideration of the 100 *kōṭu* only, or in return for the 9000 *kōṭu* of tax abolished on Tirukkulūṅgaṭūr by the king is also not clear. In the latter case it must be understood that this village was within the jurisdiction of the *sabbi* of Sālaigraṁam. The order of the Perumāṇḍiga is stated to have been issued from Tiruppālayūr where he was staying (*irupdu*). The inscription thereafter specifies the boundaries of the land granted and records the provision made for its irrigation by the *Kuṭuṇai-ēru* for the two crops of the year.

The importance of the records under study lies in their close palaeographical resemblance which permits the inference that the kings mentioned therein, viz., Śaḍaiya-Māraṅ and Śūlag-*raṭai-koṇḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya could not have been much removed from each other in point of time. Śaḍaiya-Māraṅ of record A can be identified with Śaḍaiyamāraṅ Rājasiṅha, the donor of the Biggar Śiṅga-maṇūr plates issued in the 2+14th year of his reign.<sup>1</sup> The identification is sustainable on the ground that the records of this king are invariably issued in the years opposite the second year,<sup>2</sup> as also on palaeographical considerations. Śaḍaiya-Māraṅ is to be assigned to the 10th century A. D., a period to which the donor of the Biggar Śiṅga-maṇūr plates also belonged. The contemporaneity of this Rājasiṅha alias Śaḍaiyamāraṅ with the Chōla king Parāntaka I (A. D. 907-933) is well known. The actual dates of the beginning and the close of his reign are not definitely ascertainable owing to the lack of necessary data, astronomical or other, in his inscriptions. But an attempt can be made to indicate them approximately. In the first instance, the duration of his rule might be fixed by taking into consideration the highest regnal year quoted in his records, which is 2+22.<sup>3</sup> Thus he had at least a reign of 24 years. That his rule for this entire period was quite uninterrupted is evidenced by his inscriptions which are dated in almost every year of his reign, from the 2nd to the 2+22nd, and which are found in distant parts of his kingdom, in places as wide apart as Cape Comorin<sup>4</sup> and Kudumiyāmalai (Pudukkottai).<sup>5</sup> The most outstanding events of his reign were his conflict with Chōla Parāntaka I (A. D. 907-933), with whom he fought finally at Veḷḷūr, and his subsequent flight to Ceylon abandoning his kingdom to which he never returned. Since the battle of Veḷḷūr in which the Pāṇḍya king was aided by the Ceylonese troops, finds mention

<sup>1</sup> S. I. L., Vol. III, pp. 450-56.

<sup>2</sup> *As. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1932-3, part II, para. 26; above, Vol. XXIII, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> No. 228 of 1932-3 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. A few records issued in the name of Śaḍaiya-Māraṅ with single regnal years like 46 (No. 440 of 1907 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) cannot with certainty be ascribed to this ruler. It is likely, as Mr. Sarma has suggested, that this record might have been issued by his grandfather also called Śaḍaiya-māraṅ with the surnames of Śetvallaḍḍa, Śetmaṇḍa and Aveniṇṇāḍḍa (J. O. R., Vol. IX, p. 225). Hence, as a working hypothesis, we may take the year 2+22 of Śaḍaiya-Māraṅ's records as his highest regnal year.

<sup>4</sup> No. 167 of 1896 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>5</sup> No. 243 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.



in two stone records of Parāntaka I dated in his 12th regnal year,<sup>1</sup> i.e. A. D. 919, the engagement must have been fought prior to this date, say about A. D. 918.<sup>2</sup> From the way in which the incidents of the battle are described in the Chōla records, it would appear that it was a fierce and undecisive fight. Victory is claimed for the Chōla king in the Udayēndiram record of Ppithivipati II, issued a few years later in the reign of Parāntaka I in A. D. 921-2, which evidently narrates the events of the same battle though it omits to mention the places.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the Bigger Śūṅga-maṇḍi plates issued by the Pāṇḍya king in his 2+14th regnal year, embody an elaborate eulogy of his victories over his enemies including that over the king of Taṅjai, i.e. the Chōla.<sup>4</sup> It seems likely that the Pāṇḍya king was just giving his version of the same conflict with Parāntaka I, which culminated in the Vejjūr battle. If such be the case, the 2+14th year of the Pāṇḍya king's reign might be equated with a date around A. D. 918. The Ceylonese chronicle, *Mahāvamsa*, relates that in the reign of Dappula IV (A. D. 923-934), 'the Pāṇḍu king, through fear of the Chōla (king), left his country, took ship and came to Mahātitttha' and then having made an unsuccessful attempt to rouse the Ceylonese to fight his cause, 'the Pāṇḍu king left his diadem and other valuables behind and betook himself to the Kēraḷas'.<sup>5</sup> No mention of the Pāṇḍu king's fate is made in the subsequent portion of the chronicle, though a reference therein to an attempt made by the Chōla king to get possession of the Pāṇḍya king's diadem is found among the events of the reign of king Udaya IV (A. D. 945-953).<sup>6</sup> We may, therefore, conclude that the Pāṇḍya king never returned to rule over his country again. His flight to Ceylon must have taken place soon after his 2+22nd regnal year, the highest date found in his records. The presence of the Chōla king Parāntaka I in A. D. 921-3 at Kuḍumiyāmalai<sup>7</sup> once forming part of the Pāṇḍya king's territory, must have hastened the flight of the Pāṇḍya. The event may be placed approximately about A. D. 926-7, i.e., his 2+22nd regnal year since, as we saw, his 2+14th year lay somewhere about A. D. 918-9. In the light of all this, we may fix the period of the rule of Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasiṅha as lying between c. 903 and 926-7 A. D.\*

In the subjoined inscription (A) of his, mention is made of Perumāṇḍigal Śrīvalluvāḍēvar (Śrīvallabha), who is stated to have made the original grant of the village of Śāḷaigraṁam to god Varaguṇa-Īvara. Among the Pāṇḍya kings who preceded Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasiṅha there was only one king of the name of Śrīvallabha, i.e., Śrīmāra, the grandfather of Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasiṅha. It is evidently this king Śrīmāra who is referred to here and if so, the god Varaguṇa-Īvara must have been named after a Varaguṇa, a predecessor of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, who was in all probability Varaguṇa I (c. A. D. 800). Successive kings of the Pāṇḍya dynasty seem to have bestowed their patronage on the temple and worshipped the deity from the time of Varaguṇa I (c. A. D. 800) to that of *Śōḷaṅ-ṛaṇai-koṇḍa Vīra-Pāṇḍya* of the subjoined ins. B, the period of whose rule we may now proceed to discuss.

Earlier in this article it has been stated that *Śōḷaṅ-ṛaṇai-koṇḍa Vīra-Pāṇḍya* of inscription B could not have been far removed from Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ in point of time since the palaeography of their records is so much alike. The latter's rule, as we saw, may be placed approximately between c. A. D. 903 and 927. *Vīra-Pāṇḍya* should, therefore, be relegated to the same period, though not exactly to the same dates, since it is not likely that both the kings ruled simultaneously.

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 331 of 1926 and 693 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. : *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 99, pp. 231-32.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Nilakanta Sastri puts the date about A. D. 918 (*Colas*, Vol. I, p. 148.)

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 383, text ll. 24 ff.; *vr.* 10-11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 455, 461; text ll. 123 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Mahāvamsa* (Calcutta), ch. 53, *vr.* 5 ff.; *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 147.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. 53, *vr.* 40 ff.; *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 148.

<sup>7</sup> No. 351 of 1904 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. *Inscriptions in Pudukottah State* (Translated into English), pt. I (1941), Nos. 79 to 80A.

\* c. A. D. 900 to 920 or a little later is the date given to this king in *Pandyan Kingdom*, pp. 41 and 82.



It is well known that he was not one of the predecessors of Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ and consequently he must have been one of the latter's successors; probably he ruled in the second quarter of the 10th century A. D.

In an article contributed to this journal<sup>1</sup> the late Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar fixed the period of Vira-Pāṇḍya's reign as extending from A. D. 947 to 966 on the basis of a few astronomical details found in one inscription of the king at Ambāsamudram. Of the three alternative dates which this record yielded for the commencement of the king's reign, viz., A. D. 939, 947 and 948, he selected the second, i.e. A. D. 947 as the best suited. The main consideration which weighed in its favour was that by accepting it, it would be possible to satisfactorily fix the initial date of the reign of this Pāṇḍya king's Chōla contemporary and foe, Āḍitya II Karikāla, at whose hands he died before the latter's second regnal year. Hence, the second year of Āḍitya II, by being equated with the last known regnal year of Vira-Pāṇḍya, i.e. 15+5 corresponding to A. D. 966, would yield A. D. 965 as the starting date of Āḍitya II's reign. On this fixation, the five year rule for Āḍitya II could be placed between A. D. 965 and 969, since from the latter year, Āḍitya II's successor Uttama-Chōla, counted his regnal years. There are, however, some points to be considered before accepting the above chronological position for the reign periods of Āḍitya II and *Śōḷaṅ-ṛalai-kōṇḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya. These arise from the Pāṇḍya as well as the Chōla sides. It is not likely that the last years of the rule of Vira-Pāṇḍya lay beyond the middle of the 10th century A. D. which the above chronological adjustment envisages; for, there is evidence to show that part of the early life of Vira-Pāṇḍya coincided with the latter part of Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājāsīrṅha's reign. One of the records of the latter dated in the 2+18th regnal year (i.e., c. A. D. 923) mentions a servant of Vira-Pāṇḍya<sup>2</sup> who could be no other than *Śōḷaṅ-ṛalai-kōṇḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya. On the Chōla side we encounter one difficulty. Besides Āḍitya II, another prince, Pārthivēndra-Āḍittavarman who had a reign of thirteen years, claims to have taken the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya. A strong case for the identity of these two princes has been made out by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri.<sup>3</sup> Granting the identity which some scholars hold in doubt,<sup>4</sup> the 13 years' rule of Āḍitya II (*alias* Pārthivēndravarmān<sup>5</sup>) when placed immediately before Uttama Chōla's accession in A. D. 969-70, would yield A. D. 956-7 as the date from which Āḍitya II counted his reign probably on account of his being associated in the administration with his father Sundara-Chōla.<sup>6</sup> Taking A. D. 956-7 as the initial year of Āḍitya II his second year would correspond to A. D. 957-8 and this date when equated with the last year of *Śōḷaṅ-ṛalai-kōṇḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya, i.e. 15+5, would yield A. D. 957-8 as the Pāṇḍya king's initial year. This date was also taken into account by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar while discussing the astronomical details of the Ambāsamudram record, but discarded owing to one consideration. He feared that its acceptance as the initial year of Vira-Pāṇḍya would lead to 'the inconsistent results that Āḍitya II killed him in A. D. 957 and that his predecessor Sundara-Chōla defeated him in A. D. 963'.<sup>7</sup> This, indeed, is a great diffi-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> No. 122 of 1906 of Mad. Ep. Coll. Here we may also point out that the chieftain Śōḷāntaka Pallavaraiyaṇ *alias* Māraṇ Āḍichōṇ of Pōḷiyūr figures in records of the 4+2nd (No. 429 of 1914 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.) and 13+1st year (T. A. S. Vol. III, p. 72) of the reign of Vira-Pāṇḍya and this chief was evidently the grandson of his namesake Tōṇṇavaṇ Pallavaraiyaṇ *alias* Māraṇ Āḍichōṇ of Pōḷiyūr, mentioned as a subordinate of Māraṇśaḍaiyaṇ *alias*, Varaguna (II) (occ. A. D. 862) in or about A. D. 867 (No. 96 of 1908 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). Should we put Vira-Pāṇḍya's last date beyond the middle of the 10th century A.D., it would result in the above two chieftains, grandfather and grandson, being removed from each other by about a century, rather a rare instance to happen though not impossible.

<sup>3</sup> *Colas*, Vol. I, pp. 178 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 36, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Colas*, Vol. I, p. 189.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 37.



ty in the way of assigning the dates, viz. A. D. 937-8 to 957-8 to Vira-Pāṇḍya and A. D. 956-7 to 969-70 to Āḍitya II as a possible alternative to those fixed by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar, although these dates would help in narrowing down the interval between Vira-Pāṇḍya and his predecessor Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasiṃha (c. 903 to 926-7) to about a decade<sup>1</sup> and would also help to solve the Āḍitya II-Pārthivēndra identification. It should be also admitted that with the revised dates the identity of the Chōla king whose head Vira-Pāṇḍya took would remain unsettled since he cannot be identified with Parāntaka I as proposed by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar. We may, nevertheless, suggest that the Chōla victim of Vira-Pāṇḍya might have been a less conspicuous prince, perhaps one of the sons of Parāntaka I, Uttamaśīli. Of Uttamaśīli we hear nothing subsequent to A. D. 933 when he makes an endowment to a temple at Kaṇḍiyūr, Tanjore District, in the 26th year of the reign of his father, Parāntaka I.<sup>2</sup>

The position occupied by *Śaḍaṅ-galai-koṇḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya in the Pāṇḍya genealogy still remains undetermined. That he might have been the son of Śaḍaiyamāraṇ Rājasiṃha himself has been suggested by Mr. Ramanatha Ayyar.<sup>3</sup> This may not be unlikely in view of the fact mentioned in the Larger Siṅgamamūr plates that Rājasiṃha had 'prosperous sons worshipping at his feet'.<sup>4</sup> Granting that Vira-Pāṇḍya was one of them, it still remains inexplicable why he does not call himself as Śaḍaiyaṇ, being son and successor of Māraṇ Rājasiṃha. Could it be that these names Śaḍaiyaṇ and Māraṇ were alternately used only by the anointed supreme sovereigns of the Pāṇḍya throne, and that Vira-Pāṇḍya was not perhaps anointed and hence could not lay claim to such a title? We know that the Pāṇḍya diadem and other regalia of supreme rulership necessary for such anointment were left in Ceylon by Rājasiṃha and were not recovered by the Pāṇḍyas even up to the time of Udaya IV (A. D. 945-93).<sup>5</sup> The importance of these regalia for the exercise of supreme authority over the Pāṇḍya kingdom seems to have been recognised by the Chōla king Parāntaka I 'who wished to achieve consecration as king in the Pāṇḍya kingdom and sent (messengers) concerning the diadem and other things which the Pāṇḍya (king) had left behind (in Lanka) as the Mahāraṇya succinctly relates'.<sup>6</sup>

A word about the term *śai* occurring in inscription B (line 59). In ordinary parlance the word is understood to mean 'order or document'. In literary usage<sup>7</sup> we find it equated to *śaṅgam* in the same sense. *Śaṅgam* is evidently derived from Skt. *śṛṅgam* 'canning to be heard'. Similarly, *śai* would signify an order or document. The Tamil Lexicon gives *śpaṇa* as the Sanskrit root of *śaṅgam*, meaning market. It seems that it would be better to derive the word from *śṛṅgam*. Expressions found in inscriptions such as *śilai-y-śaṅgam-koṇḍa*<sup>8</sup> or *śilai-*

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that Chōla Parāntaka I's records in the Pāṇḍya country fall partly in this interval, e.g., (1) No. 446 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. dated 24th year, A. D. 932; (2) No. 63 of 1906 of the same collection (S. I. L., Vol. III, No. 100) dated year 33-A. D. 940 and (3) No. 448 of 1917 of the same collection dated year [36]=943 A. D. See Colas, Vol. I, p. 422 and n.

<sup>2</sup> S. I. L., Vol. V, No. 576. This prince was in the Pāṇḍya country in the 26th regnal year of his father, i.e. A. D. 931 (No. 446 of 1917 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.)

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> S. I. L., Vol. III, p. 461, text 1, 189.

<sup>5</sup> Colas, Vol. I, p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Mahāraṇya (Colas), ch. 68, vv. 40 ff. Here it may be pointed out that it was Rājendra Chōla I who gained possession of the regalia from the Ceylonese king with whom they had remained all the time since they were first deposited with him by the Pāṇḍya king Rājasiṃha. It was after this event that Rājendra Chōla I crowned his son as the ruler of the Pāṇḍya country.

<sup>7</sup> *Periapparaṇam*, (Koval Tamil Saṅgam ed.), vv. 190, 193, 207.

<sup>8</sup> S. I. L., Vol. III, No. 10, text II, 2, 10 and 11. The translation of the words given here as 'executed the sale deed' would perhaps be better rendered as 'having declared its price'; cf. *śilai-puṇṇaṅgam-puṇṇa* occurring in similar context in inscriptions.

*śrāvaṇam śeylu*<sup>1</sup> and *vilai-y-āṇṇak-kalam* or *kali*,<sup>2</sup> (i.e. place of declaration of sale price), would support our derivation of *āṇṇam*.

A few words may now be said about the geographical names mentioned in the two inscriptions. **Sālaigrāmam**, same as modern Sālaigrāmam in the Paramagudi *tāluk* of Ramnad District, the findspot of the inscriptions is stated in the records as being situated in Mayimākara-vaṇaṇḍu *alias* Tuvvūr-kūṛṇam. **Mayimākara** might either be a title of the Pāṇḍya king Śaḍayamāraṇ of the record (A) or of one of his predecessors. **Tuvvūr-kūṛṇam** in which Sālaigrāmam is stated to have been situated may be the region around Tugavūr in the Paramagudi *tāluk*. In a number of late copperplate records of the Sēṭupati chiefs of Ramnad<sup>3</sup> the territorial division Tugavūr-kūṛṇam finds mention and this name may have been a later form of Tuvvūr-kūṛṇam of the Pāṇḍya inscriptions edited here. **Ṇedurūr** may be identified with Nērūr in the Paramagudi *tāluk*. **Tiruppālaiyūr** where Vira-Pāṇḍya was staying (B. lines 13-14) seems to be identical with Tiruppālaikuḍi in the Tiruvadanai *tāluk* of the Ramnad District. I have not been able to locate Tirikkulāṇḍaiyūr of record B (lines 16-7).

## A. TEXT

- 1 Svasti śri[ ] Kōchchaḍai-
- 2 ya-Māṇarkku yāṇḍu
- 3 2 idan=edir=ām=āṇ-
- 4 ḍu Mayimākara-va-
- 5 ṇaṇḍ=āyina Tuv-
- 6 vūr-kūṛṇattat-
- 7 tēvadāṇa brahmadē-
- 8 yam Sālaigrā-
- 9 mattu Ści-Varaṇṇa-
- 10 iochuvarattu Para-
- 11 marvāmigaḷuk-
- 12 ku dēvadāṇam=i-
- 13 ṇai āruṅkiyūm
- 14 nīr pāyavum Pe-
- 15 rumāṇaḍiḷaḷ Si-
- 16 valluvadēva-
- 17 r śrīmugam ku-
- 18 ḍuttapaḍi Ści-
- 19 Kuḷuvāṇai [yē]ri-
- 20 yāi Kōṇḍ-iṇ-
- 21 mai-kōṇḍāṇ Mayi-
- 22 māḱara-va[ḷ]uṇḍ-
- 23 tu dēvadāṇa-brahmadē-
- 24 yam Sālaigrāmam
- 25 tu sabhaiyārḱku taṇ-
- 26 gaḷ=ūr ści-Varaṇṇa- ioh-
- 27 chuvarattu-dēvar [ū]r
- 28 varamoḷi-yēriyūm

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 105 and note 49.

<sup>2</sup> S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 96, text l. 12, 'kalaiyem-āṇṇak-kaliy-āṇṇ-konḍu' ; cf. *āṇṇam śrīrūḷ-kuduttu koḷaṇḍ-āṇṇam āṇṇaḷ vāṇḍa vāṇḍa-pōṇḍi mārṇṇam āṇṇak-kaliyē tāḷiṇṇaḱkōḷaḱ-konḍu śrīrūḷ-kōḷaḱkōḷa* of No. 458 of 1908 (text ll. 10-11) of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>3</sup> C. P. Nos. 31, 32, 33, 36 and 37 of the *As. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy for 1946-47*.





# TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM SALAIGRAMAM

A

2		2
4		4
6		6
8		8
10		10
12		12
14		14
16		16
18		18
20		20
22		22
24		24
26		26
28		28
30		30
32		32
34		34
36		36
38		38

B

2		2
4		4
6		6
8		8
10		10
12		12
14		14
16		16
18		18
20		20
22		22
24		24
26		26
28		28
30		30
32		32
34		34
36		36
38		38
40		40
42		42
44		44
46		46
48		48
50		50
52		52
54		54
56		56
58		58





- 22 viśattukku<sup>1</sup> | Yā]-  
 23 m śiri-Varaguṇa-  
 24 Ichchuvārattu Pa-  
 25 ramaśvāmiga| ti-  
 26 ruv-ābharanamum  
 27 tiruv-appamum[=i]-  
 28 dikkonḍa<sup>2</sup> | lak-  
 29 kāśukku pōṟṟukku-  
 30 m=irai kaḷichchuk-  
 31 kuḍutta nilam[=i]  
 32 p-paramaśvāmi-  
 33 ga| Varamoḷi ś-  
 34 ri nilattil mu  
 35 ṇ śirivalikku  
 36 irai kaḷichchuk-  
 37 kuḍutta nilattu-  
 38 kku mō[r\*]kkum di  
 39 raṇ-vāyḱku vaḍa-  
 40 kkum idiṇḱukku  
 41 kiḷakkum puravu-  
 42 ||ikkū terkum  
 43 [mū]ḷiyuṇ=uppaḷa<sup>3</sup>  
 44 naḍuvu-paṭṭa nilattil<sup>4</sup>  
 45 uḷḷadu koṇḍu śiri-  
 46 valikku muppa=irai ka-  
 47 ||ichchuk-kuḍutta nila-  
 48 ttukku kiḷakk=uppa-  
 49 ḍa muppattāṇu pāḷṭa-  
 50 kaś chaṇ(u)dir-āditta va-  
 51 |=iṇṇiyāy śiri-  
 52 kKuḷ(u)vāṇai-yēriyāl=i-  
 53 raṇḍu pāvum nīr pāy-  
 54 vvaippaḍ=āgavum=i[m\*]  
 55 muppattāṇu pāṭaka-  
 56 m[u]m nilam-āyilu  
 57 m [mu]ḷiy-āyilu-  
 58 m nilam=apaitt=agatti-  
 59 lum-[mu]ḷiv=ōlai<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This word evidently refers to the managing body of the temple.

<sup>2</sup> The letters =appamum[=i]dikk- can also be read as =appamum(mā)rik-, but I am not able to understand it. Evidently =appamum[=i]dikk- has to be corrected as =appamum[=i]dorkkuk-.

<sup>3</sup> This line (43) has been inserted later between lines 42 and 44.

<sup>4</sup> The letters nilattil may also be read as nilattāl.

<sup>5</sup> The sense conveyed by the lines 58-59 is not clear.



## No. 18—NIMBAL INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA BHILLAMA

G. S. GAI, ŌOTACAMUND

**Nimbāl** or **Nimbāla** (**Bujrah**) is a village in the **Indi tāluk** of the **Bijapur District** of the **Bombay Province**.<sup>1</sup> It is situated at a distance of about 9 miles south-west of **Indi**, the headquarters of the **tāluk**. **Nimbāl** is a railway station on the metre gauge section of the **M. & S. M. Railway** between **Gadag** and **Sholapur**. The ancient name of this village is given as **Nimbahura** (from **Nimbapura**) in the present inscription and as **Nimbahalla** in another record at the same place. And the present name **Nimbāl** has to be derived from **Nimbahalla**. The stone inscription published here is engraved on a slab built into the wall (inner side) which is to the proper left of entrance into the central shrine of the **Śaṅkaralinga** temple in the village. This temple is evidently the same as the **Kōṭi-Śaṅkaradēva** temple mentioned in the inscription.

The inscription was first copied by the late **Rao Bahadur** (then **Mr.**) **K. N. Dikshit** and has been noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1924-25, pp. 119-20.<sup>2</sup> It was again copied by the office of the **South Indian Epigraphy** during the year 1937-38 in the course of the epigraphical survey of the **Indi tāluk** and has been listed as **B. K. No. 49** of 1937-38 of **Appendix B** to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year.<sup>3</sup> It is from the ink-impressions of this collection that the inscription is edited here, for the first time, at the suggestion of the **Superintendent for Epigraphy** and with the kind permission of the **Government Epigraphist for India**.

At the top of the slab, on proper right and left sides, are the figures of the sun and the crescent moon and below these in the centre, is a standing cow with its calf. And behind the calf, to the proper left, is a dagger with the point turned upwards. Below these figures, at about a distance of 5', the inscription commences. There are twenty-five lines of writing and the inscription covers an area 21' high and 19' broad. Each line consists of about 21 aksharas and the average size of an akshara is 1". The inscription has been fairly well preserved.

The characters belong to the **Kannada alphabet** and are regular for the period to which the record belongs, viz., end of the 12th century A. D. The cursive form of *v* is found in *biduvada* line 2, *-dēva-* line 6, *vyatipāta* line 7, *sarava-* line 12, *-pūrvakam* line 13 and *Kannavūri-* line 23; and the cursive form of *m* occurs in *-māyāsaka* line 16, *matara* lines 17-18, 19 and *-namaḥ* line 23. Initial *a* is found in lines 3, 4, 7, 11, 17, 19 and 20. *Visarga* is met with in *-nanaḥ* line 23 and *kriṇaḥ* line 25. The consonant after a *rēpha* is usually lengthened<sup>4</sup>; e.g., *chakravartti* lines 5-6, *viryga-* line 7, *-dēvayga* line 11, *sarava-* line 12, etc. *Anusvara* has been used for class nasal in several places; see e.g., *pancha-* line 2, *ananta* line 4, *anaga-* line 11, etc. The figures for the numerals 1, 2 and 50 occur in lines 18-23. Marks of punctuation represented by two vertical strokes are found in lines 5, 13, 16, 23 and 25.

Except the imprecatory verse at the end, the inscription is in **Kannada language** and is written in prose. The following linguistic features may be observed: The change of *p > h* which is met with in the history of the **Kannada language** as early as the 10th century A. D.<sup>5</sup> is found in the word *Nimbahura* < *Nimbapura*, lines 1, 10, 15 and 17. The qualitative phonemic variation<sup>6</sup> is met with

<sup>1</sup> The adjoining village is called **Nimbāl** (**Khurdi**).

<sup>2</sup> See also the same periodical for 1929-30, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Eight more stone records have been copied at the same place and are listed as **B. K. Nos. 50-57** in the same Appendix.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 146-47.

<sup>5</sup> See **G. S. Gai**, *Historical Grammar of Old Kannada*, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.



in the speech-forms *-Saṃkharā* < *Saṃkara* lines 2, 4, 15, 17; *-Śrīmaṣa* < *Śrīmaṣa* line 3; *-saṃkathā* < *saṃkathā* line 9, *-sāsaṇa* < *sāsaṇa* line 13, *-varsha* < *varsha* line 6; other speech-forms such as *-brahmanī* < *brahmanī* line 2, *-amaśāśa* < *amaśāśa* line 7, *-muksha* < *mukhya* line 10, *-setṭhi* < *śrēṣṭhī* line 15, are also noteworthy. Alveolar *r* is met with in *māreṇya* line 6, *māusthū* line 14, etc. There is an epenthetic vowel in *Phalavaṅga* < *Plavaṅga* line 6. The conjunctive suffix *-am* is found in *nāṭka* line 3 and *-setṭhi* line 15. The normal word-order in Kannada is *subject-object-verb*.<sup>1</sup> But in the sentence *-pukhyanam śrī Kṛṣṇa-Saṃkharadevaru kuluvuru*, lines 4-5, there is deviation of this normal form, inasmuch as the word-order is *object-subject-verb*.

The inscription belongs to **Bhillamadēva** and, from the titles *Yādava-Nārāyaṇa* and *Pratīpa-chakravartī* given to him, he is evidently no other than the king Bhillama of the **Yādava** dynasty of **Dēvagiri**, who is regarded as the real founder and first sovereign king of this family. The inscription does not give any genealogical or historical details about this king.

The **chief interest** of the record, however, lies in the mention of the date which is given in the king's regnal year coupled with the cyclic year, viz., **3rd year, Plavaṅga-saṃvatsara**. When Fleet wrote his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* as early as 1896 he had come across only three certain records of this king.<sup>2</sup> One of them is dated in Śaka 1113, *Virōdhikṛt saṃvatsara*, and the other two in regnal years, both citing the *Saṃvatsara* as the third year of the king's reign. From this, the first year of the king was fixed as *Plavaṅga saṃvatsara*, Śaka 1110 (current)=A.D. 1187-88.<sup>3</sup> But the inscription under publication cites *Plavaṅga saṃvatsara* itself as the third year of the king's reign, thus fixing his first year as *Viśvāvasu*, Śaka 1107 (expired)=A.D. 1185-86.

Till now, as many as fourteen inscriptions, all on stone, of this king Bhillama have been discovered and, as far as I know, only one inscription has been published.<sup>4</sup> Nine of these fourteen records are dated in the king's regnal year, coupled with the cyclic year and they may be shown in the tabulated form as follows:

Place of inscription.	Regnal year and cyclic year as given in the inscription.	First year of the king's reign as calculated.	Reference.
1 Nimbāl— Bijapur District (inscription under publication).	3rd year, <i>Plavaṅga</i> (Ś. 1109=A. D. 1187-88).	<i>Viśvāvasu</i> (Ś. 1107=A. D. 1185-86).	<i>As. Rep., S. I. E.</i> , 1937, 38, B. K. No. 49.
2 Multigl— same district . . . . .	8th year, <i>Paridhavi</i> (Ś. 1114=A. D. 1192-93).	<i>Idem</i> . . . . .	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1929-30, B. K. No. 108.
3 Bijapur— same district . . . . .	4th year, <i>Saṃvatsara</i> (Ś. 1111=A. D. 1189-90).	<i>Paridhavi</i> (Ś. 1109=A. D. 1186-87).	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1933-34, B. K. No. 159.
4 Ankalgi— Jail State, Bombay Province.	5th year, <i>Sādhāraṇa</i> (Ś. 1112=A. D. 1190-91).	<i>Idem</i> . . . . .	Copied by the office of S. I. E., during 1940-41.
5 Haṭṭar— Bijapur District . . . . .	2nd year, <i>Kulaka</i> (Ś. 1110=A. D. 1188-89).	<i>Plavaṅga</i> (Ś. 1109=A. D. 1187-88).	<i>As. Rep., S. I. E.</i> , 1929-30, B. K. No. 18.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Romb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 518 and n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 518.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 217-30.



Place of inscription.	Regnal year and cyclic year as given in the inscription.	First year of the king's reign as calculated.	Reference.
6. Pīrapur— Bijapur District . . .	3rd year, Saunya (S. 1111=A. D. 1189-90).	Plavaṅga (S. 1109=A. D. 1187-88).	<i>As. Rep., S. I. E., 1929, 30, B. K. No. 55.</i>
7. Mutṭigē— same district . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	<i>Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. II, p. 518.</i>
8. Anṣigē— Dharwar District . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto . . .	<i>Ibid., also As. Rep., S. I. E., 1928-29, B. K. No. 192.</i>
9. Madbhāvi— Bijapur District . . .	4th year, Śākhāra (S. 1112=A. D. 1190-91).	Ditto . . .	<i>As. Rep., S. I. E., 1935-36, B. K. No. 114.</i>

It may be noted that most of these records come from the Bijapur District. The first two give Viśvāvasa *saṁvatsara* (A.D. 1185-86) as the first year of the king. The next two fix Parābhava *saṁvatsara* (A.D. 1186-87) as the first year, while, according to the remaining five records, Plavaṅga *saṁvatsara* (A.D. 1187-88) would be the first year of the king's reign. And there is an inscription at Mārḍi in the Sholapur District, belonging to the time of Bhīllama's grandson Singhana and dated in the Śaka year 1134, Āṅgīrasa *saṁvatsara* (A. D. 1212-13).<sup>1</sup> This epigraph, while referring to the previous gifts to a temple, cites Plavaṅga *saṁvatsara* as the fourth year of Bhīllama's reign, fixing Kṛōḍhi *saṁvatsara* (A. D. 1184-85) as his first year. Thus Bhīllama's year of accession varies from A. D. 1184-85 to A. D. 1187-88. It is indeed difficult to account for these conflicting dates. Possibly, it may be due to the fact that Bhīllama had to encounter opposition from all sides before establishing his sovereignty in the northern portion of the Western Chālukyan kingdom. And he might have finally and publicly proclaimed his accession to the throne in the year 1187-88.

The other details of the date given in the record are Bhādrapada amāvāsyā, solar eclipse, vyatipāta and saṁkramaṇa. Though the week-day is not given, the Christian equivalent would probably be A. D. 1187, September 4, Friday, when there was a solar eclipse. But the Kanyā-saṁkramaṇa had occurred on the previous Friday.<sup>2</sup>

The object of the inscription is to register gifts of toll-income made by Māyidāva and others, and also of money and lands situated in different villages (specified) made by Gaṅgāra Kaṭṇisaṇṇi and Bāteya [R]ōvisetti headed by the community of Mūṣattāra-biḍa (thirty-six villages) for the benefit of the temple of Kōṭi-Saṅkaradēva at Nimbahura, while the king was ruling from Taḍavalage.

The following place-names are mentioned in the record : Vāraṇāsi, Śrīsaṅga, Nimbahura, Attarage, Taḍavalage, Gopavalage, Haṇḍige, Aṇḍige, Gaṇḍavāṇḍa, Bairāṅga, Ajjunavāḷa, Hiri-y-Imḍi, Chikha-Bōvinūr, Battakūṅke and Kaṭṇavūri. These places can be identified and most of them have retained their names even to this day, of course with slight modifications in some cases. The first two places are too well known. Nimbahura, which is called here *dakṣiṇa* Vāraṇāsi, and *śākhāra*-Śrīsaṅga, is evidently modern Nimbā, as stated above, where the inscription was found. Attarage is the present Atharga (also called Hattarakī), 9 miles south-east of Nimbā. Taḍvalgā, just 4 miles east-south of Nimbā and its adjacent village Gaṇvalgā are

<sup>1</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 43-54.

<sup>2</sup> See *As. Rep., S. I. E., 1937-38, Appendix F, p. 299, No. 49.*

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### ATTENTION

The obituary notices and the relevant plates appearing in this issue may be removed and inserted in the beginning of Vol. XXVIII at the time of getting the volume bound.

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DR. HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., M.O.I., D.LITT.,  
LATE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA, 1925 - 1933.  
BORN: DECEMBER 1878. DIED: 4TH AUGUST 1946.

## IN MEMORIAM

### DR. HIRANANDA SASTRI

Jñānaratna Dr. Hirananda Sastri, the late Government Epigraphist for India, passed away at Gurdaspur in the Panjab, on 4th August 1946. He was an archaeologist of considerable experience, having worked in that field in the Panjab, the United Provinces, Kashmir, the Central Provinces, Bihar and South India, and having conducted many excavations. Epigraphy was his main interest during the latter part of his service under the Government of India. He served as Curator of the Museums, too, at Nagpur and Lucknow as also in Kashmir. He was a sound Sanskrit scholar and kept up his interest in this subject till the end. Having worked as Curator of Museums in different parts of India, he had an opportunity to acquaint himself thoroughly with Indian art.

He was born in 1878 in the Panjab. He had a brilliant educational career in the D. A. V. College, Lahore, from where he graduated, winning a gold medal for standing first in the B.A. examination in Sanskrit with English. He continued his studies in the Oriental College, Lahore, from which institution he took the M.A. degree of the Panjab University in 1900, winning gold medals and a purse for standing first in Sanskrit and Oriental Classics with English. He started life as Professor of Sanskrit and Philosophy in his own College (the D. A. V. College) and was the Reader in Sanskrit at the Panjab University, teaching Sanskrit and Comparative Philology to the M.A. classes. He then passed the Honours Examination in Sanskrit and got the degree of Master of Oriental Learning. Later in 1928, when he was the Government Epigraphist for India, his University again honoured him by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Literature for a thesis on "Bhāsa and the authorship of the thirteen Trivandrum plays" published as Memoir No. 28 of the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India. In 1938 the Baroda Government honoured him with the title of Jñānaratna.

He joined the Archaeological Survey of India in 1903 as Assistant Archaeological Surveyor, Northern Circle. In 1906 he was made Archaeological Assistant, Librarian and Curator of the Government Museum at Nagpur. Subsequently, in 1913, he became the Curator of the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. In 1917 he was sent on deputation to the Jammu and Kashmir State as Superintendent of Archaeology. There, besides holding the post of the Curator of the State Museum at Srinagar, he was in charge of the State Library. In 1920 he was posted as Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, Patna, and became the Officiating Superintendent of that Circle in 1922. In the same year he was transferred to Ootacamund as Superintendent for Epigraphy but went to Kotagiri within about a month as Officiating Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle. In 1923 he came back to the Epigraphical Branch as Superintendent, and in 1925, on the retirement of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, became the Government Epigraphist for India. Dr. Hirananda Sastri held that post for nearly nine years with distinction and in that capacity edited parts of Volumes XVIII and XXI and the whole of Volumes XIX and XX of the *Epigraphia Indica*. After his retirement in December 1933 from service under the Government of India, he was appointed in the Baroda State as Director of Archaeology in November 1934. He held that post till 1942 when he retired from that service also.

His contributions to Indology cover a very wide range. As an officer of the Archaeological Department, he issued many annual reports of the various Circles and Museums he happened to be in charge of. He also contributed many informative articles to the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India. The pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* were enriched with 8 contributions from him, the list of which is given below :—

1 Maohlihar copper-plate of Harischandradeva of Kanauj ; Vikrama Samvat 1253 (Vol. X).

2 Copper-plate inscription of Govindachandradeva ; Samvat 1186 (Vol. XIII).



- 3 Harsha inscription of the reign of Isanavarman; Vikrama Samvat 611 (Vol. XIV).
- 4 Nalanda copper-plate of Devapaladeva (Vol. XVII).
- 5 Brahmi inscription on a Wooden Pillar from Kirari (Vol. XVIII).
- 6 Harsha copper-plate of Bhojadeva; Vikrama Samvat 893 (Vol. XIX).
- 7 Nalanda stone inscription of the reign of Yasovarmadeva (Vol. XX).
- 8 Clay seals of Nalanda (Vol. XXI).

He also contributed five items to the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, viz. :

- 1 Some recently added sculptures in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
- 2 Origin and Cult of Tara.
- 3 Baghela Dynasty of Rewa.
- 4 Bhāsa and the authorship of the thirteen Trivandrum plays.
- 5 Nalanda and its epigraphical material.

Deeply and widely learned in Sanskrit, painstaking and conscientious in research, urbane in manner, in his death Indology has lost an erudite scholar in various fields.

### RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU

Born on the 1st of July 1888, of a Śrīvaiṣṇava family, in the village of Gaṅgavaram in the Nellore Taluk of the Nellore District, Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari matriculated in his early teens from the V. R. High School, Nellore, and joined the Christian College at Madras for his collegiate courses. Having finished his F. A. in that College, he took his University degree from the Pachayappa's College, Madras, and started his career as a teacher in the M. S. Lower Secondary School, Nellore. He later joined the Nellore Collectorate. After a brief term of service there, an opportunity presented itself for him to join the Epigraphical Department. He took his early training in the field of epigraphy and worked in close collaboration with the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. He was promoted to the post of Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy in 1925, became the Superintendent in 1931 and took charge of the office at Madras in December of the same year. He became the Government Epigraphist for India in 1942, on the transfer of the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy to Ootacamund and its subsequent amalgamation with the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. He died on the 31st of August, 1947.

Mr. Krishnamachari was a sound scholar in Sanskrit and Telugu and an expert epigraphist in South Indian languages. The *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* that appeared under his name from 1931 onwards bear ample proof of his remarkable capacity to organise the staff in collecting and presenting the inexhaustible epigraphical material of South India for the benefit of the research scholars. The numerous copper-plate charters, including the Pallava grants which form landmarks in the Pallava history, and of which the discovery goes solely to his credit, show the flair he had for collecting such valuable documents. Among his works may be mentioned *The Kannada Inscriptions of Kopal* and other Memoirs for the Hyderabad Archaeological Series, *The Subject Index to the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, *A List of Inscriptions* copied by the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and some learned articles in the *Epigraphia Indica*. He had a great aptitude for archaeological exploration and had an unerring instinct for locating pre-historic sites. During his last days, after his retirement, he had prepared a list of pre-historic sites in South India. In his death Indian epigraphy has sustained a serious loss indeed.



RAO BAHADUR C. E. KRISHNAMACHANDRU, B.A.  
 LATE GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA, 1942-1943.  
 BORN: 1ST. JULY 1888 DIED: 31ST. AUGUST 1947  
 AT GANGAVARAM, AT MADRAS.  
 NELLORE DISTRICT.





respectively *Tadavalage* and *Gopavalage* of the record. *Hathige* is represented by modern *Hathgi*, 3 miles north-east of *Nimbā*. *Gurḍavarṇḍa* is to be identified with *Gurḍvān*, 9 miles north-west of *Nimbā* and situated on the *Bijapur-Jinalgi* road. *Aṁḍiṭige* is the same as *Aṁjungi*, 7 miles north-west of *Ṇḍi* and about 5 miles north of *Nimbā*. *Bairaṭige* is modern *Bhairangi*, about 10 miles north of *Nimbā*. *Ajṇavāḷa*<sup>1</sup> and *Battakupike* have to be identified with modern *Arjanā* and *Bhatgunḷi*, 5 miles to the north-west and 1 mile west of *Bhairangi* respectively. *Hiri-y-Ṇḍi* is still known by the same name and is said to have existed close by the modern *Ṇḍi*.<sup>2</sup> *Chikka-Bēvinūr* has also retained its name to this day and is 7 miles north-east of *Nimbā* and 5 miles north-west of *Ṇḍi*. And lastly *Kaṁnavūri* is modern *Kannūr*, 12 miles west-south of *Nimbā*. It may be noted that except *Kannūr* which is in the *Bijapur taluk* of the same district and *Vāraṇāsi* and *Śrīśaila*, the above-mentioned places are included in the modern *Ṇḍi taluk*.

## TEXT

- 1 ॐ Śrīmatu dakṣiṇa-Vāraṇāsi Nimbahurāda Kōṭi-tīrtthava mihdu śri-
- 2 Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēvara<sup>3</sup> sparsana mādīdaḍe paṁcha-brat<sup>4</sup>hmēti kiḍavudu
- 3 abhinava Śrīśaila<sup>5</sup> yi-nāḷkurū bāgi-oḷage puṁ<sup>6</sup>nyakha(ka)ra hiri-
- 4 du vommaḍi mādīdaḍe ananta puṁ<sup>6</sup>nyavam śri-Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēva<sup>4</sup>
- 5 ru kuḍvaru ॥ Svasti śrīmatu Yāda(va\*)<sup>7</sup>-Nārāyaṇaṁ Prastāpa-cha-
- 6 kravartū Bhilla(ṁu\*)<sup>8</sup>-dēva-varā(raba)ḷa mūreneya [Pha]lavamga<sup>9</sup>-sahivatsarāda
- 7 Bhādrapada-anavāḷe sūryya-grahaya vyatipāta
- 8 saṁkramā(ma)ḷa nimittavāgi Tadavalageya kuppa-
- 9 dall sukha-saṁkhat<sup>10</sup>-vīmōdadim sājyam-gayutta.<sup>11</sup>
- 10 m-irḍḍalli Māyidēva mukshavāgi<sup>12</sup> Nimbahurāda śri-
- 11 Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēvargge<sup>4</sup> aṁga-bhūga raṁga-bhōgakkē koṭṭa a-
- 12 ravatt-eṭṭiṁge sūṁka [ha]pāḷa baynige<sup>13</sup> sarva-namaṣyavāgi dhā-
- 13 rā-pūrvvakam māḍi koṭṭa sū(lā)ṁana maṁḍala mahā Śrī-Śrī (Śrī) ॥
- 14 Māvattāgi bōḷa mukshavāgi<sup>12</sup> Gaṁgara Kaṁmi-settiya(yum) Bā-
- 15 teya [R]ēvi-settiyaṁ Nimbahurāda śri-Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēva.<sup>4</sup>
- 16 ege muttu-māḷikaḷa bēridara (dada) . . . vottūṁ goḷagava hīttarū ॥
- 17 Nimbahurāda śri-Kōṭi-Saṁkharadēvargge<sup>4</sup> Attarageyaḷi mā-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 88, n. 1 below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII, *Bijapur District*, p. 634, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> From the ink-impression.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Saṁkharadēva*.

<sup>5</sup> This insertion is unnecessary.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Śrīśaila*.

<sup>7</sup> The engraver has inadvertently omitted to write this *abkara*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Phallaga*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *saṁkhat*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *śūryya-gayutta*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *madhva*.

<sup>12</sup> The subscript of the letter *y* here is the same as that of the letter *u* used in the inscriptions of this period.



- 18 ttaru 50 aḍavalageyali mattaru 50 Goḥavalageyali mattaru 50  
 19 Haṁḥigeṇyali mattaru 50 Aṁḍigeṇyali mattaru 50 Guṇḍavarāḥ-  
 20 dadali mattaru 50 Bairaḥigeṇyali mattaru 50 Ajjanavāḷali<sup>1</sup> mattaru 50  
 21 Hiri-y-ḥiṇḍiyali gadde mattaru 1 Chikka Bēvinārāli gadde ma-  
 22 ttaru 1 Goḥavalageyali gadde mattaru 2 Battakṁṇikeyali  
 23 gadde mattaru 2 Kāṁnavūriyali gadde mattaru 1 Si(Ṣi)vāya-namaḥ ||  
 24 Sya-datta(ā)m para-dattānām<sup>2</sup> yō da(ha)rēti(ta) vasumdhara[m<sup>3</sup>] sa(sha)hṭir-vva(śhṭim va)-  
 25 rēa(śhs)-sahasrāṇi mi(vi)hṭā(thā)yāḥ jāyatē krimiḥ ||

### No. 19—AJAYAGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF NANA ; V. S. 1345

(I Plate)

H. L. SRIVASTAVA, NEW DELHI

This inscription, according to James Prinsep, was presented to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Stewart. It was inserted in the Catalogue of the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, as 'a stone slab from Ajayagarh in Bundelkhand with a Sanskrit inscription' or 'a stone bull from Kalinjar, with a Sanskrit inscription'. **Ajayagadh** is a hill-fort, 16 miles in a straight line south-west of Kalinjar, Long. 80° 20' E, Lat. 24° 54' N. It was edited with a specimen facsimile and translated for the first time by J. Prinsep in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VI, (1837) pp. 882-4, and his assistant, Pt. Kamalakanta, insisted on inserting that he was not responsible for the various defects of grammar, prosody and rhetorics occurring in the text as he read as he saw it and copied it so. A careful study of the facsimile shows that the text presented is really defective. The inscription thus requires to be re-edited.

The inscription<sup>4</sup> is incised on a slab of stone. It contains 21 lines and covers a space 4½' x 2½'. The average height of letters is 1", except in the last line where it is a little reduced, i.e. .9". The record is well preserved except in line 20 where the particulars of the date and the *tithi* are lost and in line 21 where more than half is either broken or obliterated. This portion thus cannot be deciphered.

The characters are Nāgarī as in the Ajayagadh rock inscription of Bhōjavarman.<sup>4</sup> The letters are deeply cut and well formed. As regards the formation of individual letters, the following peculiarities may be noted. It is somewhat difficult to distinguish between the signs for *ch* and *c*. Besides the usual form of *k*, there appears another in *kṣ* (line 19, *kṣhagadē*, but not in *kṣhagaga*, or *Śukrāḥa*). The *anusvāra* is represented by a small circle but some cracks here and there above the letters are often mistaken for it. The final *m* is frequently substituted by the *anusvāra*. The sign for *avagraha* has been used only twice in lines 12 and 17. An omission in line 17 is supplied immediately below the line, the height of the letters there being .2" and the omission being indicated by a *kākapāda*.

<sup>1</sup> The correct reading would be *Arjjanavāḷali*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *para-dattān* ed.

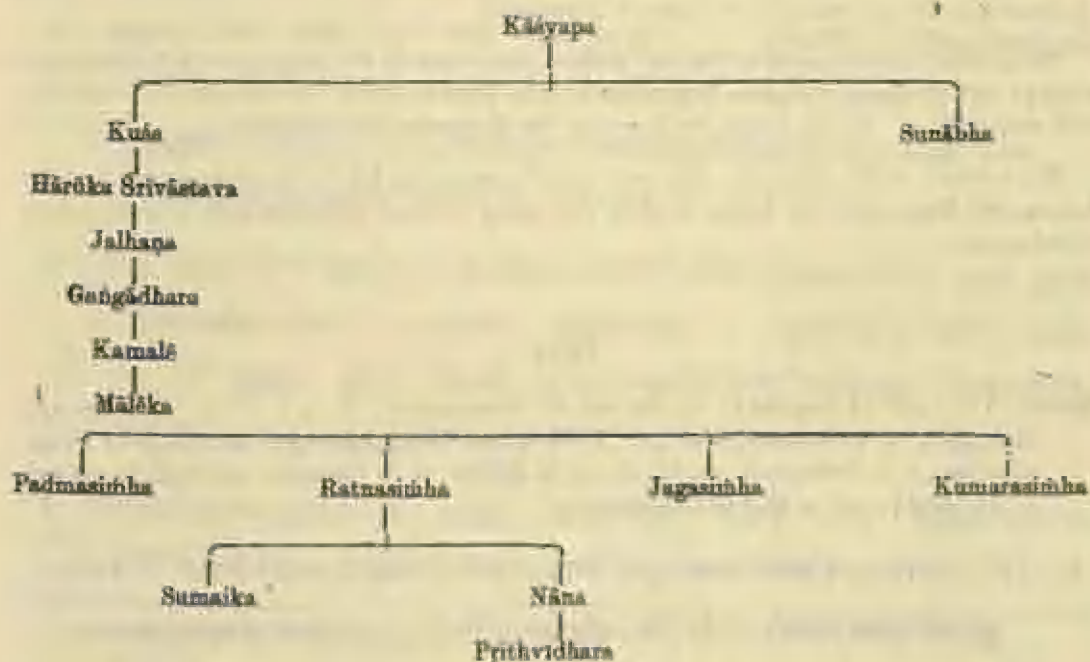
<sup>3</sup> It is No. 620 of Dr. D. B. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham, A. S. I. R., Vol. XXI, Pl. XV, ed. by Kishore, above, Vol. I, pp. 232-4.

The language is Sanskrit. Except the salutation to Vāsudēva in the first line and mention of the date in line 19, and the name of the scribe and his family in lines 20 and 21, where the composer invokes blessings for himself, the whole record is in verse.

As regards orthography, *v* is generally substituted for *b*, cf. *vāhret*, line 1, *vāhu*, line 14; and *s* for *ś* and vice versa, cf. *Vāhu*, line 1, *vakati*, line 5; *visāla*, line 4. The consonant following *r* is reduplicated in the majority of cases.

The object of the inscription is to record the establishment of a temple at Jayadurga with the image of Kāśava (verses 33-34). After salutation to Murāri in the first three stanzas, the incarnations of Viṣṇu in the forms of Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma and Rāma are invoked for blessings. Thereafter comes the donor's genealogy which stands as follows :—



Nāna introduces himself as the minister of Bhōjavarman who is known to be the penultimate king of the Chandrātrēya (Chandel) dynasty of Bundelkhand. This Bhōjavarman was the son and successor of Viravarman and Kalyāṇadēvi. He was followed by Hamniravarman.

What is interesting here is that the ancestors of Nāna are said to be the hereditary ministers of the Chandrātrēya kings, i.e., the Chandellas. The genealogy of Nāna as given in the inscription is of little historical interest, except that the Kāśastha Śrīvāstava family to which Nāna belonged is said to have originated at Kauśāmyapura and that Hārūka, a member of this dynasty, is said to have earned the surname Śrīvāstava for the first time. "A Vāstavya-vaiśya is mentioned in line 27 of Malhara inscription of the Chōḍī year 919=1167 A. D.; a Vāstavya-kula in line 5 of the Sahet-Mahet inscription of the Vikrama year 1276; and also on the two inscriptions from Mahōba (A. S. I. R., XXI, pl. 21 and 23) one of which is dated in the Vikrama year 1240 records that in the illustrious great Vāstavya family there was one Suhila, the son of "Hallapa". The Ajayagadh rock inscription of Bhōjavarman also gives an account of some members of the Vāstavya



clan of the Kāyasthas<sup>1</sup> who held responsible positions under the other Chandella kings.\* And a Śrīvāstava Thakkura is mentioned in the Meeshad (Vikrama 1245) inscription of Jayachchandra-dēva of Kanauj (*J. R. A. S.*, 1927, p. 676).

The inscription is dated in the year 1345 which is expressed both in figures and words *kāṣṇada*=moon=1, *śākhakṣa*=Śiva's eyes=3, *śrut*=Vādas=4, and *śākhās*=elements=5, the usual rule of reading the numeral from right to left not being applied here. The month specified is Vaiśākha, but the actual date and week day, if given at all, are lost at the beginning of line 20. The year is to be taken as the Vikrama year in which the other inscriptions of the Chandellas are dated. The word *Saṁvāt* also points to that.

As for the geographical names mentioned in the present inscription, Kaulāmyapura seems to be identical with Kaulāmbi or Kosam in the Allahabad District. Jayadurga (line 17) and Jayapura (line 20) are certainly the names of Ajayagadh.

The *prastuti* was composed by the poet Amara who compares the composition to a *chaturāṅga* fabric (v. 36). Certainly the poem is of no mean order and, therefore, the poet cannot be charged with exaggeration. It was incised by Paṁsuka, the Kāyastha (Śrī\*)viśatarya.

The facsimile of the inscription was very kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Government Epigraphist for India, in 1934, but owing to other preoccupations it could not be edited earlier.

### TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1 and 23 *Śragdhara* ; vv. 2-4 and 35 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 5, 8, 13-16, 18, 25-28 and 32 *Upajāti* ; v. 6 *Sārdulavikrīḍita* ; vv. 7, 10, 29 and 30 *Upāndravajrā* ; vv. 9 and 12 *Drutā-cāmbita* ; v. 11 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 17, 33 and 36 *Māhī* ; v. 19 *Vijyāgini* ; vv. 20-22, 24, 34 and 37 *Anuśṭubh* ; and v. 39 *Vamśanḥavala*]

1 [ॐ नमो भगवते वासु(सु)देवाय ॥<sup>2</sup> प्रायः प्रोदेन्दिराया प्रचुरतर-  
मुखास्तेवमक्लेशकायो वि(वि)भ्रदिभ्रान्तदृष्टि] इतचकिरतोत्कीर्णपुर्णानुरागः ।  
उचछो(च्छो)वत्सदीपद्युतिरभसरसोन्लामितानमहेतिदेवः श्रीविश्वभूतिदितितनयारिमु-  
विभ्रमो(मं वो) [वि(वि)]-

<sup>1</sup> Besides the Śrīvāstava, information regarding the other Kāyasthas is as follows : A Māthura Kāyastha in the Gwalior inscription of the successor of Mahipālādēva of V. S. 1161 (*J. A.*, XV, 202), a Kurayika Thakkura in the Chhatargarh plate of Govindachandra of Kanauj, V. S. 1177 (*E. J.*, XVIII, 225), Vāstava and Śakata Kāyasthas in the Gadhwā pillar inscription, V. S. 1199 (*J. S. I. R.*, III, 68), a Neigama Kāyastha in the Nādi plate of Kirtipāl of Marwā, V. S. 1218 (*E. J.*, IX, 68, *J. A.*, XI, 146), a Kāyastha pilgrim of the Gonda lineage in the Nannawat inscription, V. S. 1281 (*P. R. A. S.*, W. C., 1920-21, p. 55), a Kālāyā Kāyastha community in the Belvan inscription of the time of Hammā, V. S. 1343 (*E. J.*, XIX, 49), a Māthura Kāyastha in the Gwalior Museum inscription of Gagapāl, V. S. 1350 (*J. S. I. R.*, 1902-04, part II, p. 286), in the Bijolia inscription of V. S. 1376 (*P. R. A. S.*, W. C., 1903-06, p. 56) and in the Badliagadh inscription of V. S. 1383 (*E. J.*, XII, 46), and Māthura and Neigama Kāyasthas in the Bijolia inscription of V. S. 1386 (*P. R. A.*, W. C., 1903-06, p. 58), and a Kāyastha Śūrasena in the Patna plates of Mahā-Śrīraguptarājādēva (II) (*J. P. A. S.*, I, p. 19). I owe this information to the *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.

\* This has been omitted by Prinsep.

- 2 अर्तु ॥१॥ पिण्याकपिण्डमिव चण्डरुचिर्म्मुरारिर्गोवर्द्धनाव[न]मत्तंकृतव<sup>१</sup>त्कराग्रे ।  
प्रेमोत्कवल्लव<sup>२</sup>जनौजनिताद्भुत[श्रीः] श्रेयांसि वो दिशतु गौणदृश्यमानः ॥२॥  
आत्मे<sup>३</sup>टनर्मललितं विदधन्(ऽ)रिवो<sup>४</sup> गोपीकठोर<sup>५</sup>कुचगु(कु)ठित<sup>६</sup>शायक-
- 3 श्रीः । कामातुरोत्<sup>७</sup>कुरङ्गववू[विना]सा<sup>८</sup>यु[न्ध]न्कुतूहलतया धियमादधातु<sup>९</sup> ॥३॥  
मज्ज<sup>१०</sup>त्समुज्ज्वलतनुर्भवभारभेदी यो वेदवृन्द<sup>११</sup>मृदधाविदमुज्जहार । सं(शं)लासुरा-  
शुहरणः<sup>१२</sup> किल मोनरूपी देवः श्रियः पतिरसं(वं) भवतां विहन्तु ॥४॥  
संवर्त्तविन्यस्तवटे
- 4 जलानां रेमे निधी यः खलु योगयुक्तधा । जगद्गतिः संस्थितचिद्विभीः  
स वो विभूति कमठः करोतु ॥५॥ कोडीकृत्य विसा(सा)लनिष्ठुरतरां दंष्ट्रां<sup>१३</sup>  
वह्नुदहो मूर्तिम्वि(ति वि)<sup>१४</sup>स्तुतधर्मकर्मनियतिर्वाशो<sup>१५</sup>(सो) धियां माधवः ।  
औघात्पिण्डितपकपेशलरुचिम्बि<sup>१६</sup>(चि वि)श्वभरा-
- 5 मुदधे सं(शं) वो<sup>१७</sup> वदंयतां स विश्ववस(स)तिनि<sup>१८</sup>त्याभिनाशोदिताः<sup>१९</sup>(तः) ॥६॥ सुमेरु-  
शृंगाघनिविष्टरश्मेः<sup>२०</sup> सहस्रभानोः श्रियमाददानः । सुदानवांतोत्तलितः<sup>२१</sup> कराग्रैः  
स वो नृसिंहो दुरितं भिनत्तु ॥७॥ सुक्रान्तिविशेषमिषाद्रिपूणां विरूपयन्तीति-  
मिवामिताभः । व(व)-<sup>२२</sup>
- 6 लिप्रमादोद्व<sup>२३</sup>वर्द्धमानः स वामनो मे(वो)भ्युदयं ददातु ॥८॥ द्विजकरे क्षितिम-  
शत<sup>२४</sup>शासनो दधदनुद्वहृद्रिपुयोषिताम्<sup>२५</sup> । जययशोभवनो(नं) जयति प्रधीः स परशुः

<sup>१</sup> Prinsep reads असौ कृतवान्

<sup>२</sup> P. श्रीस्वेद

<sup>३</sup> P. करोर

<sup>४</sup> P. कामातुरान्तर

<sup>५</sup> P. भातनोतु

<sup>६</sup> P. दुग्ध

<sup>७</sup> P. निष्ठुरतरान्दन्तान्

<sup>८</sup> P. व्वर्त्ति

<sup>९</sup> P. मे

<sup>१०</sup> P. तः

<sup>११</sup> P. वप्रोत्तुनितः

<sup>१२</sup> P. प्रमादादध

<sup>१</sup> P. बल्लर

<sup>२</sup> P. व्वो

<sup>३</sup> P. गुण्डित

<sup>४</sup> P. विपक्षात

<sup>५</sup> P. मज्जत्स्य

<sup>६</sup> P. सुहरण

<sup>७</sup> P. मूर्तिम्वि

<sup>८</sup> P. पङ्कपिशलरुचिम्बि

<sup>९</sup> P. वसति

<sup>१०</sup> P. शुभ्रनुवृज्जाम्बनिविष्टरश्मिः

<sup>११</sup> There is a *tilde* sign after व

<sup>१२</sup> P. नाकृत

<sup>१३</sup> P. दंतकृद्रिपुयोषिताम्



खलु<sup>1</sup> राम इति श्रुतः ॥१६॥ समुन्नति<sup>2</sup> यंस्य पराक्रमाणां महाजने<sup>3</sup> पुण्यजनोपहारी ।  
प्रमोदजालन्तनुते तनुधी-

7 कृता<sup>4</sup> विपद्भयः स धिनोतु रामः ॥१७॥ आसीन्महर्षिः स किलादिवेदी  
छन्दो<sup>5</sup> विदां काश्यप इत्युदारः । यं जातवेदो विधिभिः सुराणां सत्पुत्र्ये<sup>6</sup>  
हन्त<sup>7</sup> विधिः ससर्जं [ज्जं ?] ॥१८॥ कृष्णमुनाम इति प्रथितो मुताविह  
व(व)भूवनुरस्य महात्मनः । अपि तमोहरणे तदनुत्तमं शशिरविद्वयमत्र  
दिवीगतम्<sup>8</sup> ॥१९॥ कु-

8 शस्य कौशाम्यपुरे निवासो व(व)भूव पुण्योन्नतचारुमूर्त्तः<sup>9</sup> । अवाप्य सावित्र्य-  
मनु(मु)प्य मोक्ष्य<sup>10</sup> तत्र स्थितिं कोपि पुमान्व(न्व)भार ॥२०॥ स कोपि  
कायस्थतया प्रतीतो मनीषिभिर्मनितशेमुखी(षी)कः<sup>11</sup> । सद्गोत्रमादीनवमाश-  
यज्ञ<sup>12</sup>स्तत्काश्यपीभूतमलचकार ॥२१॥ गवां प्रपञ्चे<sup>13</sup> ततो शुभायां सुमन्त्रमार्गा-

9 वरणेषु<sup>14</sup> नित्यं(त्यम्) । श्रियो निवाशा(सा)दभजस्त(त्स) वंशो<sup>15</sup> वास्तव्यतामप्रतिरूप-  
कोटिम्<sup>16</sup> ॥२२॥ ब्रह्मे मनश्चास्तया जनीनां महीक्षितां दण्डनवांकुरैश्च ।  
सुविद्यया धीरकुलस्य धीमान्धारुकनामाभवदत्र जन्तुः ॥२३॥ त्रिपिङ्कर<sup>17</sup>-  
कुलकोटेः कोटरस्थागमानां सुकृतविटपिमूलस्थाश्रयस्य<sup>18</sup> ह्युती-

10 नां(नाम्) । अमवदमिततेजा जल्हणस्तस्य सूनुः सुरगुह्रिख भूमौ भूपतीनां  
क्रियायम्<sup>19</sup> ॥२४॥ ततो गुणानां स निषिर्विचित्रो गंगा(मङ्गा)धरोजायत

<sup>1</sup> P. किल

<sup>2</sup> P. वने

<sup>3</sup> P. जनो

<sup>4</sup> P. यज्ञ

<sup>5</sup> P. रविशशिद्वयमुद्धततामस. The scribe did not include मल, but it was added later on immediately below it in very small letters.

<sup>6</sup> P. मूर्तिः

<sup>7</sup> P. सेमृशीकः

<sup>8</sup> P. प्रपागोष्ठ

<sup>9</sup> P. जयप्रवंशो

<sup>10</sup> P. ब्रह्म

<sup>11</sup> P. नास्त्यायति

<sup>12</sup> P. जालं तनुते बहुतीकृतो

<sup>13</sup> P. सत्पुत्र्ये

<sup>14</sup> P. अगणशक्तिः समनुष्यमोक्ष्यं

<sup>15</sup> P. तं

<sup>16</sup> P. वरणेषु

<sup>17</sup> P. कोटि

<sup>18</sup> P. स्य

<sup>19</sup> P. क्रियाहं.



...मन्त्रायाम्...  
2 ...  
4 ...  
6 ...  
8 ...  
10 ...  
12 ...  
14 ...  
16 ...  
18 ...  
20 ...





मानव(ब)न्धुः<sup>1</sup> । यस्मिन्मणीभूतविसु(शु)द्धदेहे तमोगतिर्नाश्वय<sup>2</sup> माससाद ॥१८॥  
कमलापतिपादपंकजे हृदये<sup>3</sup> वि(वि)भ्रदनिन्दमानसः । कमले<sup>4</sup> इति नाम  
कोमलं

11 सुकृतशामितकायमुन्दरः ॥१९॥ ततोऽन्यजनीकाशो मालेकोमलविग्रहः । माला-  
भूतमिदं यत्र गुणवृद्धं विदियुते ॥२०॥ पद्मसिंहो रत्नसिंहो जगन्महः  
सुतोत्तमाः । जाताः कुमारसिंहश्च<sup>5</sup> चत्वारस्त्र<sup>6</sup> (श्च)तुरास्ततः ॥२१॥ तेषु<sup>7</sup>  
संख्यावतां श्रेष्ठो<sup>8</sup> (ष्ठो) रत्नसिंहो महामनाः । अजायत ॥<sup>9</sup>

12 जितात्म(त्मा)नस्त्रीन्सुता<sup>10</sup> नमितोजसः ॥२२॥ तत्पूर्वोऽपूर्व<sup>11</sup>भूतिः प्रतिकृतविमदो<sup>12</sup> भूत्सुमैकः  
प्रवीणः प्रीतिप्रजा(जा)रुचीनां गणपतिरपरो वैश्य<sup>13</sup> विस्फीतकायः । धाम  
ज्ञानोद्भवानामविहृत<sup>14</sup> महिमा नाननामोन्नतांगो ।<sup>15</sup> रेजं राजीवचक्षुः क्षितिपति-  
समितिप्राप्तमानानुभा-

13 वः ॥२३॥ दिग्जनीकर्णकुहरविभ्रान्तपशसान्तु ते<sup>16</sup> । चन्द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां सचिवत्व-  
मुपागताः<sup>17</sup> ॥२४॥ तयोः स विज्ञानविधिर्मनीषी मनोरमो नान इति  
प्रतीतः । श्रीभोजवर्माणमुपेत्य नाभं<sup>18</sup> स्वम[न्त्र]मित्रोदयमाततान ॥२५॥ प्रियं-  
वदत्वात्प्रमदामदानां<sup>19</sup> ज(स)भ्यात्मक-

14 स्वाज्जगतीश्वराणां । पुमानयं प्राणतया गुणी यो नानाभिधानं सफलोचकार ॥  
[२]६॥ यस्मिन्गुणाधारतया प्रदिष्टं विदुष्यमाणे तयकुम्भमुच्चैः । नवाभिषेका-  
मिव राजलक्ष्मीं प्रभुश्चित्तरं कामयते फलाय ॥२७॥ तदा व(व)हृर्प्रेखल-  
कंबु(बु)जालं पयोनिधिं यस्य यशोविसारि<sup>20</sup> । अमंडयन्मण्ड-

<sup>1</sup> P. मानवैहः

<sup>2</sup> P. न्द्रहयं

<sup>3</sup> P. समर

<sup>4</sup> P. तेषां

<sup>5</sup> The danda is unnecessary.

<sup>6</sup> P. उत्पूर्वोऽपूर्व

<sup>7</sup> P. विश्व

<sup>8</sup> P. Danda is unnecessary.

<sup>9</sup> P. मुपागताः

<sup>10</sup> P. जनानां

<sup>11</sup> P. यस्मिन्पुपेभूरतिशक्तुत्ते मन्वे तिनकधिय

<sup>12</sup> P. कमल

<sup>13</sup> P. इव

<sup>14</sup> P. श्रेष्ठो

<sup>15</sup> P. श्रीपूता

<sup>16</sup> P. विनयो

<sup>17</sup> P. सतिहृत

<sup>18</sup> P. यशसास्तुतः

<sup>19</sup> P. नाश्व

<sup>20</sup> P. वसारि



- 15 नसारशोभाधिकेन रूपेण मनोनुहारि ॥२८॥ विहारिणी यस्य दिगंगनाभिः सम-  
समृद्धा धृतवृत्तवृत्तिः । मरुदधुभिः किल कर्णपूरीकृता मुनिभ्यो मुदमादधाति  
॥२९॥ तवेन्दुसंकाशतनुप्रकाशः प्रकाशय(यन्)<sup>१</sup> सत्कुमुदो(दौ)धमुच्चैः । मनोरम-  
त्वान्महनीयदेहः पृथ्वीध-
- 16 रस्त<sup>२</sup> तनयो रराज ॥३०॥ अवेत्य पोत भवनीररासौ(शौ) समुत्तितीर्थो(र्षु)-  
दमितं श्रियोमु(मुम्) । स मुक्तये पुष्पत<sup>३</sup> रानुभावादाराधनी वृत्तिमलंकरोति  
॥३१॥ समीक्ष्य संसारमुखं पटोयान[॥]पातरम्यं विषयानुसारि[॥<sup>४</sup>] ममुक्षुरात्मोदयमिद-  
कोत्प्रा वि(वि)भक्ति सत्तुंडसरो-
- 17 स्तुहेण ॥३२॥ अथ सुललितवु(वु)डिनान एष प्रभावी जयवति जयदुर्गो  
कीर्तिहेतोः कलावान्<sup>५</sup> । मुरचितहरिदेहं पैतु(त्र)मेतद्गुणज्ञः प्रविततनयजालो-  
ज्जारयत्कृत्यवेदी ॥३३॥ माननीयो मति(माननीयमति)र्नानः प्रतिमीकृतकेशव(वम्) ।  
प्राशा(सा)दं स्थापयामास पितृवि-
- 18 [श्राम]हेनवे ॥३४॥ यावन्नगा वशु(वु)मती महतां कुलानि रत्नाकराः शशिदिवाकर-  
दीप्तिवृन्दम् । तावत्त पुष्पवसतिर्मनुजो विधातु विम्बा<sup>६</sup> (वैम्बा)-  
धितिष्ठति सुरोत्करमाननीयः ॥३५॥ अमरकविरनर्घ्या<sup>७</sup> ज्ञान्वन्कारसारां  
पटुपदलप-
- 19 [नीयामेष] शिष्टस्वविष्ठः । अवयदुस्सुणाङ्कु<sup>८</sup> संमृताभिजसन्तः । हृत्किमुक्तम-  
भीप्सुर्वाक्पटी<sup>९</sup> विचरणाम् ॥३६॥ क्षणदेशेक्षणगतधुतिभूतसमन्विते । संवत्सरे  
शुभेलेखि वेशावे मासि महिने ॥३७॥ अङ्केपि ॥ सम्ब(संव)त् १३४५  
ममयो वैशा-
- 20 [स. . . . .] ॥३८॥ परस्परं प्रीतियुजौ प्रियम्ब(यव)दौ सुमं-  
तामार्त्तर<sup>१०</sup> नाववल्लभौ । नयेन युक्ता भुवनं यशस्विनो स वम्पकायान्तनया-  
वजीजनत(त्) ॥३४(३९)॥ कायस्थवास्तव्यान्वे<sup>१०</sup>(त्वये) प्रतोलिकान्वितजयपुर-  
दुर्गाधिपठकुरश्रीधयो<sup>११</sup> सुतपसुहृद<sup>१२</sup>

<sup>१</sup> P. सदा स यज्ञः

<sup>२</sup> P. नायात

<sup>३</sup> P. विश्वो

<sup>४</sup> P. अनयदुस्सुणाङ्कः

<sup>५</sup> P. सुतो सुकर्मोत्तर

<sup>६</sup> P. सुयो

<sup>७</sup> P. रत

<sup>८</sup> P. फलानां

<sup>९</sup> P. पतिरनन्यो

<sup>१०</sup> P. पदी

<sup>११</sup> P. धाते

<sup>१२</sup> P. दु

21

केनमिता[नृपि] लिखितः सकारश्चीगोपाल<sup>1</sup>  
 शुभं भवतु कारकस्य ।

## TRANSLATION

Salutations to the illustrious Vāsudēva.

(Verse 1) May Dēva (Viṣṇu), the preserver, the enemy of the sons of Diti (*Asuras*), afford you joy, who generally does not feel physical weariness, being in the constant happy embrace of the bold Lakṣmī and who signifies amazingly consummate love (*for the consort*) with his restless rolling eyes intoxicated with delight; and whose śrivatas (*breast-jewel*) shines like the Cupid's arrows shot by the expanded bow of its blazing rays.

(Verse 2) May Murāri (i.e. the enemy of Mura), of ardent beauty, bless you, who, while being looked upon by his herd of cows, held upon the tip of his hand the moons Gōvardhana like a lump of mustard cake, and whose wondrous lustre was enhanced by the love-stricken wives of the cowherds.

(Verse 3) May Hari who is, as if in pleasant sport, thwarting in jest the diversions of the lissentious deer with their consorts by an (*array*) of arrows whose beauty has been blunted by the stiff breasts of the milk-maids, enhance your knowledge.

(Verse 4) May Dēva, the fish-transformed husband of Śrī (Lakṣmī), the restorer of the set of the Vāḍas buried in the ocean, the refulgent, the destroyer of the burdens of the world, and the slayer of Śaṅkhaśura, destroy your sins.

(Verse 5) May the tortoise, who revelled in abstract in the watery ocean with its shores destroyed by the Samvarta (one of the seven clouds at the dissolution of the universe), the refuge of the world constant in refulgent beauty, prosper you.

(Verse 6) May Mādhava, (*in the form of a horse*) who, by the mighty thrust of his long ermel tusks delivered the earth in the shape of a muddy lump of clay and who extended the fixed order of religion and duty; the abode of intelligence and the habitat of the universe, and who is ever-ready to destroy the mental agonies, increase your blessing.

(Verse 7) May Nṛsiṃha, resplendent like the rays of thousand suns resting on the tip of the peaks of the Sumēru, and appearing with drawn nails for the destruction of the demon (*Hiranyakāśipu*), destroy your sins.

(Verse 8) May Vāmana (dwarf), of matchless glory, bless you; who by the pretext of smashing the eye of Śakra denounced the very statesmanship of his enemies; who expanded himself proportionate to the arrogance and haughtiness of Bālī.

(Verse 9) Victorious be that renowned Parāśurāma, of great intelligence, the abode of victory and fame, who placed the earth in the hands of the Brāhmaṇas after acquiring its governance, and who made the wives of the enemies sad.

(Verse 10) May Rāma, too, the slayer of demons, whose deeds of valour gladden the hearts of the magnanimous and serve as the protection of the body, save you from all miseries.

(Verse 11) There lived the venerable sage Kāśyapa, the foremost amongst the expounders of the Vāḍas, whom happily the creator created to satisfy the deities according to the injunctions.

<sup>1</sup> This is not clear from the inscription, but it has been adopted from Prinsep.



(Verse 12) Of that noble spirit were born two reputed sons, Kuśa and Sunābha, as though the two matchless (*luminaries*), the sun and the moon, had descended from heaven to dispel the darkness.

(Verse 13) The residence of Kuśa, who had a handsome appearance due to his virtuous deeds, was at Kauśāmyapura. There dwelt a certain person who became his chief minister.

(Verse 14) That uncertain person, who became well known for the performance of the Kāyastha duties known by the surname of Kāyastha and respected by the learned for his (*versatile*) genius, satisfier of the expectations of the needy, became the ornament of that noble Kāyapa lineage.

(Verse 15) Being endowed with the grace of flowery speech, charming personality, and love for ever practising the rational course of honest policy, he along with his whole family enjoyed the (*appellation*) Ścivātavya.

(Verse 16) That wise being was named Hārūka because he stole the hearts of women by his beauty, those of kings by his statesmanship and of the learned by his wit and deep erudition.

(Verse 17) Superior to all of the writer caste, the receptacle of the *śūtras*, the root of the tree of virtue, the vessel of light, he had a son named Jaihana of infinite valour, (*peerless*) like the preceptor of the gods born on the earth for the benefit of kings.

(Verse 18) Of him was born the honourable Gaṅgādharma, the receptacle of all virtues: conversant with the law of common usage, in whose jewel-like immaculate person the *tanus* (*yuga*) never found any quarters.

(Verse 19) (*His*) noble-minded (*son*) bore the gentle name of Kamalā who concentrated his heart on the lotus feet of Kamalā's husband, of personal beauty commensurate with his virtues.

(Verse 20) Of him was born Mālaka, resembling Aja, of immaculate person and encircled by a halo of good qualities.

(Verse 21) From him were born these four, the wisest and the best of the sons, namely Padmasinha, Ratnasinha, Jagasinha, and Kumarsinha.

(Verse 22) The broad-minded Ratnasinha, the best of the learned, begot three sons who were self-restrained and of infinite prowess.

(Verse 23) The first and foremost among all of them was Sumaika the lotus-eyed, of matchless figure, conqueror of passion, skilful, another Gaṇapati, fat and abode of love, intelligence and beauty: he, who had never lowered his head before the haughty and the vainglorious and who had earned respect and honour in the courts of the kings.

(Verse 24) They got the ministership with the kings of the Chandrārcya line whose fame had reached the ear-cavities of the damsel-like quarters (*i.e.* the ends of the world).

(Verse 25) One of the (*remaining*) two, the teacher of religious laws, learned and fascinating, was known as Nāna, who having resorted to the illustrious king Bhōjavarmān wrought about the dawn of the sun of his statesmanship.

(Verse 26) This versatile man justified his name Nāna (*i.e.* various) by winning the favour of women by his sweet speech and of the kings by his polite behaviour, nay every one loved him as his own life.

(Verse 27) He (Nāna), being appointed the receptacle of merit and having carried aloft the standard (*kumbha*) of politics to a high pitch, the king expected the newly anointed royal Lakshmi to yield rich harvest for a long time to come.

(Verse 28) Whose spreading fame then adorned, like a beautiful ornament of dazzling splendour, the ocean in the shape of the countless conch-shells playing about (*on its billows*).

(Verse 29) His consort who was well adorned like the damsels of the quarters, and who was well versed in the practical lore of the scriptures, and whose ear-ornaments were dressed by the damsel-like Maruts, became a source of pleasure to the sages.

(Verse 30) His son Pythvīdhara shed lustre like the new moon by causing delight to the masses of lily-like righteous persons; he possessed attractive manners and a commendable personality.

(Verse 31) Being desirous of crossing the worldly ocean by the ship of the husband of Lakshmi, he takes to the devotional course for salvation with the most pious intentions.

(Verse 32) Thus seeing the futile agreeableness of worldly pleasure derived from the objective world, and desiring salvation, he maintains his face like the lily after having wrought his fame for the elevation of his soul.

(Verse 33) This highly spirited and versatile Nāna, an adept in all the fine arts, caused this well-made image of Hari to be placed at the victorious and celebrated fort of Jayapura in honour of his ancestors, for love of fame; he was a judge of merits, an expounder of all polity, grateful, and of splendid understanding.

(Verse 34) This Nāna of respectable intellect established a temple with the image of Kṛṣṇa for the salutation of his ancestors.

(Verse 35) So long as the mountains, the earth, the gods, the oceans, the moon, the sun and the heavenly luminaries (*shall endure*), so long shall that man, the seat of virtue and the beloved of the gods, live in the habitation of the Creator.

(Verse 36) The poet Amara, being desirous of satisfying the curiosity of the learned, wove this variegated priceless literary carpet, replete with excellent metaphors expressed in appropriate phrases. He was gentle and stately and had earned the title of 'wise man' by dint of his eminent qualities.

(Verse 37) This inscription was written on the lucky day of the month of Vaiśākha in the Sārvatsara indicated by the moon, Śiva's eyes, the Vāśas and the bhūtas,

In figures also Sārvat 1345, time Vaiśākha.....

(Verse 39) He had two sons named Nātha otherwise known as Sumaika and Vallabha by Chāmpakā (*his wife*), who loved one another, who spoke sweetly and were well known in the world, and a pattern of morality.

This was written by Paṇḍita (*poet*) in the family of Kāyastha-*(Śrī\*)*ratavva, the son of the illustrious Thakura Ayo, the commandant of the balconied Jayapura fort..... May good luck attend the author.<sup>1</sup>

## No. 20—HINDOL PLATE OF KULASTAMBHA

(I Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND, and P. ACHARYA, CUTTACK

The copper plate inscription, which is being published here for the first time,<sup>2</sup> was lying in the office of the Subdivisional Officer of Hindol, the headquarters of a state (now merged)<sup>3</sup> of that

<sup>1</sup> See *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 539 et. seq. 'The Sanskrit *pramāṇa* and its new Indian derivatives' by J. Ph. Vogel.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription was noticed by B. Misra in his *Medieval Dynasties of Orissa*, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Hindol is now a Subdivision of the newly formed Bhamkhal District.



name in Orissa. Little is known about its original findspot and the story of its discovery. The record was exhibited, along with the Utkal University's valuable collection of antiquities, on the occasion of the Cuttack Session of the Indian History Congress in December, 1949. Later it was secured for the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, where it is at present lying.

The inscription is written on a **single plate** measuring 9·2 inches by 5·1 inches. A circular lump of brass soldered at the centre of its left side contains the seal of the king who issued the charter in question. There is a projecting knob at the back of the lump, resembling the hair collected in a knot behind a woman's head. On the counter-sunk surface of the seal, there are the emblems of the sun and crescent moon at the top, the legend *Śrī-Kulaśambhadravāya* in the middle, and the emblem of a standing bear facing proper right at the bottom. The lower part of the subscript *y* in the *abakara* *era* of the legend looks like two parallel straight lines demarcating the legend and the figure of the bear below. The plate is engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 31 lines of writing, the obverse and the reverse containing 15 and 16 lines respectively. The plate is not in a satisfactory state of preservation and shows signs of corrosion and of the peeling off of a layer of metal here and there. This has rendered the reading of a few passages difficult and doubtful. The plate is partly broken at the right side top and bottom corners. It weighs 54 tolas.

The **characters** belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern alphabet and the inscription may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to about the eighth or ninth century A. D. In point of palaeography, the charter under discussion closely resembles other inscriptions of the family to which its issuer belonged.<sup>1</sup> The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. In this respect as well as in point of orthography, our record has very close resemblance with the other records of the family. The verses are mostly common, although they have slight variations in some cases.

The charter is dated not according to any *era*, but in the issuer's fourth regnal year, Bhādra-sudi 12. This date itself does not help us in determining the age to which the charter has to be referred. But as we shall presently see, one of the records of the grandfather of the issuer of our grant appears to be dated in the year 103 apparently of the *era* used by the Bhauma-Kara rulers of Orissa. As this *era* is now usually identified with the Harsha *era* of A. D. 606, it may be assumed that the date of the said charter corresponds to A. D. 709. If therefore the grandfather flourished about the first quarter of the eighth century A. D., the reign of the grandson, who issued the grant under discussion, may be roughly assigned to the middle or the third quarter of that century. It has, however, to be admitted that the identification of the *era* used by the Bhauma-Karas with the Harsha *era* is not accepted by some scholars who are inclined to assign the Bhauma-Karas to a later date.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*. Verse 1 is in adoration to the god Girān, i.e., Śiva, and is found in several other inscriptions of the family in question. Verse 2 introduces king Rapaśambha of the Śulki family which is said to have been favoured by the goddess Saṁbhāvarī. The next verse says how the Śulki king Rapaśambha constructed a number of temples apparently for the god Sadāśiva. Verses 4-5 describe king Jayastambha who was the son and successor of Rapaśambha. The following two verses (verses 6-7) describe the reigning king Kulaśambha who was the son and successor of Jayastambha and issued the charter from the city of Kōḍālaka. While kings Rapaśambha and Jayastambha of the Śulki family of Kōḍālaka are known from their own records, king Kulaśambha, son of Jayastambha, is known for the first time from the present inscription. He is called a *Mahārāja* and has the honorary title *śamadhāyat-āśiṣa-mahārāja*. He is further said to have been a devout worshipper of the god Mahāśvara.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1694-1701.







The Bhīmanagarigarih plate<sup>1</sup> is usually assigned to king Raṣastambha-Kulaastambha. It represents the king as the lord of the whole Gōndrama with Śāṅkhajōṭi forming the borderland of his kingdom. This description is also found in the two Puri plates<sup>2</sup> published by M. M. Chakravarti. Unfortunately the text of the Puri records is extremely corrupt. The Bhīmanagarigarih plate represents Mahārāja Raṣastambha as the *āmaṣa* (line 10) of Vikramāditya. The word *śata* (line 12) again used before the following mention of Kulaastambha may suggest that the record in question belongs not to Raṣastambha-Kulaastambha but actually to a Kulaastambha who was the son of Raṣastambha.

Another son of Raṣastambha *alias* Kulaastambha was Jayastambha of the three plates<sup>3</sup> discovered at Dhenkanal. In one of these records Jayastambha is called *Mahārājādhirāja* and *samadhigata-paṇcha-mahāśabha* which together appear to be a combination of feudatory and imperial titles. In the same record, Jayastambha is also called "lord of the whole Gōndrama" and is represented as the son of Raṣastambha (*i.e.*, Raṣastambha-Kulaastambha) and as the grandson of Kulaastambha (apparently a mistake for Kalahastambha *alias* Vikramāditya). In the second of the Dhenkanal plates, Jayastambha is called a *Mahārāja* and is represented as the son of Nidayastambha which seems to be another name of Raṣastambha-Kulaastambha. The third plate of Jayastambha calls the king both *samadhigata-paṇcha-mahāśabha* and *paramabhaṭṭaraka*. It represents king Jayastambha as the son of Alānastambha, the grandson of Kaṇḍastambha (undoubtedly a mistake for Kalahastambha) *alias* Vikramāditya, and the great-grandson of Kāśhanastambha. Thus Jayastambha's father seems to have enjoyed no less than four names, *viz.*, Raṣastambha, Kulaastambha, Nidayastambha and Alānastambha. According to the charter under discussion, Jayastambha was succeeded by his son Kulaastambha who ruled at least up to his fourth regnal year. Nothing is known about the Śūlkis after this ruler. Probably they were extirpated or completely subjugated by the Bhāuma-Karas not long after the rule of the issuer of our plate. That the semi-independent rule of the Śūlkis from Raṣastambha-Kulaastambha to his grandson Kulaastambha, who issued the present charter, did not last for more than about half a century is indicated by the fact that the same person seems to be the writer of the Dhenkanal plate of Raṣastambha dated year 103, and of the charter of Kulaastambha under discussion. The Bhāga Kalyāṇadēva who wrote the said grant of Raṣastambha is very probably the same as the Bhāga Kalyāṇa mentioned in line 31 of our record as its writer.

The Śūlkis of Orissa are probably mentioned in the Hārāhā inscription of Maukhari Śānavarman of Bilur and the U. P., dated in Vikrama Śaṁvat 611 (A. D. 554).<sup>4</sup> If this suggestion is to be accepted, it has to be assumed that the Śūlkis were ruling in Orissa or its neighbourhood at a much earlier date than that suggested by the inscriptions of the family discussed above. M. M. Chakravarti believed that *Śūlkī* is but a variant of the family name *Chāḷukya* and that the *Śūlkis* of Orissa represented a branch of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty of the Āmihra country.<sup>5</sup> But this theory seems to be rightly challenged by others who are inclined to associate the Śūlkis of Orissa with a people called Śuklī that are still inhabiting parts of the Midnapur District in South-

<sup>1</sup> Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, No. 1698; *J.B.O.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 401-3. The word *paṭi* (modern *ph* in the dialect of S. W. Bengal and *phā* of the Ganges-Mahanadi, p. 19, etc.) means a canal or small stream. *Māra* identifies Śāṅkhajōṭi with the Śaṅkha river in the Bhandargach region of Orissa.

<sup>2</sup> *J.B.O.S.*, Vol. LXIV, 1905, Part I, pp. 122-27. Only one of these two records is recognised in Bhattacharya's list, No. 1698, the other being inadvertently omitted. The suggestion that the first of these two records mentions one Kaśhahādēva is wrong as the reading intended is known from other records to be "śat" or "sa" (*sa śha*). Cf. line 10 of the record under discussion. *Gōndrama* is now roughly taken to mean the same as Oriya *Gadāḥṇa* (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 77), although the real meaning of the word is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1699-1701; *J.B.O.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 406-17.

<sup>4</sup> H. C. Ray, *Dynamic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 428.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 124.







have been the form of the goddess worshipped by the Śulkis, the deity Stambhēśvari is still adored by the people of the different castes of Orissa in some parts of the country under the Prakritic name Khambhēśvari and in the shape of a post or pillar.<sup>1</sup> Now therefore the word *stambhēśvari* seems to indicate merely "the goddess of the pillar" without any special association with the Śiva-linga. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Kalahandi plates<sup>2</sup> of Mahārāja Tushpikara, who possibly flourished about the fifth or sixth century A. D., mention that ruler as a worshipper of goddess Stambhēśvari. Whether the Śulkis claimed descent from Tushpikara and whether the goddess worshipped by Tushpikara was the very same as that later adored by the Śulkis cannot be determined with any amount of certainty. It is also uncertain whether the pillar known as Stambhēśvari and at present standing at the centre of the Sonapur town had anything to do with king Tushpikara and the rulers of the Śulkī family.<sup>3</sup> The rulers of the Angul State, confiscated in 1847, had names ending with the word *stambha*. There are also certain *Stambha* families in Orissa even today. Nothing definite, however, is known as to whether these late Stambhas had any relations with the ancient Śulkis whose names ended with the word *stambha*.

No satisfactory identification of any of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription has been possible. Kōḍālōka, capital of the Śulkis, may, however, be the same as modern Kōḷhu in the Dhenkanal subdivision of the Dhenkanal District (former Dhenkanal State) of Orissa, about 6 or 7 miles from Talcher, on the left bank of the Brāhmaṇī river.

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

[Metres : Verse 1 *Āryā* ; vv. 3, 5 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 2, 4 *Upajāti* ; v. 6 *Upajāti* (*Vasantatilakā* and *Indrasambhā*) ; v. 7 *Śaṅkharā* ; vv. 8-10 *Anuśṭubh* ; v. 11 *Pushpīligrā*]

*Chacra*

- 1 [Siddham ||<sup>5</sup> Svasti ||<sup>6</sup>] Jayati sur-āntra-(ā)(ā)dhha-dvi(vi)dyādharā-maṇi-gbhīṣṭa-charaṇ-āva(ha)ḥ ||<sup>7</sup>] āśi-maṇi-maṇi(yā)kha-bhāḥ ||(ta-pā)-
- 2 āga-jatā(tā)-bhāsurā Girīnā ||1<sup>8</sup>] Stambhēśvari(ṣi)-la(vdha(bdha))-vata-prasādā Śulkī-kāś-bhū(bhū)-kṣatipāḥ ||<sup>9</sup>] khat-āri(h) ||<sup>10</sup>] Śrī-Raṇastambhā<sup>11</sup>.
- 3 ti pra(t)īṣṭa sphurāt-pratāp-śāyā-tāpit-āri(h) || 2<sup>12</sup>] Bhāsvad-vichī(ta)-ruchir-ōjva(jjva)-la-chātā(ru)-śābhair-uchchahāḥ Śailāśiva-
- 4 para-pragaṇa-sūka-mārgair-śāśvāni(la)yaṛ-niṣa-yāś-dhavalair-anākair-yēn-ātmanas-krīdivam-utgamit-āha kīrttiḥ || 3<sup>13</sup>] Tasy-ātma)ś
- 5 vīratā-pūya-kīrttiḥ śrīmān(mān) Jayaastambha iti khatī(t)īṣṭh ||<sup>14</sup>] va(la)bhāva bhū-(bhū)pāla-āri-maṇi-indra-jyōtmā-prasa(bhā)-bhāsurā-pāda-(pā)<sup>15</sup>]-
- 6 thā ||4<sup>16</sup>] Yāḥ sarvavādā nija-guṇ-āśān(ś-āśān)-samu(mā)ha-pātair-dī(k<sup>17</sup>)-kāminī(nī)-mukha-mandhara-karṇaspa(pā)raḥ ||<sup>18</sup>] sākāśchit-āhita-
- 7 vadha(dhā)-vaḥḥlan-āravindā dāś-āśā(uha)kāra-bhūdarāḥ śuśābhā śuś-īva || 5<sup>19</sup>] Tutā-bhāvach-ah-āvani-pā(la<sup>20</sup>)-na-khatmah parā-

<sup>1</sup> B. C. Munimdar, *Orissa in the Making*, pp. 107 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JPRS*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 107-110.

<sup>3</sup> Munimdar, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> From the original plate kindly lent by the Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University, Cuttack, and from impressions prepared at the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Calcutta.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Śrīmān-Raṇā* for the sake of the metre. The verse is adapted from the records of Raṇastambha (cf. *JPRS*, Vol. II, p. 401) where we have *śrī-Raṇastambha* etc. In another record (cf. *ibid.*, p. 400) we have *Śrīmān-Raṇastambha* etc. These passages are metrically correct.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'sākāś' | śāś'.



1



16

9

16

81

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

18

De

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

20

32

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

92

24

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

24

92

नैऋतदेवताः पूजितव्यः । नैऋतदेवताः पूजितव्यः ।  
आयामया निवारणं कर्तव्यम् । आयामया निवारणं कर्तव्यम् ।

26

85

[illegible]

86

20

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

38







- 25 d-amrityam rājya-anta-jambhaś-cha bhavēd-yaś-cha śayathā kurutā mayā santati-vichhē-  
[chchhē]dō rājya-bharaśa(bhramśa)-cha bhavēd-(tā)ś-cha[śaśa]-  
26 [mōloha]-hit-nichhūh pāliravyam-klah(dam) | pāhyatē cha dharmma-āstrē [| \*] Va-  
[Ba]hubhūir-vasudhā datā(tā) rājabhī[?]\* Sagar-ā[?dibhī]-  
27 r-yaśya<sup>1</sup> yaśya yadā bhū(bhū)mī-<sup>2</sup> mayā tasya tadā phalarā(hm) [?] Svadātā(tā)h para-dātā-  
[tā]dā vā yō harēd-<sup>3</sup> vasudhām-ihā[?] \* [?]-vi[?hā]-  
28 yād kṛmīr-bhu(r-bhū)tvā pitribhī[?]\* saha pacyatē[?] 9\* Hiranyam-śkaś gām-śka-  
(kā)ś bhū(bhū)mīm-apy-śkam-aṅgulaṁ[?] | haraṁ[?] nara-ka-  
29 m-śyātō yāvad-āhu(hū)ta-samplavam[?] 10 | In kamala-dal-āru[?]vā[?]vinda-lālaś  
[?] yā<sup>4</sup> manushya-jū[?]viraś-cha[?] [| \*]  
30 cū[?]kū[?]ka[?]lam-īdam-ndā[?]ta<sup>5</sup> m-cha ru[?]dhyā na hi [?]makā[?] para-śrītayō  
[?]p[?]rā[?] [| 11\*] it[?] prasa[?]stir-[?]hī[?]tā  
31 y-āyam-Phōgi-Kalyān-ākhyāna [| \*] śāstramā<sup>6</sup> Achārya-putra-Da[?]lla[?]bhāsa[?]kēna  
[?] \* Bhādra-mū[?] 12 Śamva 1 [| \*]

## No. 21—MACHUPALLE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SOMIDEVA-MAHARAJA

(I Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

Māchupalle is a village in the Siddhavattam taluk of the Chidlapah District, Madras. It is situated on the southern bank of the Pennār, about five miles to the west of Siddhavattam. The stone bearing the inscription<sup>1</sup> edited here is set up near a well called *Guruv-Reddē-bhūm* adjacent to a ruined temple of Śiva in the village. The inscription is engraved on two sides of the slab. At the top of the first side are carved the emblems of the sun, moon, a seated bull and a hump-stand. Owing to the damage sustained by the stone, a few lines at the bottom of its first side are lost. As a result of this, the record cannot be read continuously from the end of the first side to the beginning of the second. The writing on the second side is well preserved, the concluding portion of the record being retained intact.

The script of the record is mixed Grantha and Tamil. Grantha letters are employed for Sanskrit words and letters. The language of the inscription is Tamil and it is in prose. A few orthographical errors are found in the record and they occur in places where the Sanskrit words or letters are written. Such examples are: first side, line 5, *bṛamaṇḍalāpā* for *puraṇḍalāpā*; line 10, *bhujabala* for *bhujabala*; line 20, *dehahya* for *dehahya*; line 25 *dā[?]rā* for *dā[?]rā*; second side, lines 22 and 24, *śirā* for *dā[?]rā*.

The inscription does not formally refer itself to the reign of any ruling king as is usual with inscriptional records but straightaway commences with the mention of a date and proceeds to state some facts of a transaction that took place on that day. The date cited is Śaka 1178, Rākāśa, Karkāṭa, i.e. pūrṇimā, Tuesday, Tīrvānam lunar eclipse. The details correspond to A. D. 1255, July 20, Tuesday, a day on which there occurred a lunar eclipse. The inscription states that on the date specified *Gangāyāśāhagiyār* who was ruling from Vallūr in Muzai-vaṇaṇḍa

<sup>1</sup> Read *śā[?]rā* | *ganga*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *śā[?]rā* | *ganga*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *śā[?]rā*.

<sup>4</sup> No. 23 of 1936-40 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

(i.e., Mañji-vaṣaṇāḍa) obtained from Sōmidēva-Mahārāja who bore the epithets *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Traiśōkyamalla*, *Bhajaḥaṣa-ciraṇḍrāyaga* and *Nīśanika-pratāpa*, the village of Māṣaruppalli, situated near the southern gateway of Śrīśailam (i.e., Siddhavattam) and that Gaṅḡaya Sāhanayār in his turn made over the village as a gift (*pradānam*) to Kālāḍi Vāṇḍēva Nāyaka of the Bhārṇava *gōtra* who hailed from Malaimaṇḍalam (i.e., Malabar). This Nāyaka, again in his turn, granted a part of the village as *Brāhmaṇeri* to a *Brāhmaṇa*, Perumāl, son of Siddhamanāra of the Pātīmūḍala *gōtra*. Of the remaining lands in the village, he gifted away one share to the temple of Siddhavaṣamūḍaiya-Nāyanār for the expenses of offerings and worship at the time of the morning service (*tiruppalli-eṭṭuchi*) of the deity. The rest of the lands was endowed to a *Malaiyōḍi-maṣṭa* in the village for offering of alms to the *skandasi-śaṣṭhī* and for feeding *Malaiyōḍi-Brāhmaṇas* living in the *maṣṭa* and engaged in religious penance. The inscription ends with the usual imprecation against the destroyers of the charity and contains a final benediction that the religious faith, *Mōḍēśvaras*, might grow and spread.

It will be seen that the inscription is of interest in several respects. In the first place it is to be noted that the language and script of the record is Tamil and this is important in view of the fact that the region where it is found and the chiefs mentioned therein are associated with the Telugu country. Attention will be drawn to the significance of this in the sequel. Historically, the record is of interest in the mention made in it of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sōmidēva-Mahārāja who, to judge from the string of *hīrudas* attached to his name, seems to be a local chief of some importance ruling over the region around Siddhavattam. As to his identity it may be observed that the *hīrudas* held by him are identical with those adopted by a line of chiefs who were further distinguished by the additional epithets of *Kalahaṣa-paravarāṇḍhīśvara* (i.e., the lord of the best of cities, Kalukāḍa) and *Siddhavaṣṭōśvara-dīpa-śrī-pādārāḍhaka*. Some members of this family are known from inscriptions in and around Siddhavattam itself. One of them was Rāyadēva-Mahārāja who bore the epithets, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Karkāḍaparavarāṇḍhīśvara*, *Traiśōkyamalla*, *Bhajaḥaṣa-ciraṇḍrāyaga*, *Pāṇḍyaṇḍrājāśvari*, *Aṇḍamburāḍharaya*, *Nīśanika-pratāpa* and *Siddhavaṣṭōśvara-dīpa-śrī-pādārāḍhaka*. One of his inscriptions found at Rāyachōṭi,<sup>1</sup> Cuddapah District, is dated Śaka 1165, Nandana, Aṣāḍha śr. 11 (i.e., A. D. 1222, June 30, Wednesday) and states that one Paḍavula Bannayaga consecrated the image of Janārdana-Perumāl at Aṇḍapūr in Kū-Mārayapāḍi and that the chief Rāyadēva-Mahārāja granted to the deity the village of Rāyanārāyaṇapattēri as *hīruṣāyāyāṭṭam*. The script and language of this record is Tamil like the present Machupalle inscription. The second record of this chief is found at Jōṭi near Siddhavattam<sup>2</sup> and it is dated Śaka 1169, Plevaṅga, Jyēṣṭha śr. 13, Vāḍḍavāra (i.e., A. D. 1247, May 18, Saturday). Although the record starts with the *pradasti* of Rāyadēva-Mahārāja whose *hīrudas*, as found in the Rāyachōṭi inscription, are also detailed here, the date quoted is referred to the reign of Rakkasa-Gaṅḡarasa. The inscription says that one Chenti Rāmanāyaka, the servant (*śiṣa-hṛitya*) of Rāyadēva-Mahārāja made a number of benefactions on the date specified during the reign of his overlord Rakkasa-Gaṅḡarasa. The wording of the record leaves it doubtful as to whether Rakkasa-Gaṅḡarasa is to be taken as identical with Rāyadēva-Mahārāja which seems very likely since the donor Rāmanāyaka describes them both as his overlords. If, however, he is considered a different person nothing is known regarding the family to which he belonged.<sup>3</sup> Attention may here be drawn to the mention of Rakkasa-Gaṅḡa in a contemporary Telugu literary work, the *Nireṣakuntāra-Rāmāyaṇamu* of Tikkana Sōmayājin from which we learn that Rakkasa-Gaṅḡa was defeated in

<sup>1</sup> No. 448 of 1911 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>2</sup> No. 593 of 1915 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>3</sup> A fragmentary record mentioning a certain Rakkasa-Gaṅḡa "as ruling the earth" is found at Sivāḍi, Pāṇḍyaṇḍrāyaga, Chittoor Dt. (No. 225 of 1921-2 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.). For want of sufficient data it is not possible to connect him with Rakkasa-Gaṅḡa of Siddhavattam.



battle by the Telugu-Chōḍa chief of Nellore, Mannasiddhi II who is stated to have sent his Kāyaṭha general Gaṅḡaya-Sāhani to collect tribute from him. More about this incident will be said in the sequel. At Tāḍpatṛi in the Anantapur District is a long inscription<sup>1</sup> of another chief of the family, viz., Udayāditya who lived many years earlier than Rāyadēva-Mahārāja. This record which is dated Śaka 1120, Kālayukti, Māgha ḥa. 15, Thursday, solar eclipse (i.e., A. D. 1199 January 28, Thursday, solar eclipse), gives the genealogy of Udayāditya as follows: in the lunar race there was Attarāja whose son was Āhavamalla, whose son was Geṅga and Geṅga's son was Sōmadēva who was the father of Udayāditya, the donor of the inscription. Udayāditya is given a string of *brūdas*, commencing with the words, *Anka-samra-saṅghastan-ōpalabha-ōjagalakṣmī-samāṅgita-viśāla-makāṣṭhala*, etc., and including among other epithets those like *Sōdhanasādēva-divya-īrī-pāda-patnadēvābha*, *Kalukajapurastādhiśvari*, *Bhuvanatrīpāṭha*, *Kṣatṛiṅgapurita* and *Pratāpamūḍa*. He is further stated to be ruling from his *rājadhāni* Tāḍpālupura, i.e., Tāḍpatṛi. Āhavamalla mentioned as the great-grand-father of Udayāditya in the Tāḍpatṛi inscription seems identical with his namesake, two of whose records are found in the Rajampet taluk of the Cuddapah District. One of them from Nandalūr,<sup>2</sup> which is in Tamil, records a benefaction by him and refers to one Bhāskara-Bhāṭṭōpādhyāya. The other inscription from Taṅḡatūru,<sup>3</sup> which is in Kannada, is dated Śaka 1073, Prajōtpatti, Māgha śu. 15, Thursday (i.e., A. D. 1152, January 21, Thursday) and refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Taila, i.e., Tailapa III. It records the consecration of the temple of Mūlāsthāna-Pārvatīśādēva by Āhavamalla in honour of his guru *Pāṭipata* Tapōsthāna Jiyar. A still earlier member of the family was Malla-Mahārāja who is described as ruling Āyaja 300 as a subordinate of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) in an inscription at Alampūr, Raichur District, dated Chālukya-Vikrama year 26, Kālayukti.<sup>4</sup> This chief, like Udayāditya of the Tāḍpatṛi record, has a *prastāva* commencing with the words, *Anka-samra-saṅghastan-ōpalabha*, etc., and bears almost all his *brūdas*. If he is identified with Āhavamalla of the Tāḍpatṛi record, which is not unlikely, he must be supposed to have had a long rule of over fifty years from Chālukya-Vikrama year 26, i.e., A. D. 1101-2 to 1152 A. D. Two more chiefs of this stock are brought to light by an inscription at Chintalapattūr, near Pushpagiri, Cuddapah District.<sup>5</sup> They are Murāri-Kṣāvadēva-Mahārāja and Sōmadēva-Mahārāja. Their *prastāva* includes all the epithets held by Sōmadēva-Mahārāja of the present Māchupalle inscription and in addition that of 'lord of Kalukajapura'. The record states that these two chiefs made a joint donation of Vedujācheruvu to god Indrāvara of Pushpagiri on the occasion of their visit to the holy place in Viṅḡava, Āṣāḍḥa śu. 10, Monday. The corresponding Śaka date is not specified in the record. Since the year Viṅḡava corresponded to A. D. 1268 it is not unlikely that the record was set up in that year, although the other details noted in the record do not tally with any date in the month of Āṣāḍḥa of this year.<sup>6</sup> If the date cited is A. D. 1248, this inscription being only 13 years later than the Māchupalle record of A. D. 1255, it is not improbable that Sōmadēva-Mahārāja of the Māchupalle inscription and his namesake of the Pushpagiri record are identical. It would follow from this identification that Sōmadēva-Mahārāja of our record was also a scion of the family of chiefs who were distinguished by the appellation, 'Lords of Kalukajapura'. The omission of this particular title in the Māchupalle inscription does indeed weaken

<sup>1</sup> *G. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 398.

<sup>2</sup> No. 577 of 1907 of the *Mad. Ep. Coll.*

<sup>3</sup> *Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, Vol. 100; *Local Records*, Vol. IX, p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> *Telugu Inscriptions*, pp. 126-7. Ins. No. 26. The cyclic year quoted does not tally with the Ch. Vik. year 26; the latter would correspond to A. D. 1101-2. The Kālayukti year would correspond to A. D. 1078 and 1138 both of which do not seem to be the intended year.

<sup>5</sup> No. 319 of 1906 of the *Mad. Ep. Coll.*

<sup>6</sup> The details, however, correspond to A. D. 1148, June 28 but this date would be too early for Kṣāvadēva and Sōmadēva since these two princes were contemporaries of Ambadēva of A. D. 1252-1302.



the argument in favour of his identification as a son of that family which seems, however, otherwise well established considering not only the occurrence of the other *birudās* which are common to most records of these chiefs but also the provenance of the present record of Sōmidēva near Siddhavattam, the goal of which place was the family deity of some of the members of the family. Further, the language and script of the Machupalle inscription is Tamil, a feature characterising some other inscriptions of the family, viz., the Rāvachēti inscription of Rāvādēva-Mahārāja and the Nandulūr record of Ālavamallā. Thus the locality of his rule, his name and some of the titles held by him which are common to other members of the family of the Kalukadapura chiefs and finally his proximity in point of date to Sōmidēva-Mahārāja of that family figuring in the Pālagiri inscription, would all render it tenable that our Sōmidēva-Mahārāja of the Machupalle inscription was a son of the Kalukadapura rulers and identical with Sōmidēva of the Pālagiri record.

From the foregoing analysis of the epigraphs of the lords of Kalukadapura, it would appear that the earliest member of the stock so far known was Attirāja of the lunar race. He might have flourished about A.D. 1100 since he was the fourth ascendant from Udayāditya of A.D. 1199 figuring in the Tāḍpatri inscription cited above. The history of the family before Attirāja is not definitely ascertainable but some clues in this regard are however available from their *prasaśti* and titles. For instance, the *prasaśti* commencing with the words, *Aḍḍa-samara*, etc., which the chiefs of Kalukadapura adopted was also the characteristic preamble of the Vaidumbas family, who ruled over parts of Coimbatore and the adjacent territory from the 9th to the 11th century A.D. Thus again the title *Bhuvanatrīpēṭra* held by the chiefs of Kalukadapura was a well-known Vaidumba name and title. Further, it is not unlikely that the epithet *Aṇṭarabāṇḍharava* of the Kalukadapura chiefs is a corruption of *Vaidumbāṇḍharava* which was assumed by the Vaidumba chief Bhīma-Mahārāja of the Pālagiri record,<sup>1</sup> dated Śaka 978 (i.e., A.D. 1058). This chief further claims a lunar origin like Attirāja, the earliest known ancestor of the Kalukadapura chiefs, as noticed above. Another significant datum which may be taken to establish that the lords of Kalukadapura were either locally descended from the Vaidumba rulers of Rānādū or were their political successors who appropriated their titles, dominions, etc., is traceable in the very title of 'Lord of Kalukadapura' itself. For, Kalukadapura is identical with the modern Kallakudi in the Vayalpur taluk of the Chittoor District and at this very place were found two inscriptions of the Vaidumbas referable to the 9-10th century A.D. indicating that the region of Kallakudi was their principality. One of them belongs to Guṇḍetrīpēṭra Vaidumba-Mahārāja<sup>2</sup> and the other was issued by Bhuvanatrīpēṭra Iravēṅgera-Mahārāja on the occasion of his coronation.<sup>3</sup> The latest date for the Vaidumba chiefs so far known is Śaka 978 (i.e., A.D. 1056) which is furnished by the Pālagiri record of Kalukatrīpēṭra Bhīma-Mahārāja, son of Maṭṭuḷḷa-Mahārāja cited above. It has to be noted, however, that between this date (A.D. 1056) of the last known member of the earlier Vaidumba family and that of Attirāja (c. 1100) the earliest known progenitor of the later stock there is a gap of about 50 years during which the history of these rulers is unknown. Nevertheless, it is certain that the Vaidumbas must have continued to flourish in parts of Rānādū side by side with the Telugu Chōḍas with whom it is well-known that they often came into conflict. It would appear that like the Telugu Chōḍas they came under the suzerainty of the Western Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa. This event might have taken place in the time of Chāḷukya king Trailokyamalla Ālavamalla Sōmēśvara I since we find some of the titles like *Trailokyamalla* and *Ālavamalla* being adopted by the Kalukadapura chiefs thus indicating their subordination to that Chāḷukya emperor.

<sup>1</sup> No. 323 of 1935-36 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. See *As. Res. S. I. E.*, 1936-39, pp. 66-7.

<sup>2</sup> No. 445 of 1940-41 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

<sup>3</sup> No. 443 of 1940-41 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.



Now, to return to the Māchupalle inscription. Another point of interest attaching to it is that Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi, the Kāyastha chief ruling from Vallūr, figures in it as an associate of Sōmidēva-Mahārāja in the gift made, evidently in the capacity of a friend or a joint subordinate under a common overlord. It was perhaps in the latter capacity that he figures in this inscription. For, Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi was a feudatory of the Kākatīyas and he is mentioned as such in several inscriptions of Kākatīya Gaṅapati issued in the same year in which the inscription from Māchupalle was issued, i.e. A. D. 1255.<sup>1</sup> He was, besides, employed as a general of the Telugu Chōḍa chief Maṃmadiddhi II of Nallāru (A. D. 1239-1268) who was the friend and ally of Gaṅapati.<sup>2</sup> Literary evidence testifies to the fact that Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi was deputed by the Telugu Chōḍa ruler to collect tribute from Rakkasa-Gaṅga who is stated to have been defeated by Maṃmadiddhi, but whose territories were given back to him in exemplification of the Chōḍa ruler's character as an *dayatamān*.<sup>3</sup>

It has been surmised above that Rakkasa-Gaṅga was the same chief that was also known as Rāyadēva-Mahārāja, the Kalukadapura prince who was ruling over the region of Siddhavaṭṭam and its adjacent territory. Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi, having been thus deputed, seems to have gone to Siddhavaṭṭam and on the occasion of his visit to the holy place might have made the grant registered in the Māchupalle record under study. Since the verse in the *Nīrucchāḍṭāra-Rāmāyaṇam* cited above, explicitly states that the dominions conquered from Rakkasa-Gaṅga were duly restored to him, Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi being sent only to collect tribute, it is self-explanatory that in the Māchupalle record, Sōmidēva, the successor of Rakkasa-Gaṅga, should be described as the original donor from whom Gaṅgaya-Sāhaṇi obtained the gift village, for it was Sōmidēva-Mahārāja that was the actual ruler of the area in which the gift-village was situated. In this connection it is significant that except a few early inscriptions of the family, all the other records of the Kalukadapura chiefs which quote their *prasaśa* are found issued without reference to any overlord. Even the Pushpagiri record of Sōmidēva-Mahārāja of A. D. 1268 is found issued with the full preamble of the family and without any reference to an overlord. The Pushpagiri record further makes it apparent that the two chiefs figuring therein, Murāri-Kēśavadēva-Mahārāja and Sōmidēva-Mahārāja were left to enjoy their possessions in freedom till A. D. 1268 at least. Not long after this date, these princes seem to have offended the Kāyastha chiefs of Vallūr for it is learnt from the records of Ambadēva, the Kāyastha chief who assumed rulership sometime about A. D. 1272 and flourished till A. D. 1302, that he defeated Kēśavadēva and Sōmidēva along with Alu-Gaṅga. There can be no doubt that the first two princes were the chiefs of Kalukadā whose Pushpagiri inscription has been cited above. This defeat must have taken place sometime before A. D. 1290 as the earliest of Ambadēva's inscriptions mentioning this exploit is dated in this year.<sup>4</sup> We hear no more about the lords of Kalukadapura subsequent to this date.

It is not known what brought Vāsumdēva Nāyaka of Mahimayajalam to Siddhavaṭṭam where he figures as the donor in the present record. His visit may have been just an act of pilgrimage to the holy place Siddhavaṭṭam on the occasion of which he made the pious gift recorded in the inscription. That the object of the gift made by him was in the first instance obtained from Sōmidēva-Mahārāja and in the second from Gaṅgaya Sāhaṇi, must be understood to bear some particular significance, the exact nature of which it is not possible to say. It is not unlikely that he was either some subordinate commander under Gaṅgaya Sāhaṇi, the generalissimo of the Telugu Chōḍas and the Kākatīyas or was just a learned man interested in Saivism and its spread. This Nāyaka is otherwise unknown to us except from this inscription.

<sup>1</sup> No. 21 of 1936 of the Mad. Ep. Coll. (S. I. I., Vol. X, No. 249).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> *Nīrucchāḍṭāra-Rāmāyaṇam*, Canto 1, v. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 274; S. I. I., Vol. X, No. 493.







I am not in a position to affirm whether a *tridandi* or an *ikudandi* was of a superior order of *svayambhu*. That actually a bamboo rod was carried, whether of one stick or of three tied together, is more than clear from the statements in the *Sungāra-upanishad*<sup>1</sup> to the effect that a bamboo rod (*amravam-dandam*), free from notches and insects, straight and strong and obtained from a holy place should be carried and that none should go even a small distance without a *danda*.

**Māsaruppaḷi**, the gift-village, is represented by the present village of Māchupalle, Siddhavattam taluk, Cuddapah District, situated five miles west of Siddhavattam, the findspot of the inscription here published. From the etymology of the name we learn that it has much philosophical meaning as it is composed of the words *māsa* + *aru* + *paḷi*, that is to say, a village (*paḷi*) where *dāsa* or sin (*māsa*) is removed (*aru*). True to its import the place had a religious establishment for the practice of austerities by which sins could be washed away. It is not certain whether by the suffix *paḷi* we have to understand that the place was or had formerly been a Jaina or Buddhist centre for the term *paḷi* is usually associated with Jaina or Buddhist settlements.

**Mutti-vaṇaṇḍu**, in which Vallūru is stated to have been situated, is apparently the engraver's mistake for Muḷki-vaṇaṇḍu corresponding roughly to a portion of the Cuddapah District. Vallūru which retains its name to the present day is situated in Kamalapuram taluk of this District.

## TEXT

## First Side

- |                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 Svasti (rē) [°] Sāmaru-ṇḍu          | 18 I priti(thi)virāṇyam paṇḍu(g)ḷa i- |
| 2 1178 Avad-āga Rākshada(na)-         | 19 n-nāḷi grahaṇa-kālatati            |
| 3 uvachaharattu Kaṇḍa(ka)-ḍya-        | 20 Śrīparvata-de(dakka)ḷiṇa-dvāra m-  |
| 4 pu-pārva-pakalattu Śevya-           | 21 mṇattu Māsa(gu)ppaḷiyai            |
| 5 (y)ka(ki)amaiyum Baṇḍa(Paurṇa)ṇḍā-  | 22 Malamaṇḍalattu Bhārgava-           |
| 6 Syaiyum porra Tiruv[6]-             | 23 gōtratu-kKalaḍi Vān-               |
| 7 oattu nā [1°] svasti na(ma*)sta-pr- | 24 dēva Nāyakkarka priti-dī           |
| 8 śasti-saḥitam śrīman-ma-            | 25 nam-āga (rā(dhā)ṇḍi)-pārvam paṇḍi- |
| 9 hāmaḍaḷāvaratti Trai-               | 26 kkaḍaḷkaḷyāl inūya-                |
| 10 lōkyamalla bhujabha(ba)-           | 27 kkaruṇḍi (i)vvāṇi brahma-          |
| 11 la-vīraṇḍāyaga nīda-               | 28 puriy-āga Pūṇimāṇa-gō-             |
| 12 nika(pre)ṇḍa Sōmāḍva Ma-           | 29 trattu Śitamaraiar pū-             |
| 13 hārajaḍ-ēkkaḍukka śrīmatu          | 30 [ḷa] Perumāḷukka dīdā-             |
| 14 gōḍaḷaḍḍi(ma*) [ma]ḍaḷka-bra-      | 31 vāpūrraka(n) paṇḍi-ēka-            |
| 15 [ḷum]rākshasam-āga Gaḍḍa-          | 32 dattu [nāḷa(m-ā)]vadu [1°] 1 . . . |
| 16 ya-ma(ā)ḷaṇḍi Mutti (Muḷki)-va-    | 33 . . . . . ym-āgaṇ-                 |
| 17 kkaḷiḷi Vallūru-                   | 34-35 damaged                         |

<sup>1</sup> *Hinduśāstrasamgraham*, (Nirmaya Saṅgḥa Ed., 1937), p. 412.



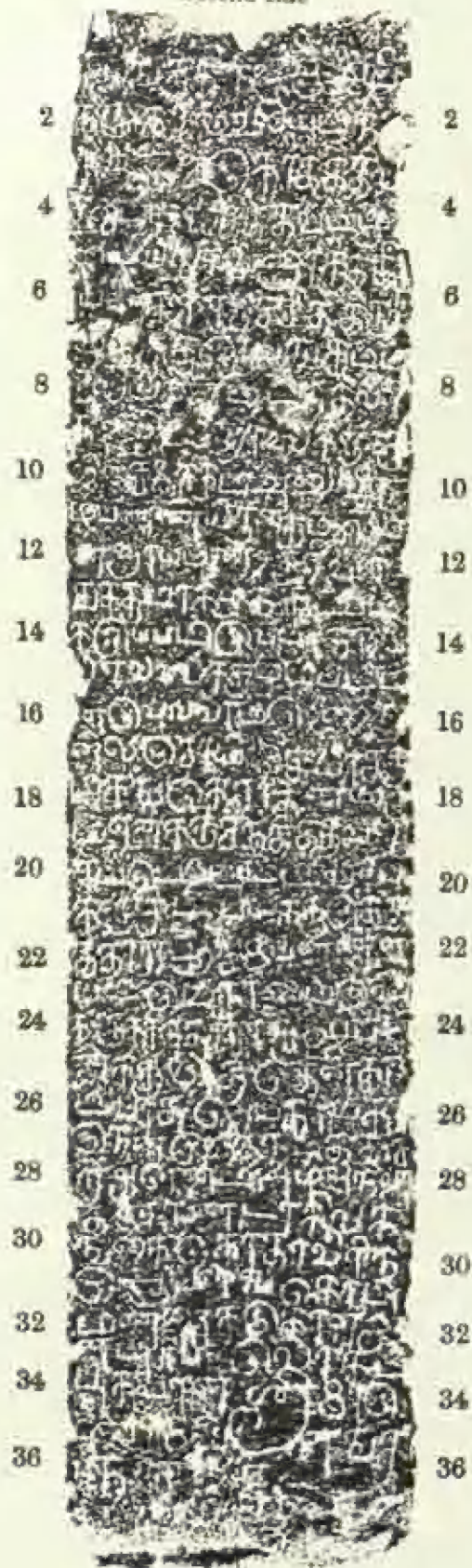


# MACHUPALLE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SOMIDEVA-MAHARAJA

First side



Second side





*Second Side*

1 ppaḡguga[il āru yi-	19 m enakko ṣand[īrādi*]tta-varai
2 kkolaiyura n[īk]-	20 appērpattā [prāpti]-
3 kī nīga kottadil	21 ga[um-utpada-]kkudattu-
4 udaiyār Śittavaḡam-ā-	22 ttā(dhā)rā-pūrvam paṇṇina-
5 ḡaiya Nāyanā[k*]ku-ttīru-	23 paḡiyē nāṇam ivar-
6 ppa[il-ē]nohohi-ttīruv-a-	24 ga[ukku-ttā(dhā)rā-pūrvam*] paṇ-
7 mudukka orn-paṇḡum Ma-	25 ṇi-kkujuttēg Kāla-
8 laiyāṇi-maḡattāi ē-	26 ḡi Vāśudēva Nāyaka-
9 kaḡaḡḡi-sanyāṇaḡukku	27 nōḡ [i*] i-ttanmattok-
10 bhikṣaṇikkum anuṣṭ[ā]na]-	28 ku ārēḡum aliṇu nīnai-
11 m paṇḡi yirukku[m*] Malay[ā*]	29 ttār-ṇḡḡ-āḡil Ga-
12 ḡa-bhāṇmagaḡku jīvaḡat-	30 āḡal Gōḡḡvi(va)ri na-
13 tukku-m-āḡa makkūrum-[ā]	31 ḡu āyiraṇ-ḡō-bī[ā]-
14 ḡa iḡpaḡi iṇvūr nār[ā]-	32 maḡarai-kkōṇṇ-
15 [i] allaikkum-utpada ma-	33 ḡ pukka lōkam
16 [nai]-v(y)-ollām iṇṇai nā-	34 pūḡvāḡ [i*] Śrī mālḡ-
17 [il Śōmudēvarasēru-	35 ēvuraṇ viḡaḡa [i*]
18 m Gaḡḡo Śāḡaḡiyāru-	36 naḡr-āḡa [i*]

## No. 22—DIVE AGAR MARATHI COPPER CHARTER ; SAKA 982.

( 1 Plate )

MORSEHWAH G. DIXSHIT, POONA

This single sheet of a copper plate was obtained by me in the village **Divē Agar**, in the Janjira area of the Bombay State, through the courtesy of Shri. S. N. Joshi-Patwardhan, a resident of the village, in May 1919. It is reported to have been found by a farmer while digging for earth in his *vāḡi*. The plate measures about 6½ inches broad and 3½ inches high, and has a small hole in the middle of the margin on its proper left, through which a copper ring is passed. The ring is quite plain and does not bear traces of a seal. It is possible that a blank sheet of copper, now missing, was strung on this ring which held them both together, though the inscription on the extant plate is complete in itself.

The inscription consists of 9 lines of writing in characters of the Nāgarī alphabet, current in the 11th century. Influence of the southern alphabet may be traced in the forms of a few letters, e.g., *ṣ* in l. 3. We may also note the southern forms of the numerals 9 and 7 in lines 1 and 6.

The language of the inscription is early Marāṭhi. As regards orthography there are several points which attract our attention. Though *sa* and *śa* are generally very well distinguished throughout the record, the occasional use of *sa* for *śa* is to be noted as in *सर्व्वरी* in line 1 and *सासन* in line 3. The *prishtha-mātrā* is used to denote medial *ai* in several places : but not so in medial *i*, except in line 9 where it is used thrice. The abbreviations are indicated by a small circle and a



*visarga* in line 6 where सु० गाः stands for सुवर्णं गवाणकाः; and it is interesting to see that the word preceding the *visarga* is lengthened as गा. In line 6 सुर्वः appears to be the abbreviated form of सुवर्णः. The doubling of consonants is seen in the words सव्वरी (line 1), मार्गसिर (line 2), and सुवर्णः (lines 5 and 9).

From the linguistic point of view the following peculiarities may be noticed. There is a distinct tendency towards *anulisation* in certain words as in स्थितिपुरिची in line 2, सासनं in line 3, ठवियली in line 5 and ठवियलं in line 6. The *anuvāra* is used to denote the plural in the case of सासनं in line 3; but in the words प्रमुक्खं स्थानं it indicates the subject in the instrumental case. The use of redundant *visarga* is noted twice, पामेः in line 5 and दाबोदरः in line 6. Certain nouns have *a* endings as in संवत् in line 1, योगक्षेम in line 7 and देवत् in line 9. These and other peculiarities characterise this early record in the Marāṭhi language.

The date of the inscription is given as Śaka Sahvat 982, Śārvari, Paurṇamāsī of Mārgaśīrṣa, Friday. This date<sup>1</sup> regularly corresponds to Friday, 10th November, A. D. 1060.

A short one-line inscription<sup>2</sup> carved at the base of the colossal statue of Gōmaṭēśvara at Srāvapa Belgola, in the Mysore State, is supposed to be the earliest record in the Marāṭhi language discovered so far. Though not precisely dated, this inscription is attributed to about A. D. 983 from the mention of Chāvuṇḍarāya, a minister of the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla, found in this inscription. Comparatively very few records in Marāṭhi have been handed down to us till about the Śilāhāra-Yālavā period, whose language is a mixture of Sanskrit and early Marāṭhi. After about A. D. 1200 inscriptions in Marāṭhi become a regular feature in Mahārāṣṭra, but great difficulty is experienced in deciphering them because of the bad preservation of the stone on which they are generally found incised. Only a few amongst these have been critically edited,<sup>3</sup> though their readings are not free from doubt. For want of accurate data the development of the Marāṭhi language through its successive stages therefore still remains a desideratum and our knowledge of early Marāṭhi records before the 12th century does not extend beyond about six or seven inscriptions published so far. In view of this the present charter in Marāṭhi which is fairly lengthy and sufficiently well preserved will be found to be much useful.

The inscription records a private deed. It states that on the aforementioned day, two *śāstas* (charters) regarding (the village) Sthūtipurī were kept with one Māvala-bhaṭṭa by the village assembly (*sthāna*)<sup>4</sup> headed by Yāśudēva-bhaṭṭa, Vāyā Shadaṅgavi, Rāṣṭyappa (Ghaṣṭa) and Sūdhā Shadaṅgavi. Further, one hundred and twenty seven *sunarṇas* (=ladyāṅga coins) were kept with Dāvōdara; (which was the expense) for the maintenance ((yōga-kṣhēma) of the assembly. This (deed) was known to Rāṣṭya-pai, Paṇḍya-dēva Shadaṅgavi, Tīkai Shadaṅgavi, Jīvaṇai, Nāgarādra-bhaṭṭa, Madhuvai Shadaṅgavi and Madhuvaya Dēvalu, of Dīvā. The inscription ends with a sentence stating that whatever *sunarṇa* (i.e., the amount in gold) was specified, it was along with a *śāstha*. The exact meaning of the last word cannot be construed satisfactorily.

Though the inscription does not furnish any information of historical interest, it throws valuable light on the administration of the local village assemblies; and how certain important transactions were recorded in the period. It will be seen from it that two important charters

<sup>1</sup> Pillal, *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. III, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, No. 479; above, Vol. VII, p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> The Marāṭhi text of these inscriptions consists of a few words or sentences in that language; the major portion is mainly Sanskrit.

<sup>4</sup> (See below, p. 123, n. 5.—Ed.)



belonging to a village were kept with a private person with the consent of the assembly and that the sum for the maintenance of the assembly was handed over to another person apparently in trust, the names of several witnesses to this deed also being cited.<sup>1</sup> The Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the inscription seem to be very learned persons as several of them have the appellation *Śarṇa-gaui*, a corrupt form of Sanskrit *Śarṇagaviḥ*, meaning well versed in the six *Āgas* of the *Veda*. The Marāṭhi forms of these names are also interesting. Thus the name Dīvōdara would correspond to Sanskrit Dāmōdara ; Risiyappa to Rishiappa ; Sidhā to Sidḍha ; Pavāradēva with Padma-dēva. The record mentions two surnames, Ghaisāsa and Dēvalu, which again are interesting. Early use of the word Ghaisāsa in the form Gahiyasāhasa is met with in the Rellhanpur Plates<sup>2</sup> of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda, dated Śaka 730, where the *gōtra* of the Brāhmaṇa is stated to be Bhārad-vāja. In the Sañjan copper plates<sup>3</sup> of Rāshtrakūṭa Amoghavaraha, Śaka 793, the variant Gahiyasāhāsa (or-sāhāsa) is found and the Brāhmaṇas belong to the Vaidamanukha and Vatsa *gōtras*. The word occurs in several inscriptions subsequent to this period, e.g., in the Chikka-Bāgowādi Plates<sup>4</sup> of Yādava Kṛishṇa, dated Śaka 1171, there are several Brāhmaṇas with the appellation Ghaisāsa whose *gōtras* are variously described as Ātrēya, Kāsyapa, Kaundinya, Kauṣika, Gōtama, Jāmadagnya-Vatsa, Bhāradvāja, Mūka, Rathitara, Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvāmītra, Śāṇḍilya, Sāmaka and Śrīvatsa. From these various *gōtras* there is reason to believe that the term Ghaisāsa denotes only a position or rank and is not restricted to any particular section of Brāhmaṇas. In the present day however the surname is found among the Dēśastha, Chitpāvana and Karhādē Brāhmaṇas of Mahārāshtra. Regarding the appellation Dēvalu, it corresponds to the modern surname Dēvala, found among the Chitpāvana Brāhmaṇas. It is perhaps a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word Dēvalaka meaning the 'worshipper in a shrine or a temple'.

The word *sthāna* in the sense of a village assembly is met with in several inscriptions<sup>5</sup> and does not need any comment.

There are only two geographical places mentioned in the record, viz., Sthitipuri (line 2) and Dīvē (line 7). Of these the first cannot be identified precisely for want of specific details, but it may probably refer to a small village called Sthita, about three miles to the north of Dīvē Āgar, where the plates were found. Dīvē is obviously modern Dīvē Āgar, whose name has been Sanskritised into Dipaka-grāma in a 13th century record<sup>6</sup> found in the same village.

I am thankful to Shri P. B. Desai, M.A., of the Government Epigraphist's Office, Ootacamund, for his kind help rendered in recasting this article and making it suitable for publication in this journal.

<sup>1</sup> [See below, n. 5.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 256.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 305-06. The Bendigori plates of the same ruler, Śaka 1171, also contain the names of several Brāhmaṇas with the appellation Ghaisāsa ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 70-72. Ghaisa, Ghailas and Ghailasa are other variants of the expression occurring in these inscriptions.

<sup>5</sup> [Mr. P. B. Desai, M.A., of my office observes as follows : The term *sthāna* is never met with in the inscriptions in the sense of a village assembly. *Sthāna*, in general, connotes a post or an office and its earliest use may be traced in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya. In such designations as the *Sthānika*, *Sthānapati*, *Sthānadhāra*, etc., commonly occurring in inscriptions, *sthāna* means, 'holy place, religious establishment', etc. Secondly *sthāna* also seems to have acquired the sense of 'trusteeship'. In the present inscription (lines 4 and 7) it appears to have been used to denote 'trustees'. For a detailed discussion on the topic see, B. A. Saletore, 'The *Sthānikas* and their Historical Importance' ; *Journal of Bombay University*, Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 1-45.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> *Dikshiti : Selected Inscriptions from Mahārāshtra* (Poona 1947) : pp. 85-88 (in Marāṭhi).



TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 श्रो<sup>2</sup> स्वस्ति शक संवत् ६८२ सर्व्वरी<sup>3</sup> संवत्सरे मा-  
 2 न्मसिर पौर्णमास्यां शुक्ले ॥ श्रीस्थितिपुरिची दो-  
 3 नि सासन<sup>4</sup> वासुदेवभट्ट वाये<sup>5</sup> षडंगवि रितियप्प<sup>6</sup>  
 4 पैसास सीधु<sup>7</sup> षडंगवि एतत्प्रमुखं स्थानं मावलम-  
 5 ट्टपासे<sup>8</sup> ठवियली ॥ तथा सातावीसें शत सुवर्णः<sup>9</sup> द-  
 6 वोदरः पासि<sup>10</sup> ठवियले । सु० गा<sup>11</sup> १२७ सुवर्णः योगक्षे-  
 7 मु स्थानहचा<sup>11</sup> । दीवेचे रितियपे<sup>12</sup> पौवदेव<sup>13</sup> षडंगवि-  
 तिके  
 8 षडंगवि जीवणे तामरुदभट्ट मधुवे षडंगवि मधुव-  
 9 य देवत् हे जाणति । जें सुवर्णं लिहलें तें काठेअ<sup>14</sup>  
 समेतः ॥

<sup>1</sup> From the original plate.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>3</sup> Read शार्व्वरी.<sup>4</sup> Read सासन.<sup>5</sup> If भट्टवाये is read together, it would stand for Sanskrit भट्टपाद in which case वासुदेव भट्टपाद would be the name of one person, and not two, as indicated in the introduction.<sup>6</sup> A short vertical stroke is visible below य which may stand for यप्.<sup>7</sup> The 'a' ending is common for proper names in Mahāśāhīra even now, e.g., राम is often changed to राम्.<sup>8</sup> The oblique is unnecessary.<sup>9</sup> Read दामोदरापासि.<sup>10</sup> Abbreviation of सुवर्णयद्याणका. It would have been difficult to recognise this if the same numerical figure were not expressed in words in the previous line.<sup>11</sup> For स्थानाचा.<sup>12</sup> This may be ऋषियप्प or ऋषि पै. Pai is a well known surname among the Śaivavata Rishmagas. For other instances of the use of this appellation, see Bhandarkar plates of Śilāhāra Chhattarija, above, Vol. XII, p. 263, Berlin Museum plates of Chhattarija, Z. D. M. G., 90, p. 265 and other Śilāhāra inscriptions.<sup>13</sup> Sanskrit पद्मदेव ; पद्मदेव—पद्मदेव—गौवदेव—पौवदेव.<sup>14</sup> I am unable to explain the word काठेअ. Its connection with सुवर्णं is certain. Taking the ending of कां as the prefix/suffix for the following akṣara ठे and restoring the word as कंठेअ, it is possible to suggest that the gold coins were perhaps strung in a necklace or कंठा. But it is clear from the context that the coins were numbered for use and not for ornamental purpose. Another suggestion would be that कंठ was a kind of vessel in which the coins were kept. I am however not certain about either of these interpretations.

ॐ स्वास्त्वाक शैव तु ७ ८ ९ सवैरी शैव सखा  
 श्री (सिगापो) श्रीमांशु श्री ॥ श्रीशुनि पुगिरी दो  
 हि सायकें वाशुदेव रुट्टो दोषदेगवि (सिग)  
 प्रोसायमी दुष्टदेग विपन प्रमुख सुनि मापुल  
 ट्ट पासैः ठ विपली ॥ तथा सता गी सै रत सुयल्लोदा  
 लोदकः पासिठ विपली ॥ सुभाः १२ सुसुं योयकु  
 मुस्मान रुसादीयेय (सिगपो) वदुवष्ट ड विनि के  
 सदेग विही यालि नाग रुड रुट्ट मगुय छ ईया वि मगुय  
 दा देवलु रुता ल ति । (सुयल्लो) नि जाठ म-सल्लो





## No. 23—PESHAWAR POTSHERDS WITH KHAROSHTHI WRITINGS

(I Plate)

B. CH. CHARRA, OCTACAMUND

In September 1945, Mr. Md. Walinillah Khan, at that time one of the Sub-Overseers attached to the then office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, Lahore,<sup>1</sup> under the direction of this latter officer, sent me twentyfour potsherds from Peshawar. They bear the Register Numbers 1249/1 to 1249/17, 1249/19 to 1249/24, and 1249/26. Their exact findspot is not known, but most probably they were found in the vicinity of Peshawar itself.

These potsherds are of various dimensions. No. I is the smallest of the lot, its extreme length being  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ", extreme breadth  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ", and thickness  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". No. XXIII is the largest, its extreme length being  $7\frac{1}{2}$ ", extreme breadth 4", and thickness varying from  $\frac{1}{2}$ " to  $\frac{3}{8}$ ". They vary in texture also. Besides, no two pieces can be dovetailed. Judging from their curvatures, all except two are fragments of biggish pots or pithers. The two exceptions are Nos. XVIII and XXIV. Both of them exhibit a superior finish. The former is evidently a fragment of a thin platter, painted red both inside and outside. The latter is likewise a piece of a deep cup or beaker.

No. XXIV is exceptional in another respect, too. The writing on it, consisting of five clear letters, is 'incised', whereas on all the other pieces it is 'painted'. The 'incision' was done obviously with a stylus or some other sharp instrument while the object was still wet after it had been turned out from the potter's wheel, whereas the 'painting' was done on the baked and finished products.

As is to be expected, the inscription on No. XXIV is very distinct, while the painted writings have very much faded. The faint traces of the latter could be deciphered with great difficulty. In order to make out the contour of individual letters, I had to moisten repeatedly the 'painted' surface of each piece with a wet sponge. The same method was followed by the draftsman, Mr. S. N. A. Sulrahmanya Mudaliar, the Photographer of my office, who is responsible for the drawings reproduced here. It may be seen from the accompanying photographic reproductions of some of the pieces that the traces of the painted writings are, except in a few cases, mostly indiscernible.

Their fragmentary nature does not allow us to draw any far-reaching conclusions. It is, however, clear from some of them, especially from Nos. IX, X, XII, XX, and XXIII, that the pots containing these inscriptions belonged to a Buddhist establishment. The name *Buddhamitra*, occurring on No. XXIV, is also quite consistent with that. The name actually must be *Buddhamitra*, the form *buddha* being due to Prakrit influence.

Below I offer my readings of these fragmentary inscriptions and comments on them.

## I

This sherd contains faint traces of two almost complete letters that can be read as :

*sa dha*

There is just a very small remnant of another letter after the second letter, but it is too small to be recognized as a part of a particular letter. The first letter seems to have a slanting stroke over its right side, but it is comparatively thin and may not be a part of the writing.

The reading *sa dha* recalls to mind the name of an individual *Saḍhala*, that occurs in one of the minor Kharoshthi inscriptions from Taxila (see *C. I. I.*, II, 100, Inscribed gold ring, pl. XX-1).

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Md. Walinillah Khan is now the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Pakistan Circle, Lahore.



## II

This piece has three letters the first of which is slightly destroyed at the top. They read :

a da na

The form of na shows a later development. It may be referred to the Kushāna period, i.e., about 2nd century A. D.

No sense can be made of the extant portion of the record. The last two letters, however, suggest that they are the first two letters of the word *danamukha* 'gift' which so frequently occur in donative Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. One of the three earthen jars with similar painted inscriptions discovered at Pālātū Dherī mound, now in the Peshawar Museum, has this expression (see *C. I. I.*, II, 121, Pl. XXIII-14). On the analogy of this we may surmise that the present sherd is a piece of a pot which was a religious gift by an individual whose name is lost.

## III

But for a small irregular spot of black paint about the centre showing that this piece also had some writing on it, it has now no writing left on it. The whole writing seems to have been washed clean.

## IV

This piece contains remnants of three letters. The upper portion of the first letter is gone, but what remains of it suggests that it might have been a *ae* with its loop filled up. The second letter is mostly blurred. It may be a *da* or a *dha*, but in either case the form would be unusual. The third letter is almost entirely gone.

## V

This potsherd has the upper portion of one letter, which is to be read as :

*khe*

It is very faint, but can be read when moisture is applied to the piece. There is a small trace of another letter below the left limb of *khe*, but it cannot be recognized. The reading *khe* is suggestive of *danamukha* 'gift'. And possibly the pot was a gift by an individual. This may be compared with No. 2 above.

## VI

This piece contains very small upper portion of six letters, none of which can be read with any certainty. The loop of the second suggests it to be an *a*. The last one is most probably an *o*, too. Almost completely gone.

## VII

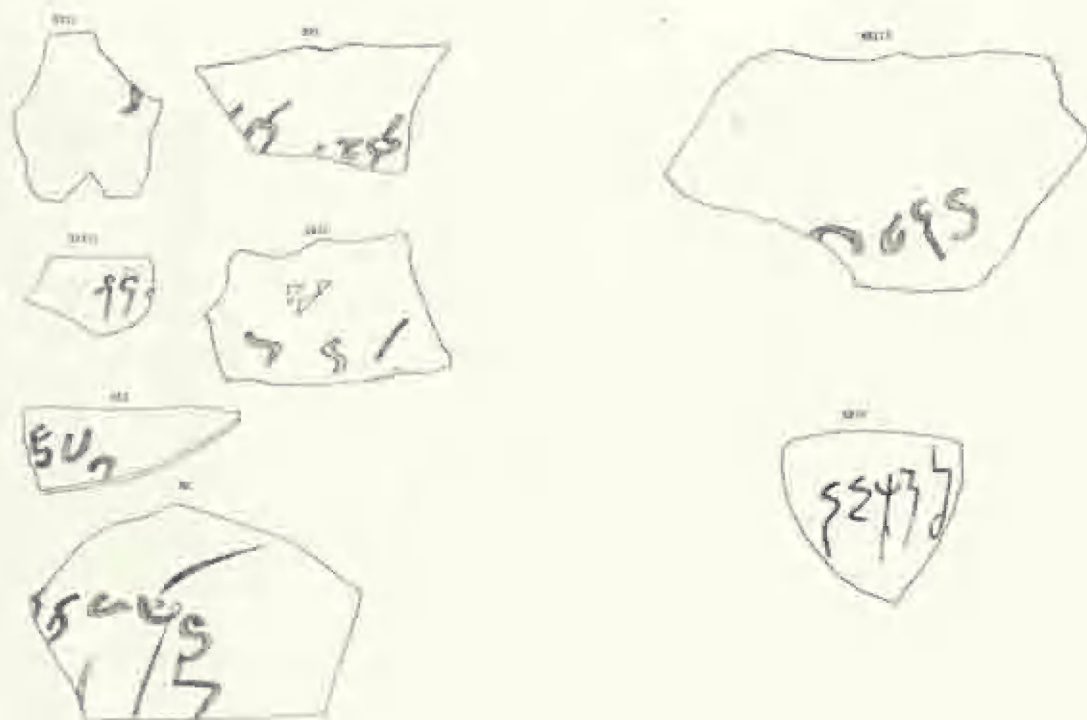
This potsherd has five letters. Bottoms of the first three have been destroyed. The fourth is complete and the fifth is only partly preserved. They read :

a ra ga to[cha]

The third letter shows a stroke on the top to its right, but a careful examination showed that it is not joined with the letter *ga* and is not meant to be a part of this syllable. Again, applying moisture shows the inscription more distinctly.

No interpretation of the extant portion of the record can be suggested at this stage. Compare, however, No. XII below.

# PESHAWAR POTSHERDS WITH KHAROSHTHI WRITINGS.





XIII



XXIV



XI and XII



(From Photographs)

## VIII

This piece contains only two letters, both clear enough. They read:

*pha u*

The letter *pha* is distinct, only its arm on the left is a little longer than usual. The two letters may be a name of a person, derived from *Phalga* (→ *Phaga* > *Phaṭ*).

## IX

This sherd has three letters. They read:

*sa ghe cha*

The second letter looks more like *ge*, but it is taken for granted that it had a hook attached to its right to the lower end of the vertical which is now mostly effaced.

The preserved portion is almost identical with the beginning of another potsherd inscription (No. 444 of the Peshawar Museum, *C. I. I.*, II, 63, Pl. XII-3; cf. also *ibid.* 121, Pl. XXIII-1a) which is likewise fragmentary but which has at least seven letters preserved, reading:

*saṅghe chaṭudīṣe Ka*

In the light of this, the present inscription may also be translated as:

'in the Saṅgha (of the four quarters) '.

## X

This piece contains six complete letters and a very small remnant, in the beginning, of another.<sup>1</sup> They are very faint, but can be read by applying moisture to the surface. The last two are decidedly *gra ho*. The preceding one looks like *ro* but it is possibly *ri*, the upper end of the medial *i* stroke having been effaced. And what precedes it is *pa*. Thus this is a complete word *parigraha*. The first two letters are *sa na*, evidently the plural genitive of a word ending in *ṣa*, such as *gṛaṣa*. The reading is thus:

... *sa na parig(r)aha* 'is the acceptance of....'.

This may be compared with the final expression of the Wardak vase inscription of the year 51 (*C.I.I.*, II, 170, Pl. XXXIII): *Mahasaṅghigṇa parigraha*.

The present inscription may also be taken to end with the word *parigraha* itself, though what preceded cannot be restored now.

## XI

This potsherd has six signs. The first is only partially preserved. It cannot be read with certainty, but judging from the extant remnant, it might have been *kha*. The second letter is comparatively very small and faint. It looks like a *dha*. The third is decidedly a *saṣ*, though a portion of the subscript *ṣ* is gone. The fourth syllable, though perfect, is rather unusual. Its upper part is that of *g* and the subscript is either a *y* or a *ṣ*, or possibly the whole combination is meant to denote some other sound. The fifth letter is *wi*, with the stroke of the medial *i* abnormally long and its lower end bending towards the left—rather uncommon features. The last letter is obviously a *cha*, though its lower half is gone. The whole may thus read:

[*kha* ?] *dha*(?) *saṣ gya* (or *gaṣ*) *wi cha*

It is not possible to make out any sense of this, though presumably we have a reference here to a *saṅgha* 'Buddhist congregation'. Or is it perhaps a personal name *Saṅghamittha* (*Saṅghamitra*) ?

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the faint nature of the writing, the draftsman has mixed several strokes with the result that his drawing has not come out perfect.



## XII

This fragment contains eight signs, the last two of which are only partly preserved and the first has its lower portion broken off. They read :

n[e] aroḡadakah[i][ḡae]

Since the extant portion contains a well known formula, that frequently occurs in certain dedicatory Kharoḡabḡhī inscriptions, the missing portions of the letters can easily be supplied. Thus the first letter must have been a *no*, showing a word in the genitive singular. The sign of the medial *i* in *kahi* has evidently been rubbed off and what follows must be read as *ḡae* to complete the expression. It means 'for the bestowal of health upon'. Compare *C.I.I.*, II, 77, text lines 3 and 5.

## XIII

This potsherd has five complete letters and the vertical stroke of another at the end, which is not recognizable. They read :

di pa ma na u [ra ?]

It is not possible to explain this inscription at present.

## XIV

This piece has two complete letters, and traces of two letters one in the beginning and one at the end. They can be read :

[da] kahi na [e]

Most probably here again we had the same formula as occurs in No. XII above, namely *aroḡa daḡshapae*.

## XV

This piece contains faint traces of three letters the first and the last of which are partly destroyed. They seem to read :

[da] sa [āra]

No sense can be made out.

## XVI

The inscription on this piece is also too fragmentary to yield any sense. It has traces of five letters, only the middle three have greater portions preserved and can be read as :

...ḡa a m...

## XVII

The inscription of this potsherd is completely gone ; only a part of the stroke of some letters is now visible to show that the piece contained some writing.

## XVIII

This sherd has very faint traces of some letters, two of which can be read as :

sa la

These are preceded by remnants of another letter now no longer legible. What follows these two letters is almost completely obliterated.

## XIX

This has three letters, the first of which is mostly destroyed but may have been an *a*. The inscription reads :

[a]ma di

The arms of *ma* are abnormally long.

## XX

This piece has the beginning of an epigraph—the blank space on the right shows that no writing has been lost in the beginning. The extant portion has four almost complete letters and remnants of a fifth. They read :

*Saṅgha sado...*

The *c*-stroke in *gha* is ornamentally treated. The next letter is partly effaced, but it is most probably a *so*. The first word means 'in the *saṅgha* or congregation', while it is difficult to say what follows it.

## XXI

This fragment has remnants of about six letters only three of which (first, second and fifth) can be read with some confidence.

*ahye cha....be....*

No sense can be made out.

## XXII

The inscription on this piece is almost completely obliterated. Two of the letters towards the end can be read as :

*no so*

This piece has a sign consisting of three triangles embossed near the neck of the pot, which may be an Armenian character.

## XXIII

This piece has also the so-called Armenian character near the neck of the pot.

The Kharoṣṭhī painted inscription is mostly damaged, but it ends in :

*danamukhe*

Only the upper part of the last syllable is preserved. While the form of *no* is peculiar, it is met with in certain known Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. The word *danamukhe* means 'the gift'.

## XXIV

While the inscriptions on the other fragments are all painted, the one on this piece is engraved. It has the concluding part of an inscription ; or perhaps the extant part is the complete inscription itself. The space left blank after the last letter shows that in any case nothing has been lost at the end. It clearly reads :

*Budhamitram*

It can be translated as ' [This cup is] of Budhamitra '.

## No. 24—SANGSI MEMORIAL INSCRIPTION

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

*Sāṅsī* is a village about five miles from (Jagan Bāvijā in the Kolhapur District of the Bombay State. It is not known when, but it must be several decades ago, at least, that a slab of stone



bearing sculptures in relief and an inscription, was unearthed in a field near the village. As the sculptures depict the funeral scene of a woman, it was readily believed that it constituted a *sati* memorial. Later on, the slab appears to have been removed to the spot where it now stands, about two miles east from Gagan Bāvdā and 35 miles west from Kolhāpur, and a crude temple constructed over it. A tradition grew around in course of time attributing it to the memory of a woman who committed *sati* long ago.

At the instance of Mr. N. G. Pandit Rao, the then Public Relations Officer of the Kolhapur State, Dr. H. D. Sankalia and Dr. M. G. Dikshit, both of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, visited the site in 1946 and copied the inscription. These two scholars, who will hereafter be referred to as SD for the sake of brevity, have published a note on the preliminary findings of their discovery in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, March 1947 (pp. 213-15), and a fuller study of the inscription, as also of the sculptures, in the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, December 1948.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Officiating Government Epigraphist for India, visited Sāngal in December 1949, and took a photograph of the tablet and stampages of the inscription.<sup>2</sup>

On account of the erroneous notion created by the local tradition apparently supported by the sculptural representation and owing to imperfections in the decipherment of the epigraph, SD were led to believe that the stele commemorated the performance of the rite of *sati* by a lady after the demise of her husband, and consequently their observations are vitiated by this prepossession. But the facts, as we shall presently see, are different.<sup>3</sup> In view of these considerations and the importance of the inscription for securing glimpses of the political and social conditions of the locality in ancient times, it was thought necessary to edit it in the pages of this journal. So I am editing it here with the kind permission of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, who generously furnished me with the necessary facilities.<sup>4</sup>

The slab measures approximately 6 feet in height and 4 feet in breadth. It is broader and angular at the base and somewhat curved towards the top. As a result of the various damage, the sculptures and the inscription have been obliterated in several parts. In the lower portion and about the middle of the stone is the portrait of a lady, in relief, lying down at full length on a funeral pyre surrounded by flames and some attendants. Immediately above this group and across the slab runs the inscription. Higher up in the top portion are a few more carvings.

The inscription consists of two lines. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabet and evince 'box-head' features, the 'boxes' being solid. Close resemblance may be traced between them and those of the Tālagunda pillar inscription<sup>5</sup> of Kāknathavarman of the early Kadamba family. Two letters, however, have certain peculiarities deserving notice here. The *t* of the Tālagunda inscription is made up by a curve joined to the vertical stroke and the two arms of the curve can be distinguished, the left one being more pronounced. But in the present record the upright stroke stretches right up to the bottom and the angular curve stands affixed all towards the left. Similar is the case with *a*. Whereas the *a* of the former epigraph is constituted of a looped curve emerging from the bottom of a straight line, that of the latter has its curve with more developed loop attached exclusively to the lower left side of the vertical stroke. The final *t* occur-

<sup>1</sup> Pages 151-155, with a good photograph of the entire stele and separate facsimile of the inscription.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription is numbered 569 of the *A.R.E.* for the year 1949-50.

<sup>3</sup> The record expressly states that the memorial was erected by a king in honour of his deceased wife. This correct position was noticed for the first time by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao: *Archaeology in India* (1950), p. 151. Mr. S. K. Dikshit has also pointed it out independently: *Ann. Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 291-92. After this article was prepared it was found that the late Dr. Fleet had noticed this inscription before: *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part 2, p. 286, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> I am also indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for his kind suggestions in the study.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 24 E. and Plate.



ring once in line 1 is represented by the lower part of the letter without the top knot, engraved in miniature size in the lower space.

In regard to **orthography** the following peculiarities, though not unusual in the present record, may be noted. The consonant following *r* is doubled, e.g., in 'ār=yyā and bhūryyā, line 1. In *ārttham*, line 2, the reduplicated aspirate has been changed to its corresponding surd, as required by the grammatical rules. The *anusvara*, even at the end of a word, has occasionally been involved into *sandhi* and changed to the class nasal of the following letter of the next word : e.g., in *panyā-nām = pari-*, *ajras = tasy-* and *svayam = ari-*, line 2. The entity of *anusvara* has been retained in the following instances ; *dīnam prīyā* and *-sthāpitam chaitya-*, line 2.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole record comprises one single verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The first two *pādas* of the verse are accommodated in the first line and the next two in the second. Some space indicating the end of a *pāda* is left after the first and the third *pādas* which end in the middle of the line. The **poetry** is of the ornate classical order with a melodious ring about it.

The inscription commences with an auspicious spiral-like symbol which seems to stand for *Om*. Next comes, what I am inclined to assume it to be, the name proper of the king : because the latter part of the expression is clearly *lācchana* which means 'a name' also. This name is constituted of four *aksharas* beginning with *Pa*. As suggested in a foot-note later, the name can be restored as *Paahpāyudha*. But since it is not advisable to venture a surmise, I would prefer to refer to the king hereafter by the initial letter *Pa*... only. Next we are introduced to the king's wife by name *Hālidēvi*.<sup>1</sup> The second *pāda* whose latter part is lost, seems to state that the lady had captured the heart of her husband by her virtuous conduct. The third *pāda* refers to her death when she was still young. Here the poet, indulging in a fancy, describes that she went to heaven to guard, as it were, the treasure of her accumulated merits.<sup>2</sup> The last *pāda* informs that the memorial tablet of stone was set up with due ceremony<sup>3</sup> by the king himself out of affection for her.

The epigraph is not dated and so in order to ascertain its probable date we have to fall back on the evidence of palaeography which is our only guide in the present instance. As observed above, the characters of this record show a remarkable similarity with those of the Tālagunda pillar inscription. From the reference to *Sāntivarman*, son of *Kāksthavarman* in the latter record, it has to be assumed that it was drafted and engraved during the former's reign. Now *Sāntivarman*'s reign has been assigned to the middle of the 5th century A. D.<sup>4</sup> Hence we might place our epigraph about A.D. 500.

Thus it becomes clear that the inscription under study constitutes an epitaph perpetuating the name of a distinguished lady who pre-deceased her royal husband and the installation of the memorial in her honour by the latter ; and no grounds whatsoever exist for the assumption that the stele comprises a *sati* memorial. This fact, though true, is rather unique. We are familiar in the areas of the Deccan and Karnāṭak with such sculptured memorials as speak of heroes who laid their lives for a sacred cause and of men and women who courted death after the demise of

<sup>1</sup> This name is peculiar and rarely met with. It reminds us of another similar name *Hāla*, of a *Śālavāhana* king. I am not sure if this can be connected with Sanskrit *kālā* meaning 'a plough'.

<sup>2</sup> In order to guard the treasure it is necessary that one should be strong and young in spirits. It is therefore in the fitness of things that the lady repaired to heaven in her youth.

<sup>3</sup> The expression *an-sthāpitam* in the text literally means 'was installed in the proper manner'. This phrase is significant and I am inclined to believe that the memorial tablet must have been originally installed and preserved in a well-constructed shrine by the king himself. The shrine might have fallen to ruin in course of time, thus exposing the stele which came to be buried under the earth wherefrom it was rescued.

<sup>4</sup> George M. Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 72 ; N. Lakshminarayana Rao and R. S. Pancharatna, *Karavāṭaka Arasamantanaṅga*, p. 15 ; *A New History of Indian People*, p. 238, etc.



their masters and lords or under a religious vow. These generally date from the period of the 7-8th century onwards. But here is a singular instance, perhaps the first and the only one of its kind, known so far, that stands out as a welcome departure from the usual convention. Further, its early age lends importance to its unique nature.

After reviewing the contents of the epigraph, we may revert for a while to the sculptures on stone which are inseparably associated with it. The art of moulding images in plastic material was known to the civilisation of the Indus Valley<sup>1</sup> and the history of Indian sculpture may be traced from that early age. The early creations seem to have been religious in origin and design and they generally formed part of a monument in stone or were scooped out in rocks of hills. Portrait sculpture as a secular art does not seem to have been cultivated independently by Indian artists and the few available instances of portraits<sup>2</sup> depicting royal devotees or distinguished personalities, associated with religious constructions, may be taken to prove the truth of the above statement. Under these circumstances, the present piece of sculpture on a detached slab deserves a noteworthy place in the account of Indian sculpture, particularly that of the Deccan region.

The funeral scene is well laid amidst consuming fire and a few devout followers of the lady. In their refined execution, clarity of expression, wealth of details and general impressiveness, the figures of the lady and attendants compare favourably with the early sculptures of Bharhut and Amarāvati on one side and later ones of Ajantā and Bādāmi on the other.<sup>3</sup> The realistic nature of the scene may be judged from the fact that out of three followers, one is seen seated firmly facing the ordeal of fire and another is shown fleeing away unable to stand its blaze. The figures above the inscription, which are largely obliterated, represented, in all probability, the heavenly scene, as is usually noticed on the memorial slabs of *safis* and *hotos* of later period.

No details regarding the place or family of king Pu... are mentioned in the epigraph. But it would be, perhaps, too much to expect them in an epitaph of the kind. During the period represented by the inscription, the rulers of the early Kadamba house were still powerful and their sway extended as far as the arms of the Belgaum District<sup>4</sup> in the north. We are not sure if the Kolhāpur region also was included in their territory. At this time the area of the Sātārā District and the tract further north were under the administration of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes of Mānāsapura.<sup>5</sup> There is no indication to assume whether king Pu... was a subordinate ruler under either of these. Or as is more plausible, he was maintaining a semi-independent status, his chiefdom being situated in a corner on the border of and in between the two above-named kingdoms. The headquarters of this chiefdom lay, most probably, not far away from the provenance of the memorial tablet.

#### TEXT\*

1 Om\* [ \* ] Śrī-Pu\* - ◡ ◡ [1ā]śchhanasya nripatēr-yyā Hāll'dēv-ity-abhāt bhāryyā sach-  
charitēna bhā[r]itri \*\* ◡ ◡ - - - ◡ - - - ◡

<sup>1</sup> St. Kramlich: *Indian Sculpture*, Plate 1.

<sup>2</sup> T. G. Acharanathan: *Portrait Sculpture in South India*. Also compare, above, Vol. XXI, pp. 4-5 where references to *śāstika* in the Pratihara style and *para-śāstika* in the Mathura pillar inscription are discussed.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Sculpture* (op. cit.), Plates IV, XII, XXIV, XXV, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Halei in this district was an important seat of the early Kadamba power and inscriptions of the early Kadamba rulers issued from this place indicate the extent of their authority over this region: *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 23-24, 28 and 30; etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Ann. B. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 38-42.

\* From the impressions.

\* Expressed by a symbol.

\* The subscript of the second *śikara* of this expression which appears to be a personal name, might be *p*. So the name may be restored either as Pūshpadyakha or Pūshpadyakha to suit the metre. Of these the former is preferable as it appears to be familiar.

\* The metre requires that the second syllable of this name be *li*.

\* This *śikara* might be *āri* some traces of which are seen. If so, the word may possibly be restored as *Arīdāgeen*.



(From a Photograph)





2 puṇyā[nā]ṃ-parirakṣan-ārttham-aja<sup>1</sup>raṇ-tasyā gūṭyā<sup>2</sup> [di]<sup>3</sup>vaṃ prītyā śaṅgam-idaṃ  
avayam[ya]n-nīpaṭi[nā]<sup>4</sup> saṃ<sup>5</sup>sthāpitam ch[aitya]kṣm<sup>6</sup>] [I<sup>7</sup>].

## TRANSLATION

Hail! This funereal memorial in stone has been installed by the king himself—the king bearing the illustrious appellation<sup>1</sup> Pu... out of affection for his (beloved) queen Hālidēvi who (having won the heart of) her lord by her noble character, repaired to heaven before the advent of old age, to guard (assiduously, as it were,) the (accumulated treasure of her) religious merits.

## No. 25—AN INSCRIBED POT AND OTHER BUDDHIST REMAINS IN SALIHUNDAM

(4 Plates and 1 text figure)

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN, CALCUTTA

The latest accessions to our knowledge of the schools of Buddhist art, architecture and iconography in general and of South Indian epigraphy in particular have been contributed by the discovery in Āndhra-dēśa, of a number of Buddhist sculptures, *stūpas* or *mahāchaityas*, *chaityas* or prayer-cells or halls and *vihāras* or monasteries, dug up at Nāgārjunakopṇa in the Guntur District, Kāpevaram and Āduppu in the East Godavari District, and Sālihundām,<sup>8</sup> Śaṅkarām and Rāmatirtham in the Vizagapatam District.<sup>9</sup> On the hill at Sālihundām, overlooking the river Vairādhārī and the Bay of Bengal, 3 miles further down, was discovered a curious but very interesting monastic orientation (plates I and II) with a high apical *chaitya* on the summit of the hill crowning the hill, as it were (plate I-c), a circular or wheel-like *mahāchaitya* behind it with bricks laid flat on its entire surface instead of the usual, spokes and hub arrangement that one meets with in the Āndhra *stūpas* (plates I-a, b, plate III-a), and with the regular monastery and smaller *chaityas*, two of them *Buddha-chaityas* and votive *stūpas* scattered on the sides and slopes of the hill (plate II). As at Maināmati (Madanāvati) and Lālmāi in East Bengal, where the author of this article had to save a large and rich site<sup>10</sup> from Military depredation and spoliation, the discoveries here are the results of a hurried survey and excavation by the author necessitated by

<sup>1</sup> This *śloka* is lost; but it must be without doubt *ad*.

<sup>2</sup> The *śloka* *je* is not properly engraved.

<sup>3</sup> There are dots, one above the letter *gi* and another towards left above *y*. If these are construed as misplaced accents of *gi* and *yō*, the reading would be *gūṭyā gūṭyā*. This can be taken as a clause in *śaṅgam-idaṃ* and will yield quite a good sense. But it is better to take these dots as only flaws in the stone, for the accents proper are bigger and circular; cf. *śaṅgam-idaṃ* and *śaṅgam* in the same line.

<sup>4</sup> The letter *di* is damaged and not sufficiently clear. But it can be restored with confidence.

<sup>5</sup> The letter *ad* is lost; but it can be confidently restored.

<sup>6</sup> The accent of *am* appears to have been wrongly placed above the next *śloka* *śdā*.

<sup>7</sup> The second *śloka* of this word is partly preserved and the last one is restored suitably.

<sup>8</sup> It is not unlikely that the name of the king was simply Kīmadēva and the composer elaborately paraphrased it as Puṣṭhāyudha to make it more poetic and for the convenience of metre.

<sup>9</sup> A brief reference to the finds at Sālihundām was made by the writer in his Presidential address to the Archaeology Section of the 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, October 1946, p. 14 and in his address at the Silver Jubilee Session of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajamahendravaram, April 1948, p. 31. (Mr. A. H. Longhurst has described the Buddhist ruins of Sālihundām in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, Madras*, for the year 1919-20, pp. 34-38. The site has already yielded some inscriptions of about the 7th or 8th century A.C. (Nos. 335-342 of the Madras Epigraphical collection of 1919). The caskets, etc., described in the present article are, however, subsequent discoveries.—Ed.)

<sup>10</sup> Sālihundām is now included in the Śrīkākuṭam (Chiesole) Taluk of the district of the same name.

<sup>11</sup> B. C. Law Volume, part II, Poona, 1946, pp. 217-231.



large-scale spoliation of the hill for bricks, building material and road material in which, strange to say, the P. W. D. took a leading part. The survey was commenced in 1943-44 and continued in 1946-47 and it may not be out of place here if such of the structures as were saved and antiquities as were salvaged are very briefly described in this article. It is of great interest that crystal reliquaries shaped like *stūpas*, with gold relics in them in the shape of flowers (*śaṅkha-puṣpā*), were found in the *mahāchaitya* behind the apsidal *chaitya* on the crown of the Sālihundām hill (plate III-b, c).

*The chaitya* : (plate I-c)—Though the *chaitya* on the top of the hill is actually in ruins, one can judge from its remains that it stood to a considerable height, and being juxtaposed on the topmost and narrowest point of the hill should have been clearly visible from the sea-port of Kalingapatnam which is only three miles away from the hill (plate II-a, c). Evidently, Buddhist pilgrims and merchants came here to offer their tributes from the sea-side along the Vamsadhārā river. The *chaitya*, which is apsidal, still bears its old lime plaster (plate I-c) which glistens in the sun as though it was just finished off. Right in the centre was a votive *stūpa* of lime-stone, the basement of which alone now remains, the rest having been pilfered, as I was told, by treasure-hunters and house-builders.

*The mahāchaitya* : (plate I-a, b, d : III-a)—Behind the apsidal *chaitya* lay the *stūpa* or the *mahāchaitya*, of complete brick-work, in the form of a wheel and with bricks laid flat on its surface as one can judge from the existing height of its ruins (plate I-b : III-a). A few pieces of a curvilinear moulding are all that remain to-day of a lower plinth that faced the *mahāchaitya* at its lowest part or base. Such pieces compare well in their architectural function with what, in the Amarāvati inscriptions, are called ' abatemālā ', a name applied to the lowermost and slightly projecting mouldings of the rail of the Amarāvati *stūpa*. This *stūpa* appears to have been the most important one on the Sālihundām hill, or shall we say in this part of the Kalinga, for, it not only departs from the general hub-and-spokes arrangement of the brick frame-work of the Āndhra *stūpa*, though retaining its wheel-like outer shape, but also yielded 3 stone caskets and 3 crystal reliquaries. The 3 crystal reliquaries are shaped like *stūpas* and each was found in a stone *karandā* or casket (plate I-d, III-a). In the arrangement of the stone *karandās*, which in shape recall the three stone caskets found in the Bhāṭṭiprōlu *stūpa*, in Repalli Taluk of the Guntur District, there is a remarkable deviation from the Āndhra *stūpa*. While at Bhāṭṭiprōlu their juxtaposition was vertical and the three were found right in the centre at convenient inter-space, here at Sālihundām they were arranged at equal distance from each other, in a horizontal row along the diameter of the *mahāchaitya* which, as we have already remarked was shaped like a wheel (plate III-a). The stone caskets were in two parts each, a receptacle and the lid (plate I-d). Two of them are rectangular in shape while the third is circular and bigger and was found right in the centre of the *mahāchaitya* (plate III-a). Its receptacle-part was shaped like the drum of a *stūpa*, while its lid resembled the *opāḥa* (dome) and *harmilā* (pavilion) parts of the *stūpa*. The central casket or *karandā* seems to suggest by its form that it was meant to resemble the *mahāchaitya* itself.

The contents of the caskets are of untold importance to the Buddhist world. While they are crystal reliquaries like those of the Bhāṭṭiprōlu *stūpa*—three in number, one in each stone casket—they recall by their shape three different forms of the *stūpa* that were known to the ancient architects of India. And for this reason they are described here briefly. The first crystal reliquary, which was found in one of the rectangular *karandās* (plate III-b, c) recalls the simple type of the *stūpa*. It is spiroidal (not a hemispherical dome though that was what was meant) and consists of two parts, a big and all-encompassing part and a small circular part or base which slips underneath the former so completely as to create the impression that the two are of one indivisible unit. But when these two parts thus united, are scanned from above, they reveal a slot of space in the body of the crystal in which rests a gold flower (*śaṅkha-puṣpā*) glittering like burnished gold, which

# AN INSCRIBED POT AND OTHER BUDDHIST REMAINS IN SALIHUNDAM

(I)

h. Salihundam.—The Mahabharata on the eastern face of the hill.



g. Salihundam.—Mahabharata and Sanskrit on the western face of the hill.



f. Salihundam.—Three stone pillars erected near the Mahabharata.



e. Salihundam.—Remains of the original site of the Mahabharata on the eastern face of the hill.







6. SALICHTAR.—A small stream and hills near the station near the hill.



7. SALICHTAR.—A small stream and hills near the station near the hill.



8. SALICHTAR.—A small stream and hills near the station near the hill.



9. SALICHTAR.—A small stream and hills near the station near the hill.





## TRANSLATION

(This pot belongs to) the Kaṭṭahārāma (or Kaṭṭahāra ārāma) of (=endowed by) the sons (offspring) of the Rāshtrapālaka (by name) Haṅkudeyika.

## Note

It may be inferred that the *Kaṭṭahāra ārāma* was the donation of the sons of the Rāshtrapālaka of the place or village Haṅkudeyi or Haṅkudayi, who hailed from the village that bore such a name. Haṅkudeyika or Haṅkudayika may even stand for Saṅkudeyika, as *ha* and *sa* interchange. The name Haṅkudayi, Haṅkudeyi or Saṅkudayi, sounds like Kaludayi, a Buddhist name, and for that reason may be taken to be the name of the Rāshtrapālaka referred to in the inscription. *Kaṭṭahā* reminds us of *Kaṭāla* in Palembang and the overseas colonisation from the Kalinga country and the Tamil name Kaṭāram near Nāgapaṭṭam (cf. Kaṭāram-Koṇḍān) and the Tamil Kāṭagāṁ (Kāṭagattākkamam). The term also reminds us of the *Kaṭṭahārasutta*<sup>1</sup> of the Buddha which was associated with Kōsala. If the term *Kaṭṭahārāma* is taken as a contraction for *Kaṭṭahāra* + *ārāma*, then we get *Kaṭṭahārārāma* which by the law of *sakridavasthāna* or haplology becomes *Kaṭṭahārāma* just as we have it in the inscription (cf. *Krishṇa* + *nagar* = *Krishnagar*). It is refreshing indeed to note that a Buddhist Monastery (*ārāma*) is named after the *Kaṭṭahārasutta* which the Buddha, from out of his kindness, propounded to a group of *Kaṭṭahārakas* or faggot-carriers who lived in Kōsala. It is said that the Buddha travelled to Kōsala to give the *Kaṭṭahārakas* of Kōsala a sermon, which from thence onwards came to be called *Kaṭṭahārasutta*. Kōsala is but the country adjoining the Kalinga, and the river Vamśadhārā, on which the *Kaṭṭahāra ārāma* was situated, flows through Kōsala before it comes into the Kalinga (see Text Fig. 1 below).

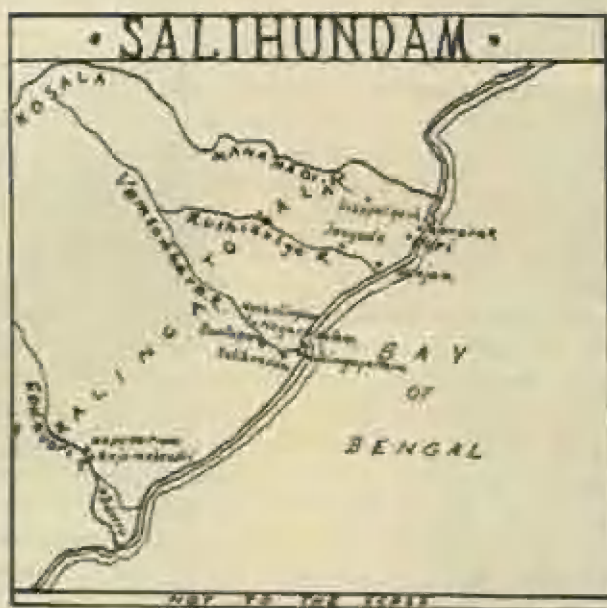


Fig. 1.

The name of the monastery to which the drinking vessel belonged is given as *Kaṭṭahārāma*. In all probability the *chāitya* in which the pot was found was included in the *Kaṭṭahārāma*.

<sup>1</sup> [See also the *Kaṭṭahārā-sutta*, No. 7 of the *Jāṭaka*, ed. by V. Fausbøll, Vol. I, pp. 123-6, translation by Robert Chalmers, ed. by E. B. Cowell, Vol. I, pp. 27-29.—Ed.]

# AN INSCRIBED POT AND OTHER BUDDHIST REMAINS IN SALLHUNDAM (III)



h. SALLHUNDAM.—THREE GLASS BOWLS FROM THE MARGHATTA (COMMON)



g. SALLHUNDAM.—CRYSTAL BOWLS FROM THE MALLHATTA (COMMON)



f. SALLHUNDAM.—THE MALLHATTA WITH THE WOOD (COMMON) AT THE 1937-38 SEASON

(From Photographs)



5. Кувшины — Порты: 1904 г. Бонда-Хайта



6. Кувшины — Порты: 1904 г. Бонда-Хайта



(AI)





images, some of which unfortunately cannot be traced now. This is because, as is well known, a large number of images have since been occasionally removed from the villages by interested parties. But most of the old villages in some Districts of Bihar, such as Monghyr, Patna and Gaya, still abound in broken images usually of the Pāla age, both inscribed and uninscribed. Some at least are coming out every year at the stroke of the cultivator's ploughshare and the workman's spade to increase the number of accumulated images, although the process of the removal of better preserved images is also still going on. In January 1930, I conducted a search for old inscriptions amongst the images accumulated in certain villages about the western fringe of the Monghyr District and this led to the discovery of some very interesting records. The images are mostly mutilated and many of them bear no inscriptions at all. The writing on the largest number of the inscribed images again either gives only the Buddhist formula *ye dharmā ānu-prabhoṣāṇī*, etc., or especially when the image is not a Buddhist one, merely says that a particular image was the gift (*dāna-dharma* or *dāya-dharma*) of a certain private individual, sometimes styled *dāna-pati*.<sup>1</sup> Only in a few cases they prove important owing to the mention of the regnal year of the king, during whose rule an image was installed, or rarely to some other interesting information such as about the locality where the image was installed or where the man responsible for the installation lived. In connection with this survey, I visited the localities called Rājauṇā, Chunki, Valgūdar, Raghugarh, Pāiner, Sathwārpōkhrī, Kāwāyā, Gōḍī, Rāmpur, Amatpur and Urān. The villages lie in the vicinity of the Luckeesarai, Kiul and Kajra railway stations on the East Indian Railway. Of all the inscriptions examined by me in the above localities, the three discovered at Valgūdar were found to be the most interesting, as they not only helped me in locating the ancient city of Krimila, headquarters of a *rakha* of that name within the Pāla empire, but also as one of the three records offered an exceptionally important date in the chronology of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.

On the 9th of January 1930, I visited Valgūdar (lat. 25° 10' 30" N. ; long. 86° 5' E.) which is a small village lying by the side of the railway line between the Luckeesarai and Mankatha railway stations. I was fortunate enough to find there no less than three small inscriptions. The earliest of them was found on a pedestal (image now lost) which is lying in the compound of the house of Babu Kesav Sinha and is being used now by the people as a platform for washing their feet. It contains two lines covering a space 17·5" in length and 2·1" in height. The *akṣaras* are about ·5" in height, although the conjuncts with vowel marks are sometimes double that height. The second inscription was found on a mutilated image lying in the verandah of the Katchery of Babu Dilip Narayan Sinha, who, I was told, is a samundar staying at Bhagalpur. I was further told that the image had been discovered sometime previously while digging the earth for the foundation of a house. It is an image of a seated goddess with a child on her lap. It may be mentioned here that such images of the Dēvī with child were noticed by me in many places in South Bihar. She must have enjoyed great popularity amongst the people of the region in the early medieval period. There is a similar image of the goddess at the neighbouring village of Rājauṇā which, as the inscription on it shows, was styled Puṣṭadēvari and was installed during the reign of Nāgapāla (circa 1038-55 A. C.). A mutilated image of the same deity is now preserved in the Asiatic Museum of the University of Calcutta. The inscription on it shows that it was installed during the reign of Rāmapāla. This image also seems to have been originally found somewhere in South Bihar, although goddesses of similar types were fairly popular in Bengal as well. The Dēvī's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pālī *dāya-dharma*, a gift, an offering.

<sup>2</sup> In old Bengali, this word is used in the sense of a person who had promised to dedicate an object on the fulfilment of a particular desire and later kept the vow. See J. M. Das, *Pragati Bhāṣā* (Bibliotheca, v. v). In the earlier inscriptions of the type referred to above, the word *dāna-pati* seems to be used in this technical sense. *Dāna-dharma* thus seems to refer to an image installed according to a previous promise called *dāna-dāna*.







refers to the reign of the Pāla king Dharmapāla whose rule is now assigned to circa 769-815 A. C.<sup>1</sup> or 770-810 A. C.<sup>2</sup> As suggested above, inscription No. 2 has to be ascribed on palaeographic grounds to the days of Dharmapāla or to those of his immediate successors. Inscription No. 3 is dated in the Śaka year 1083 (1161 A. C.) as well as in the 18th regnal year of Madanpāla whose reign is assigned now to circa 1130-50 A. C.<sup>3</sup> or 1140-55 A. C.<sup>4</sup>, although, as will be shown below, all previous suggestions about the date of this king are now proved to be wrong by the discovery of the present inscription.

Inscription No. 1, as it reads, seems to imply that a god named *Madhusūtrika* was installed at the *adhishṭhāna* or city of *Krimilā* during the reign of king Dharmapāla by the lady *Ajñuka* who was the wedded wife of a person named *Sālō*. If, however, the *usarga* in *madhusūtrika* is ignored, that expression may be taken as an adjective of the personal name *Sālō*, although in either case its real import remains doubtful. In case the second alternative is preferred, it has to be assumed that, as in numerous other cases, the name of the deity installed by *Sālō*'s wife is not mentioned in the record. That is, however, not an important matter. Nor has the reference to Dharmapāla's reign any special value to the students of history as the inclusion of the region, where the inscription has been found, in the dominions of the Pāla king is definitely known from other records. The chief interest of the inscription lies in the mention of the city of *Krimilā* where the image is said to have been installed. It is very interesting to note that the same city is also mentioned, under the spellings *Krimilā* and *Krimilā*,<sup>5</sup> in inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 to be discussed below. It is further mentioned in an inscription on a *Dvādasāditya* slab which was installed in the 5th regnal year of Śūrapāla (possibly the first ruler of this name who flourished about the middle of the ninth century) and is now lying at *Rājāunā*, a village abutting on *Valgūdar*.<sup>6</sup> It is very probable that the slab had been originally discovered at *Valgūdar* but was later carried to *Rājāunā*. It is thus clear that the small village of *Valgūdar* in the western fringe of the Monghyr District of Bihar stands on the site of the city of *Krimilā* famous in the days of the Pālas. There is again no doubt that this city was the head quarters of the *cakaya* or district of the same name that formed a part of the Pāla dominions. The Monghyr copper-plate of *Dāvapāla*, who was the son and successor of Dharmapāla and reigned in circa 815-54 A. C. or 810-50 A. C. according to recent writers on the Pālas,<sup>7</sup> was issued by the Pāla king from *Mulgaṅgiri* (modern Monghyr) and records the grant of a village situated in the *Krimilā* *viskaya* forming a part of the *Śrinagara bhukti*. The *bhukti* or province called *Śrinagara* (literally 'the illustrious city') was no doubt named after *Pāṭaliputra* which was apparently the administrative headquarters of the province in question. That *Pāṭaliputra*, of which the modern representative is *Pāṭnā* (from Sanskrit *paṭṭana* meaning a town, i.e., the town *par excellence*) was regarded as the city *par excellence* is known from the *Jaya-mangalā* commentary on *Vāṭeṣyana's Kāmarūtra*,<sup>8</sup> explaining words like *nāgarakāṣ*, *nāgarikāṣ* and *nāgarikyaḥ* (i.e., men and women of the *nagara*) as *pāṭaliputrakāṣ*, *pāṭaliputrikāṣ* and *pāṭaliputrikyaḥ* (i.e., men and women of *Pāṭaliputra*). The *Śrinagara bhukti* was often called *Nagara-bhukti*<sup>9</sup> and possibly also *Magadha-bhukti*.<sup>10</sup> The exact location of the *Krimilā*

<sup>1</sup> Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 384.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Bengal*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> The name is derived from a Sanskrit word which is spelt both as *krīmī* and *krīm*.

<sup>6</sup> The *Rājāunā Puṣṭāśvart* image inscription of the time of *Nayapāla*, referred to above, also mentions *Krimilā* as the place of installation and appears to have been originally found at *Valgūdar*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Ray, *loc. cit.*; *History of Bengal*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> VI, 2, 30 & 34.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Materials* (Memoirs of the A. S. L., No. 66), pp. 33, 52, 53, 84.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 33, 51, 52.



*vishaya* in the above *śāstī* was hitherto impossible; but now it can safely be said that it was the area round the present village of Valgudar in the western part of the Monghyr District. It is possible further to suggest that the Krimilā *vishaya* was bounded in the east by a *vishaya* with its headquarters at Mudgagiri (i.e., Monghyr) and in the west by another with its headquarters at Nagara or Pājaliputra (near Patnā).<sup>1</sup>

The second of the three inscriptions records that the image of the Dēvi, on which it is incised, was the *dēvi-dharmā* of a person whose name appears to be Nṛkatta. The first line of the record shows that the image was installed at the *adhishthāna* (city) of Krimilā. Three letters appearing to read *gaṇavā* (or *gaṇvā*?) follow the reference to the city, although it is difficult to say whether some other *śāstī* after these three had been originally engraved but were later broken away. As it stands, the inscription may suggest that the name of the Dēvi was Gaṇavā or Gaṇvā. Of course, no goddess of such a name is known to us; but, as has been suggested above, this popular deity was apparently worshipped in different localities under various local names. It may, however, also be suggested that these three letters form the first part of the name read at the beginning of the next line or that they, together with some following *śāstī* now lost, formed an adjective qualifying the person named Nṛkatta.

Inscription No. 3 says that, on the eleventh day of the month of Jyāishṭha in the 18th regnal year of king Maṇapāla, corresponding to Śaka 1083, an image of the god Nārāyaṇa was installed at Krimilā by two *Paramavishayava* brothers who appear to have been named Abhi and Inda (Indra?). They were the brothers of *Bhaṭṭa-śrī-Sukṛ(kṛ)trima* and sons of *Bhaṭṭa-Paṇḍita-śrī-Vyāsa* (Vyāsa?). Now the chief interest of this inscription lies in its **dating**, both in the Śaka era and in the regnal reckoning of the Pāla king. It is well known that, of the numerous epigraphic records of the time of the Pāla emperors, only two were so long known to have been dated according to any era, while all others are only dated in the regnal years of particular kings. Thus there is absolutely no unanimity among scholars in regard to the dates of accession of the kings in question. The first of the two Pāla records dated according to any era is the Sārnāth inscription<sup>2</sup> of the time of Mahipāla I dated in Vikrama Samvat 1083 (1026 A. C.); but the record is not simultaneously dated in the king's regnal reckoning and does not therefore offer any help in determining the initial year of the reign of Mahipāla I. The second of the two records, referred to above, is the Gayā inscription<sup>3</sup> of Gōvīṇḍapāla, whose relationship with the known monarchs of the Pāla family could not be determined. This epigraph is dated in the Vikrama year 1232 (1175 A. C.), styled Vikārin according to the Northern Cycle of Jupiter, as well as in the 14th year of the *gata-rājya* of Gōvīṇḍapāla. The reference is, however, not to the *pravarḍhamāna-rājya-rājya* (i.e., the increasingly victorious reign) of the king as is expected in such cases, but to his *gata-rājya*, i.e., his sovereignty that was on the date in question a thing of the past. Although it appears quite clear from the date of this inscription that Gōvīṇḍapāla ascended the throne in Vikrama Samvat

<sup>1</sup> The Krimilā *vishaya* is also mentioned in the legend on several Nālandā seals. See *ibid.*, pp. 34, 54. The village of Kavla, known from the seals to have belonged to the said *vishaya*, may possibly be identical, as suggested to me by Mr. A. Ghosh, with the present Kavalī, 14 miles south-west of Valgudar. The spurious Nālandā plate of Samudragupta (cf. *Soult Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 292-64) records the grant of two villages one of which was situated in the Krimilā *vishaya*. Even if this spurious record, forged a few centuries after the middle of the fourth century in the Krimilā *vishaya*, may not prove the existence of the *vishaya* in the Gupta age, it no doubt shows that the *vishaya* and therefore the city which gave the *vishaya* its name existed before the rise of the Pālas. The Sārnāth image inscription (*Ganesh Datta College Bulletin*, No. 1, by E.K. Chowdhary, pp. 1-16) of the 34th regnal year of Vigrahapāla II or III mentions a *vinaya* of Krimilā.

<sup>2</sup> Bhattacharya, *ibid.*, No. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, No. 379. The date is given as *Sārnāth 1232 Vikārin-mahānāḍi-śrī-Gōvīṇḍapāla-gata-rājya-chaturdaśa-va-mahānt*. The date corresponds to the 22nd September, 1175 A.C.



1219 (1162-63 A. C.)<sup>1</sup> but that he lost his sovereignty before the 14th year counted from that date, most writers on Pāla history believe that the reckoning started from the time when he lost his throne. Thus the actual reign period of Gōvīndapāla is usually placed before a date in Vikrama Śaṁvat 1219 (1162-63 A. C.). There are no less than seven Buddhist manuscripts copied at Gayā and Nālandā referring to king Gōvīndapāla in the colophon.<sup>2</sup> Only one of these refers to the 4th year of his *vijaya-rājya* indicating no doubt that Gōvīndapāla reigned at least up to the fourth year after his coronation, i.e., from Vikrama Śaṁvat 1219 (1162-63 A. C.) to 1222 (1165-66 A. C.). In four cases, the colophons associate the dates (years 24, 37, 38 and 39) simply with Gōvīndapāla without referring either to his *vijaya-rājya* or to his *gata-rājya*; but, in two other cases, the colophons remarkably agree with the phraseology of the Gayā inscription in referring respectively to the 18th *ullā* year of Gōvīndapāla and to the 38th year of his *vināś(a)-rājya* (i.e., destroyed sovereignty). It is therefore clear that Gōvīndapāla lost his sovereignty between the fourth (V. S. 1222=1165-66 A. C.) and the fourteenth year (V. S. 1232=1174-75 A. C.) after his coronation, although some people of South Bihar, especially the Buddhists, continued to refer to the rule of this Buddhist king in dating their records in preference to the non-Buddhist rule that possibly followed Gōvīndapāla's overthrow from that region. The above dates of Gōvīndapāla's accession and of the loss of his sovereignty are corroborated by the inscription under discussion.

We have seen that the Valgōdar inscription of Madanapāla, who is the last known member of the Pāla royal house, is dated in Śaka 1083 which was the 18th regnal year of the said Pāla king. The actual date quoted is the eleventh day of Jyāishṭha, corresponding to the 4th May 1161 A. C. This shows beyond doubt that Madanapāla began to rule in Śaka 1065—Vikrama Śaṁvat 1201=1144-45 A. C. and continued to reign at least up to Śaka 1083—Vikrama Śaṁvat 1218=1161-62 A. C. The first regnal year of Gōvīndapāla, as we have already seen, corresponds to Vikrama Śaṁvat 1219=Śaka 1084=1162-63 A. C. This shows that there was hardly any interval between the end of Madanapāla's reign and the accession of Gōvīndapāla. It thus appears almost certain that Gōvīndapāla was the immediate successor, if not actually the son, of Madanapāla. The date of the Jaynagar image inscription of the time of Madanapāla was originally read as the regnal year 19 which is, however, a wrong reading for 14.<sup>3</sup> Thus the duration of Madanapāla's reign, previously known to have been only about 14 years, is now definitely established to have been at least about 18 years.

The Pāla emperors are known to have ruled over Bengal and Bihar, although about the time of Madanapāla and Gōvīndapāla practically the whole of Bengal appears to have been lost to the Śēnas who hailed from Karpāṭa or the Kannada area of South India. The reign of Vijayaśēna, the first imperial ruler of the Śēna dynasty, is now assigned to the period c. 1095-1158 or c. 1125-58 A. C. while his son and successor Vallabhaśēna is supposed to have reigned in c. 1152-79 A. C.<sup>4</sup> Like the Śēnas of Bengal, another Karpāṭa dynasty was established in North Bihar by Nānyadēva in 1097 A. C. The independent rule of this family is known to have continued

<sup>1</sup> The regnal years appear to have been counted as corresponding to the calendar years so that the last regnal year of one and the first of his successor usually corresponded in the same calendar year. Cf. the same procedure followed in counting the *ullā* years of the later rulers of Orissa (*J.A.S.B.*, 1903, p. 100).

<sup>2</sup> See *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 171, note.

<sup>3</sup> R. D. Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal* (Memoirs of the A. S. B., Vol. V), pp. 110-12. The dates are given as (1) *Śrīmad-Gōvīndapālasya vijaya-rājya-samvatsar 4*; (2) *Śrīmad-Gōvīndapālasya-gata-samvatsar 14* *Kārtika-din 13*; (3) *Śrī-Gōvīndapālasya-Samvat 24 Chaitra-din 8*; (4) *Gōvīndapālādēvata Sam 37 Śrāvaṇa-din 11*; (5) *Śrīmad-Gōvīndapālādēvata vināś(a)-rājya sakurvaṭ-samvatsar-38* *Śrīśāhā-din 1* *Jyāishṭha-krīṣṇa-śukla-din 23* *Śrāvaṇa-din 14*. The fifth quotation points to the month being regarded as lunar and *pūrṇimā*.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.



for a long time.<sup>1</sup> It therefore seems that Gōvīndapāla succeeded Madanapāla only over some districts of South Bihar, though even there the later Pālas were struggling for their existence with the Gāhaḍavālas of the U. P. The Muner plates<sup>2</sup> of 1124 A. C. show that the Gāhaḍavālas had already advanced as far as the Patna District where the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvīndachandra (c. 1114-55 A. C.) granted in that year a piece of land not far from Patna. The Lar plates<sup>3</sup> of 1146 A. C. show that the same Gāhaḍavāla king was during that year staying at Madagiri or Monghyr. These records suggest that the later Pālas, who were Buddhists, were ousted from the Patna and Monghyr Districts by the Brahmanical Gāhaḍavālas. But the Valgūdar inscription of 1161 A. C., referring to the Kṛmīśa *vishaya*, situated between Patna and Monghyr, as a part of Madanapāla's dominions, no doubt points to the success of this king against the Gāhaḍavāla rulers.<sup>4</sup> Whether, however, Madanapāla's successor Gōvīndapāla was ruling only over the Gayā District and the adjoining area or whether his dominions also included the whole of the Patna and Monghyr Districts cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The Bōdhgaya inscription<sup>5</sup> of Gāhaḍavāla Jayachandra (c. 1170-93 A. C.), however, shows that it was the Gāhaḍavālas who overthrew the Pālas even from the Gayā District. The date of the Bōdhgaya inscription falls between Vikrama Śaivrat 1240 (1183-84 A. C.) and 1249 (1192-93 A. C.), but probably towards the earlier part of this period. The Śaivrat plates<sup>6</sup> bearing an earlier date (1175 A. C.) appear to refer to a grant of land made by king Jayachandra in the Patna District.

As already noticed above, the Pālas dated their charters according to their regnal reckoning. This is also the case with the private records of their time. The use of the Vikrama Śaivrat in the Gayā inscription of Gōvīndapāla, which is not an official record of the king, may be explained by the fact that this era, which was quite popular in the U. P.,<sup>7</sup> may have infiltrated itself in South Bihar especially when the Gāhaḍavālas succeeded Gōvīndapāla. The Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, discovered in Bihar, are dated in the Vikrama Śaivrat and the Gayā inscription referring to Gōvīndapāla's lost sovereignty belongs apparently to this period of Gāhaḍavāla occupation of South Bihar. Of course, the Buddhists of Banaras may also have been partially responsible for carrying the use of the Vikrama era to the Buddhist sites of Bihar. But even if thus the use of the era of Vikrama in Gōvīndapāla's Gayā inscription can be rather easily explained, it seems difficult to explain the dating of the Valgūdar inscription of Madanapāla in the Śaka era. This era was adopted by the imperial Gangas of Orissa about the end of the tenth century probably from their southern neighbours, the Eastern Chālukyas of the Āndhra country. With the expansion of the Ganga power about the beginning of the twelfth century towards the north-east up to the Bhāgirathi or the present Hooghly river, the use of the Śaka era must have been known in the south-western fringe of Bengal. But the popularity of this era in Bengal seems to have been actually due to the establishment of the power of the Sēnas who hailed from a country where the era was popular. The fact that the Sēnas followed their predecessors, the Pālas, in dating their

<sup>1</sup> See *I. B. Q.*, Vol. VII, pp. 519 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Above*, Vol. VII, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> There is another image inscription, dated in the 3rd year of Madanapāla's reign, corresponding to 1146-47 A. C., which was found at Bihar in the Patna District. The Jaynagar image inscription, referred to above, is dated in his 14th regnal year, corresponding to 1157-58 A. C. The village of Jaynagar is known to be near Lucknow (in the Monghyr District), but is placed in the Gayā District, (see Cunningham, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. III, p. 25) apparently through mistake.

<sup>5</sup> Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 401.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 129; *Reg. op. cit.*, pp. 337-38.

<sup>7</sup> The popularity of the Vikrama Śaivrat in the U. P. was due especially to the Gujara-Pratihara emperors, although it was used at an earlier age by the Maukhuris and the Mahayādavas (Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 10, 34). The dating of the Śrābhī inscription of the time of Mahipāla I was due to this local influence.



charters according to regnal reckoning in preference to the Śaka era, exhibits the influence of local practice. The same conservatism in regard to the method of dating is also noticed in similar other cases. Records referring to the rule of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahādāpāla found in Bihar and North Bengal, temporarily occupied by the king after having defeated the Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla (circa 854-908 A.C.), are dated according to his regnal reckoning and not according to the Vikrama era as is the case with the official Gurjara-Pratihāra charters as well as other records of their time found in other parts of their empire. In spite of the fact, however, that the Sēnas did not use the Śaka era in their official records, its growing popularity in Bengal during the Sēna age is proved by the use of this era in epigraphic and literary records of the period such as Vandyaghataṭṭya Sarvaṇanda's work, *Tikāraṇṇa* (composed in Śaka 1081=1159-60 A.C.),<sup>1</sup> the *Adbhutavāgara* (composed in Śaka 1089=1167 A.C. or Śaka 1090=1168 A.C.) and *Dāmasūpan* (composed in Śaka 1091=1169 A.C.), both ascribed to king Vallabhadra,<sup>2</sup> the Sundarban plate of Dāmasūpāla (Śaka 1118=1196 A.C.),<sup>3</sup> the *Sudaktitaraṅgita* (composed in Śaka 1127=1205-06 A.C.) by Śrīdharaśāstra,<sup>4</sup> the *Tivverah* plate<sup>5</sup> (Śaka 1141=1219 A.C.) of Harikāladēva Rājavāṇakamalla and the Chittagong plate<sup>6</sup> (Śaka 1185=1263 A.C.) of Dāmōdera. Its introduction in Sylhet and Assam during the same age is indicated by such records as Vallabhadra's inscription<sup>7</sup> of Śaka 1107 (1185 A.C.) and the Kanāihara rock inscription<sup>8</sup> of Śaka 1127 (1205 A.C.). The introduction of the era in North Bihar<sup>9</sup> may have been due to the establishment of the rule of the Karmāṭa dynasty in that country referred to above. Yet these facts do not quite clearly explain the use of the Śaka era in the Vaigūḍar inscription of the time of Madanapāla discovered in a village in the western part of the Monghyr District, not only because the cause of its infiltration in that area is unknown, but also because here we have one of the earliest amongst the epigraphic and literary documents dated in the Śaka era so far found in East India.<sup>10</sup> It has possibly to be suggested that the Brāhmana brothers who were responsible for the inscription in question were not original inhabitants of the city of Krimilā, but had hailed from a territory where the use of the Śaka era had become or was becoming popular.<sup>11</sup>

The only place name mentioned in the three inscriptions is that of the city of Krimilā, the identification of which has already been discussed above.

### Inscription No. 1

#### TEXT<sup>12</sup>

1 Siddham<sup>13</sup> [?] Ari-Dharmapālādēva-rājyē Krimilā-ādhibhāṇā Madhmasūpāla[h]

2 Śālā-dharmapālā-Ajñāṭa dēva-dharmat=yam kṛitah [

<sup>1</sup> *Kalpalatāra* (G.O.S.), p. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Bengal*, op. cit., pp. 230 ff.; 263 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, pp. 321 ff.; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 479 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ray, op. cit., p. 332; *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 230.

<sup>5</sup> *Bhandarkar*, op. cit., No. 1112.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1114. The Mehar plate of this king has the date Śaka 1156.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1107.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1109.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 1126.

<sup>10</sup> Theories tracing the use of the Śaka era in Eastern India in earlier centuries (cf. *J. G. J. R. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 348 ff.) are unwarranted.

<sup>11</sup> The form *aripālā* for *aripālā* in our inscription may suggest Orissa. *Arīpālā* for *aripālā* is fairly common in medieval Orissan records. See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, p. 182, line 5; *J. R. A. S. B. L.*, Vol. XVII.

<sup>12</sup> From impressions.

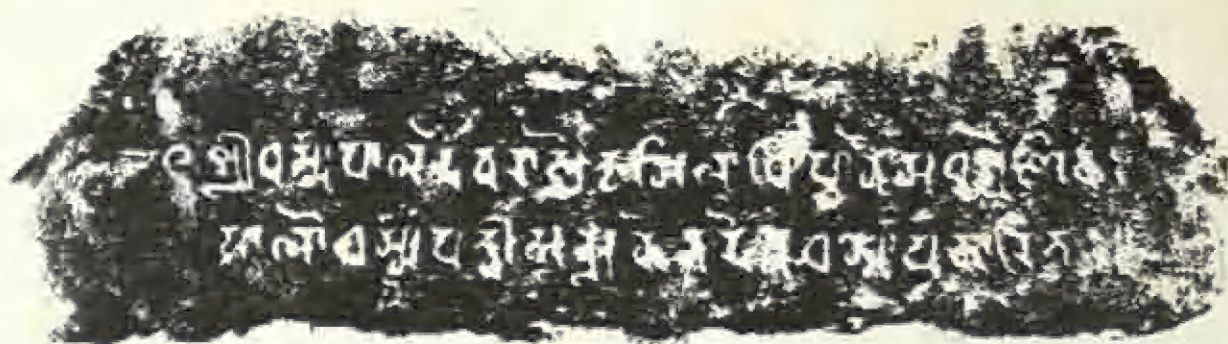
<sup>13</sup> Expressed by a symbol.





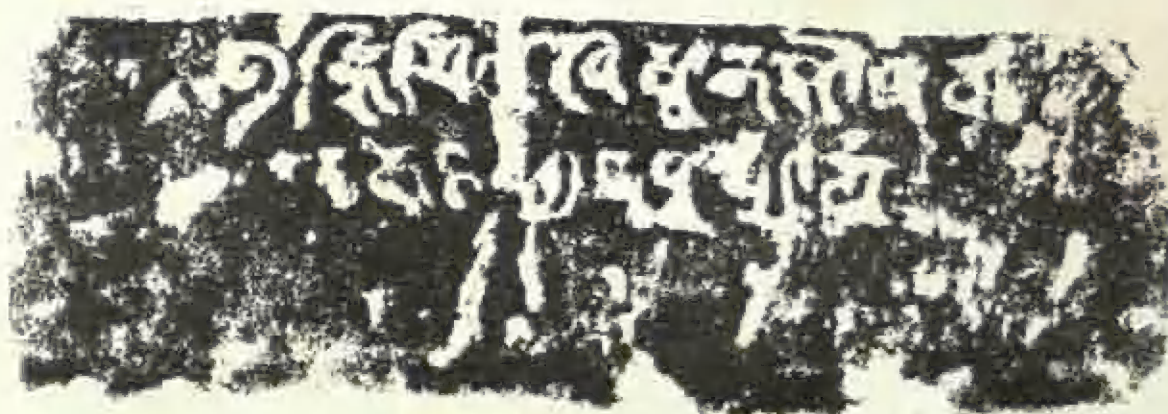
THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM VALGUDAR

No. 1



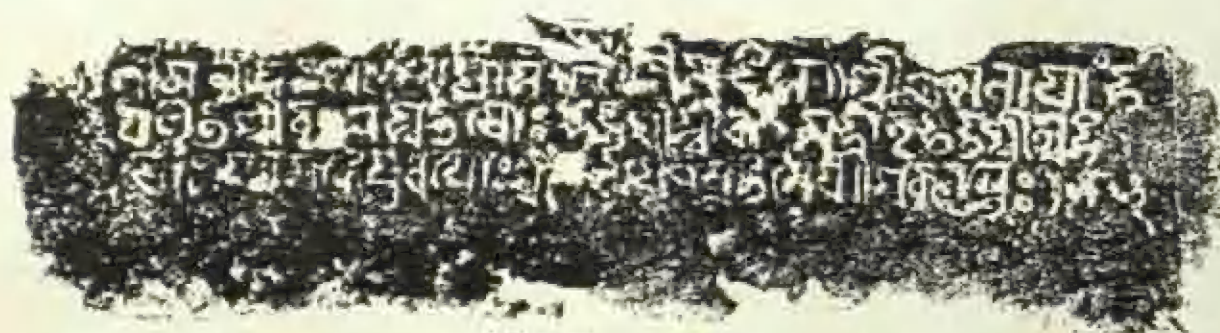
Scale: Three-tenths

No. 2



Actual Size

No. 3



Scale: Three-quarters

## TRANSLATION

Let there be success ! (*The god*) Madhvarēḡika<sup>1</sup> (*is installed*) at the city of Krimilā during the reign of the illustrious Dharmmapālādēva ; this meritorious gift (*i.e.*, the image) is caused to be made by Ajhuka<sup>2</sup> who is the wife of Śālā.

## Inscription No. 2

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> [||\*] Krimī[1-ā]dhisk[hān[6] Gausa[<sup>5</sup>1]vā

2 [Nri]kaṭṭaaya.[dē]dhvarum<sup>5</sup>=yach(yam 1)

## TRANSLATION

Let there be success ! (*The goddess*) Gausavā (or Gausivā)<sup>4</sup> (*is installed*) at the city of Krimilā ; this is the meritorious gift of Nrikatta.

## Inscription No. 3

TEXT<sup>5</sup>

1 Siddham<sup>6</sup> [||\*] śrīman-Madanapā[la]-rājyā(jya)-sada 18 Jyaish[tha]-dinē 11 śrī-Kra(Kri)m-  
[i]lāyām bha-

2 [tṛi]-paṇḍita-śrī-V[yā]ya(naṭ)-satayōḥ bhaṭṭa-śrī-Sukī\*(kṛi)[tri]ma-bhrāṭṭi-bhaṭṭa-śrī-  
Abhi.<sup>10</sup>

3 [nda]yōḥ parama-vaishṇavayōḥ śrī-[Nā]rāyaṇa-pratim=āya(m)(yam) ( Śaka-nṛp[ti]ṭ[pat]ṭi)  
1083 [||\*]

## TRANSLATION

Let there be success ! On the eleventh day of Jyaishtha in the year 18 of the reign of the illustrious Madanapāla ; at Krimilā ; this image of the illustrious (god) Nārāyaṇa belongs to the illustrious Bhaṭṭas Abhi and Inda (Indra), who are devout worshippers of Viṣṇu, who are the brothers of the illustrious Bhaṭṭa Sukritrīma and who are the sons of the illustrious Bhaṭṭa paṇḍita Vyāya (Vyāsa?). (*The year*) 1083 of the Śaka king.

<sup>1</sup> For alternative suggestions, see above, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> [If this is taken as the name of Śālā's wife, the masculine ending (*Ajhakā*) remains unexplained.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Read *dēva-dharmat*.

<sup>6</sup> For alternative suggestions, see above, p. 141.

<sup>7</sup> From impressions.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol which is damaged.

<sup>9</sup> (These two syllables seem to read *Śakā*.—Ed.)

<sup>10</sup> Correctly *ay-dā-Inda(nda)gōḥ*. The first name may either be *Abhi* or the *da-dā* of a name like *Abhinava*.



## No. 27—DAIKONI PLATES OF PRITHVIDĒVA II: YEAR 890

(1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

This is a set of two thick oblong copper plates<sup>1</sup> discovered at the village of **Daikoni**, near Akaltārā, District Bilaspur, Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh). The copper plates were in the possession of the *Mālyār* of Daikoni and the information about the existence of the charter was conveyed to the Government Epigraphist in 1944 by Pt. L. P. Panleya. With the help of the Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur District, the originals were secured by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the Government Epigraphist for India, with whose kind permission I edit the record here.

The plates have slightly raised rims to protect the writing. Each of them measures about 11·8 inches in length and 7 inches in height. They are strung together by a circular ring passing through a hole about ½ inch in diameter, which is bored in the middle of the length-side of the plates at the top. The ring is about 1·5 inches in diameter. To this is soldered a circular seal of about 2·5 inches in diameter. The seal contains at the top the emblem of the *Gajalādham* which covers about half its space. Below this is engraved the legend, *I Bāja śrīmat-Prithivī-2 vā*, engraved in two lines and in the Nāgarī script of about the 12th century A. C. Both the plates are engraved on the inner side only, the first plate containing 13 lines and the second 14 lines of writing. The set weighs 257 *tolas*, the ring alone weighing 33 *tolas*.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī and are well engraved. There have been practically no mistakes in engraving and no erasures. The language of the record is Sanskrit. Except for the opening words which contain the salutation to Brahman and the last words recording the date, the whole inscription is in verse. There are in all eighteen verses, including the imprecatory verses, and they are all numbered. The *daṣḍas* are marked for the halves as well as at the ends of the verses. As regards orthography, the writing shows the same peculiarities that are found in almost all the records of the period, i.e., 12th century A. C. They are the following: (i) use of *v* for *b* except in two cases: *bābhūvar*, line 8 and *bābhūva*, line 14; (ii) use of dental *s* for the palatal *ś* (iii) the duplication of the consonant after *v*. The *suvaraka* sign is employed wherever necessary. The form of *b* may be noted as it has little difference from *p* except that its box is absolutely square and hence angular at the left bottom instead of being rounded off as for *p*.

The object of the charter is to record a gift made by king **Prithvidēva II**, a Kaśachuri king of Ratanpur, whose genealogy is traced from the sun, from whom was first born king Manu, the *dhīrāja*. From Manu was descended Kārttavīrya, in whose family were born a number of kings called the Haihayas. Among them was Kāṅkālā, who obtained fame as a noble and philanthropic king. He had eighteen sons of whom the eldest became the lord of Tripurī. He made his brothers lords of *maṇḍalas*.<sup>2</sup> In the progeny of one of these younger brothers was born Kaśāgarāja. His son was Kamalarāja to whom was born Ratnarāja (I). From Ratnarāja (I) was born through Nānālā<sup>3</sup> a son called Prithvidēva (I). Prithvidēva (I)'s son by Rājalladēvī was Jājalladēva. His son was Ratnadēva (II) who secured the wealth (i.e., was the lord) of the entire Kōśala country. Prithvidēva II, the donor of the present charter, was his son. He is stated to have granted the

<sup>1</sup> C. P. No. 2 of A. R. S. I. E., for 1944-45.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the record at this place reads *pareṇīśat* cha *maṇḍala-paṭis*—su *chakre vaśa* *paṭis* śa. In the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I (above, Vol. I, p. 24, text line 6) the corresponding passage reads *śat*—cha *maṇḍala-paṭis*—su *chakre vaśa* *paṭis*.

<sup>3</sup> In the Amolā plates of Prithvidēva I (above, Vol. XIX, p. 79, text line 16) her name is given as Nānālā.



village of **Vuḍukunī** in **Madhya-dēśa** with all its incomes to one **Viśṇu**, a Brahman of the **Vatva gōtra** and of the **paśāka-pravara**. The donee is described as the foremost of the *trivēdīn* scholars, as possessing a fine character developed out of his knowledge of all *sāstras* and *śāstras* and as comparable to **Viśṇu**. He was the dutiful son of **Śivadāsa** who was likewise an obedient son of **Śeṭṭama**. The occasion for the gift made by the king is stated to be a lunar eclipse which occurred on **Kārttika 15**. The date of the charter is given as *Saṁvat* 890, *Mārgaśa* va di 11, *Ravana*. As in the case of the other records of the family, and especially of those of **Prithvidēva II**, in some of which the year is stated to be the **Kalachuri saṁvat**,<sup>1</sup> the year quoted in the present inscription must also be referred to the **Kalachuri-Chēdi era**. In the **Amodā plates** of **Prithvidēva I**,<sup>2</sup> and the **Kharod inscription** of **Ratnadēva III**,<sup>3</sup> the year is specifically stated as the *Chēdiśāyana saṁvat*. Thus, referring the year quoted in the **Daikoni plates** to this era which began in 247-8 A. C., it is found that the date and its details given correspond to **1138 A. C., October 30, Sunday, f.d.t. -15**, in accordance with the *pūrvaṁśānta* calculation of the lunar months. The lunar eclipse on **Kārttika 15** referred to in the inscription must have been the one which occurred just eleven days earlier, on **October 19** of the same year which was the day of **Kārttika 15**. Prof. **Mitra** has shown that the **Kalachuri year** began on the 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the *pūrvaṁśānta* **Kārttika**<sup>4</sup> and it is found that the date of our record follows the same calculation.<sup>5</sup> It will also be clear that it was the expired **Kalachuri year 890** that is quoted in our inscription since the details of the *tithi* and week-day given in it do not correspond to any date in the **Mārgaśirsa** month of 1137 A. C. but only of 1138 A. C. Further, the lunar eclipse mentioned in the record as the occasion for the gift occurred not in 1137 A. C. but only in 1138 A. C. on **Wednesday, October 19**, which was the day of *Kārttika-pūrvaṁśānta*.

Most of the verses describing the genealogy of **Prithvidēva II** in the present charter are identical with those found in other charters of the family, viz., the four sets of the **Amodā plates** of which one belongs to **Prithvidēva I**,<sup>6</sup> two to **Prithvidēva II**,<sup>7</sup> his grandson, and the fourth to **Jājalladēva II**,<sup>8</sup> the son of **Prithvidēva II**. Verses 1 to 11 of the present plates which take the genealogy up to **Ratnadēva II** are again identical with the first eleven verses of the **Sarkhō plates** of the same king, **Ratnadēva II**. It would therefore appear that the text of this genealogy was at first composed in the time of **Prithvidēva I**, the grandfather of **Ratnadēva II** and was employed by his successors without much alteration except what was added with reference to the successive donor-kings. The later members of the family, viz., **Jājalladēva II**<sup>9</sup> and **Pratāpamalla**<sup>10</sup>, have, in their records, also utilised this text, but only partly, amending it considerably in some places.

There is practically nothing new of historical importance in the present charter, since it contains only a conventional description of the princes of the family whose genealogy is well known and even

<sup>1</sup> **Rājira stupa** inscription of **Jagapāla**, K. 890 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 129); **Ratanpur inscription** of **Prithvidēva II** (K. 910); (*Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1239).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, p. 81 and plate.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff. and plate.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 278.

<sup>5</sup> The date quoted in the **Amodā plates** of **Prithvidēva I**, viz., **Chēdi year 831, Phālguna** va di 7, **Sunday**, corresponding, as it does, to 1079 A. C., **January 27, Sunday**, follows the same *pūrvaṁśānta* calculation and the year quoted is the expired one.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 75 ff. and plate.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. I, pp. 463 ff. and plate.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff. and plate.

<sup>9</sup> **Amodā Plates**, above Vol. XIX, p. 209.

<sup>10</sup> **Pendrabhūṭ plates**, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 1.



in regard to the donor himself, Prithvidēva II, nothing is recorded as to his conquests or other achievements. The only fact of importance pertaining to the record is that it contains the **earliest date** for this king, viz., K. 890. His other records, both on stone and on copper so far discovered range in date from K. 893 to K. 915. Hence it is learnt from the present inscription that he ruled from K. 890, i.e., 1138 A. C. That he ruled at least up to K. 915 or 1163 A. C. is known from his record at Ratanpur bearing that date.<sup>1</sup> The earliest date known for his son and successor Jājalladēva II is K. 919 or 1167-8 A. C. supplied by his Mallār stone inscription.<sup>2</sup> Hence the period of rule of Prithvidēva II can be placed between 1138 A. C. to 1165 A. C. or roughly from c. 1135 to 1165 A. C.

It may be observed that of the inscriptions of the Kalachuri princes of the Ratanpur line, the largest number, nearing about a dozen, belong to the reign of Prithvidēva II, the donor of the present charter. It is curious that no record of his early ancestors up to the time of Prithvidēva I have so far been discovered. The Amodā plates<sup>3</sup> of this king dated Chōdi year 831 is the earliest record of the family. Of his son and successor Jājalladēva I we have only one inscription so far discovered, viz., the Ratanpur stone inscription dated year 866.<sup>4</sup> His son Ratnadēva II, the father of Prithvidēva II of our inscription, has left two records, viz., the Seorinarayan plates<sup>5</sup> and the Sarkhō plates<sup>6</sup> bearing dates 878 and 880 respectively. Besides these kings who were predecessors of Prithvidēva II, other princes of the line who came after him have also left a few records. Of Jājalladēva II, the son and successor of Prithvidēva II, two inscriptions have been secured, viz., the Mallār stone inscription<sup>7</sup> dated year 919 and the Amodā plates issued in the same year.<sup>8</sup> The next prince of the family for whose reign an inscription is available is Ratnadēva III, son of Jagaddēva, the elder brother of Jājalladēva II. His Kharod inscription dated Chōdi sakaent 933 has been edited in this journal.<sup>9</sup> The son and successor of Ratnadēva III was Pratāpamalla, the last known prince of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuris, whose Pōḍrāhandh plates were issued in the year 965.<sup>10</sup>

Reviewing the dynasty as a whole, it will be seen from the records of the family so far available and from the dates quoted in them, which, as has been pointed out above, have all to be referred to the Kalachuri-Chōdi era, that every one of these kings must have had sufficiently long reigns averaging from twenty to twenty-five years. This fact would be apparent from the interval that can be noticed between the dates of the records of the successive kings. Thus between the dated records of Prithvidēva I and his successor Jājalladēva I there is an interval of about 35 years which must have been partly covered by their respective reigns. Similar intervals are found between the other members of the family. On a broad calculation, the duration of the rule of each king can be indicated. I give below a tentative scheme of the chronology of such of the rulers of this line of the Ratanpur Kalachuris for whom a continuous genealogy is available.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, p. 31.

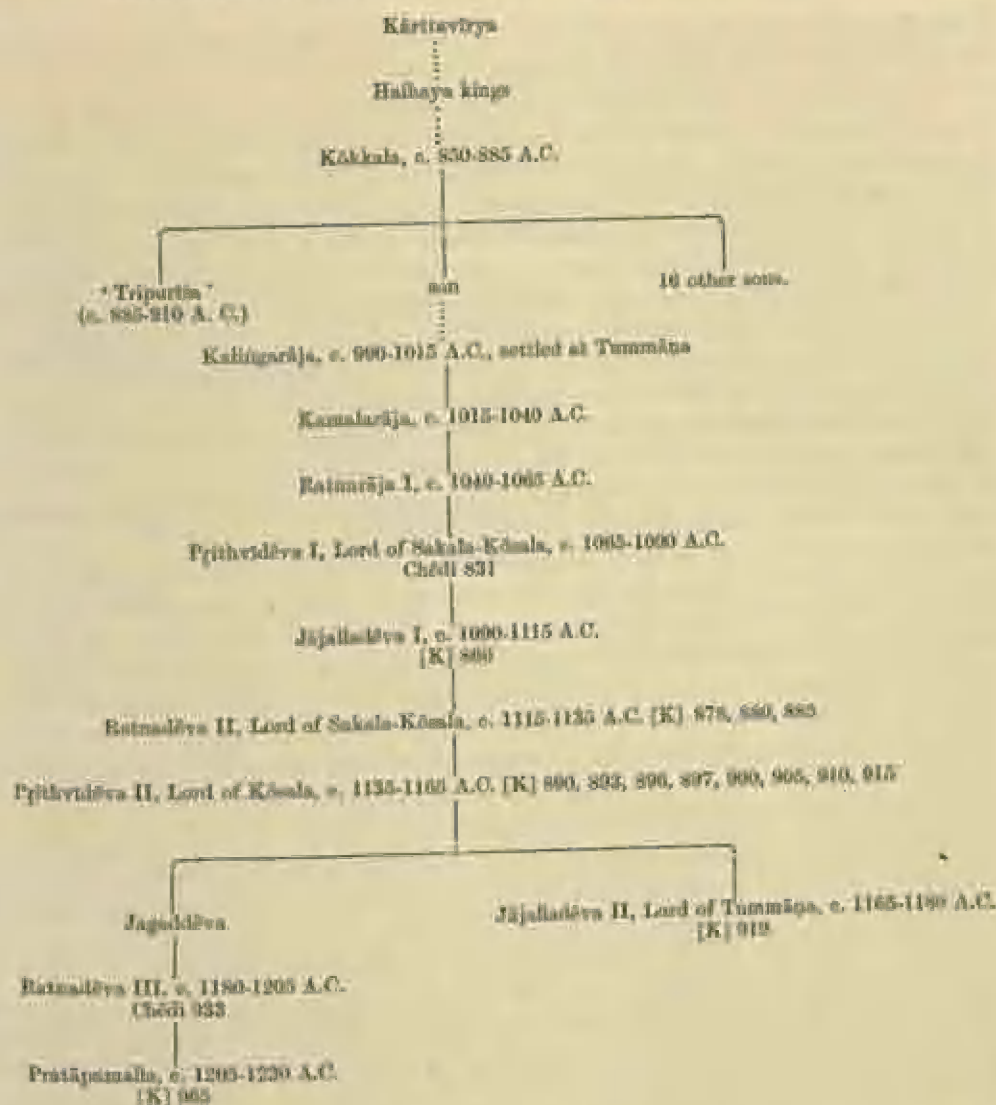
<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, p. 159. The Paragan plates of Ratnadēva II, dated K. 883, recently discovered constitute the third known record of this king. Along with this charter was found another grant of Prithvidēva II dated K. 897.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 39.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff. and plates. Prof. Mirashi is probably correct in reading the date of this record as 919 and not as 912 as was read by Hirai (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 357 and n. 1).

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 169 ff. and plate.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff. and plate.



It is rather difficult to fix the dates for the predecessors of Kaliṅgarāja, viz., the prince called lord of Tripuri and his father Kōkkala. For, none of the records of this line gives any clue as to the probable duration of the interval between Kaliṅgarāja and his predecessor, the lord of Tripuri.<sup>1</sup> Divergent views have been expressed regarding the probable identity of Kōkkala, whether he is to be identified with the first or the second king of that name in the main Kalachuri line of Tripuri.<sup>2</sup> It seems quite certain that he cannot be Kōkkala II, since this king who was the father of Gāṅgāyādēva Vikramāditya (c. 1030-1040 A. C.)<sup>3</sup> lived much later than the probable date that can be assigned to Kōkkala, the ancestor of Kaliṅgarāja (c. 900-1015 A. C.) of the Ratanpur

<sup>1</sup> Alone of all the inscriptions of the dynasty, the Khared inscription of Ratnadēva III: Chēdi 933, states that Kaliṅgaripati was one of the 18 sons [born of Kōkkala?]. This is evidently a fabrication (above, Vol. XXI, p. 161 and text lines 4-5).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 161; Vol. XXII, p. 166 and n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 104.



Haihayas. Evidently he must be identical with Kōkkala I, who according to the chronology of the Haihaya kings of the main Tripuri line lived about 850-885 A. C.<sup>1</sup>

Since Kōkkala, the predecessor of Kalīngarāja of the Ratanpur line, is described in the Amoli plates of Prithivīdēva I as having taken the treasures of those born of the Tūrnihka families, it has been held that the reference may not be to Kōkkala I of the Tripuri family who belonged to a period anterior to any Muhammadan invasion of North India.<sup>2</sup> Granting that the exploit is true to facts, there is nothing improbable or anachronistic in assuming that it was Kōkkala I of the 9th century A. C. that should be credited with it. For, although the regular Muhammadan invasions came much later, yet even in the period of the Bāhlāmī Chālukyas there have been invasions of Gujarāt by the Muslims proceeding from the direction of Sind. It is known that Pulakēśi-Avanijaniśārya of Gujarāt encountered an invasion of the Tājikas whom he repulsed sometime about 735 A. C. during the reign of Vikramāditya II.<sup>3</sup> The Tājikas were none other than the Arab Muhammadans of Sind, and Muhammadan historians like Al-Bīḥaduri refer to the expeditions which the Arabs of Sind directed against the kingdoms of Baras (Brahm), Ussān (Ujjain), Mālwa (Mālwā) and Jurz (Gujarāt).<sup>4</sup> It is well known that the Rāshtrakūṭa empire was referred to by the Muslim chroniclers as the 'kingdom of the Balhara' and that it included among its subjects a fair number of Muslims.<sup>5</sup> Hence it is not unlikely, as shown above, that Kōkkala, the father of the prince called lord of Tripuri, of the Ratanpur line, was Kōkkala I who lived about 850-885 A. C. We can now have an idea of the interval between the lord of Tripuri and Kalīngarāja. It appears that it is covered by three generations of kings and hence of a total duration of about 75 years. This gap in the genealogy is not entirely unaccountable; it was precisely during this interval (c. 910-990 A. C.) that the ancestors of Kalīngarāja lost the country of Tummāṇa. It was Kalīngarāja who seems to have re-established his sway over it. The statement in the Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva I (1114 A. C.) that Kalīngarāja selected Tummāṇa as his capital, since the place had previously been selected for the purpose by his ancestors<sup>6</sup> supports this surmise.

Prithivīdēva II is not described in the present charter with any high sounding titles or achievements to his credit. The record dated, as it is, in K. 890 which is the earliest date known for him so far, seems to have been issued early in his reign before he had made any conquests of his own. That he was a powerful king and that in his reign some conquests were made is learnt from the Rājasthāni inscription of Jagapāla of K. 896<sup>7</sup> in which Jagapāla is stated to have conquered the forts of Saraparāgaḍha (Sārāngarh) and Mayākāśihavā and the country of Bhīmanaravādha during the reign of Prithivīdēva II. Again the Ratanpur stone inscription dated K. 915,<sup>8</sup> the latest inscription of his reign, describes him as the lord of Kōśala and states that his feudatory, Brahmadēva of the Talahāri maṇḍala, obtained a victory over Jaśōvara, who is evidently identical with the homonymous son of Anantavarman-Chōḍaganga. The same victory over Jaśōvara is attributed to Prithivīdēva himself in the Khared inscription of Ratnadēva III of Chōḍi year 933.<sup>9</sup> Another subordinate of his, Vallabharāja, overran Laḍḍha and reduced the Gauda king as stated in a stone inscription from Akaltār<sup>10</sup> not far from Daikoni, the findspot of the present charter. Yet

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 258 and n. 6. H. C. Ray (*Dynamic History of North India*, Vol. II, p. 734) adduces reasons for giving Kōkkala I the dates 870-925 A.C.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 325-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 94, text l. 7; Vol. XXII, p. 160, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 140, text ll. 10-11.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 261, text l. 30.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 103, text l. 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 84; *Inscriptions in O. P. and Berar* (1931) p. 121, Ins. No. 302.



another general of his, *Purushottama* is credited with a number of exploits like the conquest of the *Khiminji maṇḍala*, the *T-bāri maṇḍala*, *Daṇḍapura*, *Khijjiṅga*, the killing of *Haravṛha* and the threatening of the ruler of *Daṇḍabhukti*.<sup>1</sup> Since *Vallabharāja* and *Purushottama* were also the generals of *Prithvidēva*'s father *Ratnadēva* II, it is doubtful if the conquests attributed to them were all effected during the reign of *Prithvidēva* II or earlier. Among the conquests that can definitely be assigned to his reign, the most important are his capture of the *Bhramaravādra dēva* and the defeat inflicted on *Jājāvēra*, the Eastern *Gaṅga* prince.

The identification of many of the territories and princes conquered by *Prithvidēva* II and his father *Ratnadēva* II and those by his grandfather *Jājalladēva* I has been satisfactorily made with a few exceptions to which I may draw attention here. To begin with, the *Bhramaravādra dēva* may not be *Bāmra*, east of *Sārangarū*, as *Kielhorn* thought, but is evidently the *Bhramarakōṭya maṇḍala*, the name by which *Chakrakōṭya* or the modern *Bastar State* was known.<sup>2</sup> During the period in which *Prithvidēva* II ruled in *Kōsala*, *Bastar* was under the rule of the *Nāgavamśi* kings, of whom *Kanharadēva*, son of *Sōmēśvara*<sup>3</sup> was perhaps his contemporary. *Khijjiṅga*, reduced by *Purushottama*, is the modern *Khiching* in the *Mayūrbhanj State*, now merged in *Orissa*.<sup>4</sup> It is referred to as *Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭa* in the inscriptions of the *Ādi Bhāṇja* kings of the 9-10th century A. C. It is not known who the ruler of *Khijjiṅga* was when *Purushottama* conquered it. Of the adversaries of *Jājalladēva* I, *Sōmēśvara* whose army was captured, and *Bhujabala* of *Suvarṇapura* who was defeated, have not satisfactorily been identified. It has been suggested by *Hiralal* that *Sōmēśvara* was the homonymous ruler of the *Chakrakōṭya maṇḍala* or *Bastar*.<sup>5</sup> Recently *Mr. G. Ramadas* has adduced reasons for identifying him with *Sōmēśvara* II, a *Chōḷa* prince who was ruling at *Suvarṇapura*, i.e., *Sonepur* on the *Mahānadi* in *Orissa*.<sup>6</sup> I am more inclined to agree with *Mr. Ramadas* in this identification, though the arguments adduced by *Hiralal* in support of the former identification are none the less strong. *Sōmēśvara* of *Bastar*, who claims to have conquered a number of countries, including *Ratanapura*, the very capital of *Jājalladēva* I, and also to have taken 6 lakhs and 96 villages of the *Kōsala* country, was indeed too powerful a king to have been captured by the *Ratanpur* ruler. Secondly, the *Kharod* inscription of *Ratnadēva* III states that *Jājalladēva* I defeated *Bhujabala* of *Suvarṇapura*.<sup>7</sup> The mention of *Suvarṇapura* as the capital of *Bhujabala* renders it very likely that this chief must have been one of the contemporary *Chōḷa* rulers of the lineage of *Chandrāditya* who were ruling at *Suvarṇapura* in this period.<sup>8</sup> Evidently *Sōmēśvara* mentioned in the *Ratanpur* inscription of *Jājalladēva* I is identical with *Bhujabala* of *Suvarṇapura* mentioned in the *Kharod* record, since neither of the two inscriptions mentions any other prince by name as *Jājalladēva*'s adversary.<sup>9</sup> One more argument in support of *Mr. Ramadas*'s identification, which, however, cannot be pressed far, is that *Ratnadēva* II, the son and successor of *Jājalladēva* I, assumes the title of *Mahārūpaka*,<sup>10</sup> which he did perhaps in imitation of *Sōmēśvara* II of *Suvarṇapura*, who donned the title of *Rūpaka*.<sup>11</sup> Further, the princes of both the families are found to assume the high sounding epithet of *Sakala-Kōsala-ādhipatya*, thus indicating that there existed rivalry between them for the lordship of *Kōsala*.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 279. Dr. D. C. Sircar would read *Haravṛha* as *Haravṛha*.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 179. *Śaṅkarapadaśāsthi* (D. R. Bhandarkar Pratibha Volume 1940), p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 312.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. X, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal of the Kalinga Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 223.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 163, text l. 6.

<sup>8</sup> See the article on *Mahārūpaka plates of Śaṅkarapadaśāsthi* (III) further on in this Volume.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. D. C. Sircar adducing the same argument identifies *Sōmēśvara* with *Kandva Sōmēśvara* of the *Kelgi* plates. (*J. H. Q.* Vol. XXII, p. 304; above, Vol. XII, pp. 229 ff.)

<sup>10</sup> *Śaṅkarapadaśāsthi* : *Ind. Hist. Quart.* Vol. IV, p. 31.

<sup>11</sup> *Palma Museum plates* : above, Vol. XIX, p. 99, text l. 12.



Gōkarna who was the other chief, besides Chōḍagaṅga, stated to have been defeated by Ratnadēva II has not satisfactorily been identified either. Prof. Mirashi considered it likely that Gōkarna was another name of Jaṣṣēvara, the son of Chōḍagaṅga.<sup>1</sup> I may, in this connection, draw attention to a Gōkarna, a Telugu Chōḍa prince of Vardhamānapurā (Hyderabad), of whose reign there is a record at Śīlāvaram in the Nizām's dominions, dated Chālukya-Vikrama year 33 (wrong), *Plava*, i.e., 1126-7 A. C.<sup>2</sup> A few other members of his family are also known from inscriptions to have been ruling parts of Hyderabad territory.<sup>3</sup> Gōkarna of the Śīlāvaram record cited above is evidently the same as the homonymous person mentioned in the Annakonda inscription of Kākatīya Rudra (1162 A. C.)<sup>4</sup> and of whom it is stated in that record that he was murdered by his own brother Bhīma. Since his date, i.e., 1127 A. C. would make him a contemporary of Ratnadēva II, the father of Prithvīdēva II of our record, it is not unlikely that he was the Gōkarna whom Ratnadēva II is stated to have defeated. Whether Gōkarna was defeated along with Chōḍa-Gaṅga in the same campaign or in a different encounter cannot be stated definitely.

As for the geographical names occurring in these plates, Vuḍukunī in the Madhyadēsa has to be looked for in the vicinity of the Lāphā Zamindārī of the Bilaspur District. For, the Madhya dēsa is apparently identical with the Madhya maṇḍala, mentioned in both the sets of the Amodā plates of Prithvīdēva II as the division in which were situated Āvalā and Baḍḍabaḍu, two villages which are at present represented by Anṛā Bhātā and Burbur, both in the Lāphā Zamindārī.<sup>5</sup> The Madhya maṇḍala or Madhya dēsa is here indicative, not of the Madhya dēsa of classical references which is now modern United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh), but of the central portion of the dominion of the Ratanpur chiefs. Hence Vuḍukunī is to be located in the vicinity of Ratanpur itself. I would identify it with Daikōn. "self, the focus of these plates, which is a few miles south-east of Ratanpur, near Akaltārā.

#### TEXT\*

[Metres : Vv. 1, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17 and 18 *Anuṣṭubh* ; 2, 6 and 11 *Upajāti* ; 3 *Brugdhārā* ; 4 and 10 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; 5, 7 and 8 *Vasantatilakā* ; 14 *Āryā* ; 16 *Mandūkēvūtā*.]

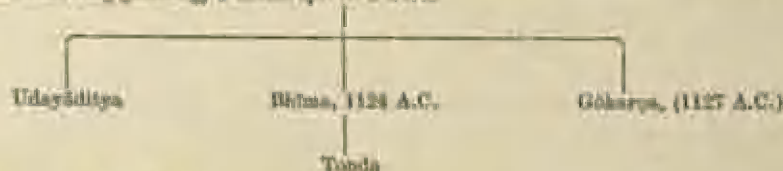
#### First Plate

1 Siddham\* [||\*] Ōm namō Vra(Bra)hmaṇḍe || Nirguṇaṁ vyāpakam nityam Śivam parama-kāraṇam | bhāva-grāhyaṁ paratītyōti-taṁtai sad-vra(d-bra)hmaṇḍe namaḥ || 1 ||

\* Above, Vol. XXII, p. 162 and n. 1.

<sup>1</sup> *Shikharī*, Vol. V, part I, pp. 143 ff. and plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Telangana Inscriptions*, Vol. I (Hyderabad, 1933), Chālukya Inscriptions, No. 23. *Mss. Ins.*, Nos. 2, 3 and 18. These furnish the following genealogy : Śamarāja. w. 2 wives



<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 9 ff. and plate : above, Vol. IX pp. 290-1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 47-8. Evidently the Madhya dēsa mentioned in the Sakhē plates of Ratnadēva (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 163-4) as the country from which the dance of that charter hailed is the Madhya dēsa of our record and not the Madhya dēsa of classical references.

<sup>5</sup> Nandlal Dey : *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 116.

\* From impressions.

\* Expressed by *ay* *hō*.



[illegible][illegible]



Seal



(From a Photograph: Enlarged)

- 2 Yād-āṭad-agrēaṇam-aṇva(m-amba)ṇasya jyōtīḥ sa pūṣhā puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ | aṭh-āṇya  
putrō Manur-ādi-rājās-tad-anvayō-'bhūd-bhūvi Kā-
- 3 rtiavīryaḥ || 2 || Dēvaḥ śrī-Kārttavīryaḥ kṣhīti-patir-abhavad-bhūṣhaṇam bhūta-dhātṛyā  
hēl-ōtkṣhīpt-ādi-vi(bi)bhūyat-tuhina-
- 4 giri-sut-āślōcha-santōṣit-ōṣam | dōr-ōdadh-ākāṣṭha-sēta-pratigamita-mahāvāri-Rōvā-pravāha-  
vyādhūta-Tṛya-
- 5 kṣha-pūjā-gurū-janīta-rucham Rāvaṇaḥ yō vavutidha(babandha) || 3 || Tad-vamśa-pra-  
bhavā narēndra-patayaḥ khyātāḥ kṣhītau Haṭha-
- 6 yūṣa-tōḥām-anvaya-bhūṣhaṇam rīpa-manō-vinyasta-tāp-ānalāḥ | dharmma-dhyāna-dha-  
ānusamchita-yatāḥ sasva(śaśva)t-satām saukhya-
- 7 kṛt-prōyān-sarva-guṇ-ānvitāḥ samabhavaḥ-chhṛimān-asau Kōkkalāḥ || 4 || Aṣṭādaś-  
āri-kari-kumhba-vibhaciga-sūh-
- 8 hāḥ putrā [ha]bhūvur-ati-saṇ(śaṇ)rya-parāś-cha tasya | tatṛ-āgrājō nṛpa-varas-Tripur-  
īṣa āst-pācav(rōvō) cha māṇḍala-patīn-sa
- 9 chakāra vāṇdhū(bandhū)n || 5 || Tōḥām-anūjasya Kaliṅgarājāḥ pratāpa-vahni-kāpiti-  
āri-rājāḥ | jātō-anvayō dvīṣṭa-rī-
- 10 pu-pravīra-priy-āṇan-āmbhōraha-pārvva-ānduh || 6 || Tasmād-apī pratata-nirmala-kīrti-  
kāpō jātaḥ sutāḥ Kamalarā-
- 11 ja īti prasīdhaḥ | yasya pratāpa-taraṇāv-uditō rajanyām jātāni paṇkaja-vanāni vikāśa-  
bhāṇji || 7 || Tēn-ā-
- 12 tha chandira-vaidanō-janī Ratnarājō vīsv-ō(vīsv-ō)pakāra-karuṇ-ārjita-puṇya-bhārah |  
yēna sva-vā(bā)hu-yuga-nī-
- 13 rmmīta-vīkramōga nītam yāśas-tribhuvanō vinīhatya sa(śa)trūn || 8 || Nōnall-ākhyā priyā  
tasya śūrasya-ō-

*Second plate*

- 14 va hi śūratā | tayōḥ sūtō nṛpa-ārēṣṭhaḥ Prithvidēvō babhūva ha || 9 || Prithvidēva-samud-  
bhavaḥ samabhavad-Rājalladē-
- 15 vi-sa(śa)taḥ sūmāḥ sajjana-vāmochehū(vāmochehū)t-ārtha-phaladaḥ kalpadrumaḥ āri-phalaḥ |  
sarvvābhām-uchīte-'archehaṇō sumanasām
- 16 ūkṣha-dvīṣat-kamṭakaḥ paśyā(śchā)t-kāntatar-āṇga-āṇga-madanō Jājalladēvō nṛpaḥ  
|| 10 || Tasy-ātmanjaḥ sakala-Kōśala-maṇ-
- 17 jana-ārīḥ śrīmān-samāhṛta-samasta-nar-ādhipa-ārīḥ ||\*|| sarva-kṣhīṣvara-śi(śi)rō-vihit-  
āmkrī(ghrī)-sēvaḥ sa(śa)vābhīptām nidhir-asau bhū-
- 18 vi Ratnadēvaḥ || 11 || Tasy-alaha tanayō dhātṛiḥ pṛatā(ā)pti naya-sachpadā | Prithvidēvō  
mahīpālō vīśā(śā)l-ō-
- 19 [va]jvaḥ-pauruṣaḥ || 12 || Vatsasya gōtrō-'ti-pavitra-mūrttir-dvīḷō-tra paṇcha-pravarō  
babhūva | samasta-sā(śā)str-ā-
- 20 gama-yōda-vōttā Vra(Bra)hm-ōpamaḥ Śrō(Śrō)ttama-nāmadhēyaḥ || 13 || Anukurvāna-  
nija-pitarām eskala-guṇ-aughair-ana-
- 21 rgha-guṇa-rām(ā)ḥ | Śivādāsa-nāmadhēya-tasya namaṣyaḥ sūtō bhātāḥ || 14 || Ādyas-  
trivōdī viduṣhān-ash(śa)-



- 22 *cha-sū(śa)str-āgama-jñāna-manōjñā-sū(śa)lāḥ* | *Vishṇu-ūpamō Vishṇu*=iti prasiddhaḥ-tataḥ  
sūtaḥ prādurbhūṭ-prasa(śa)syaḥ ||
- 23 || 15 || *Rāhu-grasthā(śtē) rajani-tilakē Kārttikē parihāḍasyām(śyāḥ) kṛtvā hast-ślakam-*  
*lha mahā-śradhaya Madhya-dēsa(śē) [1\*] survv-ā-*
- 24 *dāyāḥ saha Vuḍukunī-grāmam=atyantā-ramyaḥ Prithvidēvō namapatir=adāḍ-Vishṇavē-*  
*śmai dvijāya || 16 || Saṁ(Śaṁ)khaḥ bhadrā-*
- 25 *sanath chehha(chha)trah | gaḥ-Lva(śva)-vara-vāhanam | bhūmi-dānasya chihṇāni phalaḥ*  
*svarggaḥ Paratidara || 17 || Śva-dattāḥ para-dattā[m\*] vā*
- 26 *yō harēta vacumdhārām | sa viśṭhāyāḥ kṛmīḥ-bhūtvā pūṭṭibhīḥ saha majjati || 18 ||*  
*Saṁvat 890 Mārgga va dī*
- 27 || *Ravau ||*

## No. 23.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF KAMPANA FROM MADAM

(I Plate)

V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, MADRAS.

The two subjoined inscriptions A<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup> are engraved, one on either side of the entrance to the Southern *gōpura* in the second *prākāra* of the *Tatākapatirivara* temple at Madam in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot District in the Madras State. Both the records are in a good state of preservation and are engraved in Tamil. One is in *prose* and the other in *verse*, but both refer to the same event.

Record A in *prose*, is dated in Śaka 1285, Śōbhakṛit (A. D. 1362-63) in the reign of the Vijayanagara ruler *Kampana Uḍaiyar*. It states that Gaṇḍaragūḷi Mārāya-Nāyaka, son of Sōmaya-Danḍāyaka, captured Veṇṇumaṅkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya and Rājagambhiraṅmalai and that he celebrated the victory by constructing the *gōpura* called 'Gaṇḍaragūḷi-Mārāyanāyakkantirukkōpuraṁ' in the second *prākāra* of the temple of Tiruvagnīśvaramūḍaiya-Muhādēva<sup>3</sup> at Kulattūr. The figure of a fine bull facing the proper left, with a sword and crescent above and a lamp-stand in front, is carved at the left hand corner of the record. Record B without date, narrates in *verse* the same facts given in A with some poetical embellishments. The figure of a caparisoned bull with a dagger in front, pointing downwards, is engraved to the right of this record. The importance of these epigraphs lies in the historical information that they contain, viz. that Gaṇḍaragūḷi Mārāya-Nāyaka overcame the resistance put up by the Śambuvarāyas against the expansion of the Vijayanagara sovereignty by capturing Veṇṇumaṅkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya and his stronghold, the fortress of Rājagambhiraṅmalai.

Before proceeding to discuss the contents of these inscriptions it will be of interest to study how the political situation in the Tamil country was favourable for the rise to power of the Śambuvarāya family to which this Veṇṇumaṅkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya, the contemporary of *Kampana II* belonged.

<sup>1</sup> No. 267 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>2</sup> No. 268 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>3</sup> The god is now known as *Tatākapatirivara*. [In the two inscriptions edited below the god is called *Kulattūr-Āṇḍaiyār* and *Kulandai-veṇṇupadivara*, both equivalent to *Tatākapatirivara*. *Kulandai* may be taken to be the poetic form for *Kulattūr*; cf. *Kulandai* for *Kalikkunji*. (Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 283, n. 5).—Ed.]

During the last quarter of the 12th century A. D. the Chōla country stood restored to its original greatness in the time of Kulōttunga-Chōla III (A. D. 1178-1216), who proclaimed his conquests by assuming the titles 'Conqueror of Madura, Ilam (Ceylon), Karuvūr, Koṅgu *alias* Virasōla-maṇḍalam,' Kāśhi and Valji.<sup>1</sup> Such wide conquests indicate the enemies that the Chōla sovereign had to encounter in order to rebuild the empire which at this period was nearly co-extensive with the present Tamil districts, including portions of the Cuddapah and Nellore Districts of the Madras State. This vast territory, for purposes of administration, was divided into a number of chiefships, each owing allegiance to the central power. Towards the close of Kulōttunga-Chōla's reign, we find that his kingdom, especially the northern portion, was ruled pre-eminently through the following chiefs :—

- 1 the Telugu Chōlas of the Nellore District,
- 2 the Yādavas with their capital at Kāśhasti in the Chittoor District,
- 3 the Śambavarāyas in the North Arcot District,
- 4 the Malayamān chiefs of Kīlīyūr in the region around Tirukkōyilūr in the South Arcot District,
- 5 the Kājavas who were coming into power in portions of the North and South Arcot Districts,
- 6 the Bāgas who had settled on the banks of the southern Poyyār and carved out a new province called Vāṇagoppādi,
- 7 the Adigaimāns of Tagaḍūr, i.e., Dharmapuri in the Salem District, and
- 8 the Gaṅgas of Kōlār in the Mysore State with their jurisdiction extending to the present North Arcot District.

To keep these disintegrating forces under control was a great task, but the chiefs, when opportunities offered themselves, seem to have consolidated their position, independent of the central power, by entering into pacts or alliances with one another. In the time of Kulōttunga-Chōla himself we find several such pacts entered into by some of them. Since we are chiefly concerned with the Śambavarāyas, we shall see what part they played in strengthening their position in the country when events were slowly drifting towards the collapse of the central power culminating in the imprisonment of the Chōla monarch Rājārāja III (A. D. 1216-1248) by one of his own subordinates, the Kājava chief Kōpperuñjigadeva I.

The Śambavarāya<sup>2</sup> chiefs whose records are found in portions of the Chingleput, North and South Arcot Districts are said to have belonged to the Śaṅgōpi<sup>3</sup> family which was also otherwise known as Śambhukula.<sup>4</sup> The earliest member hails from Mūñūgruppalli in Ōymā-nāḷu.<sup>5</sup> These chiefs figure as vassals in Chōla records from the time of Vikrama-Chōla (A. D. 1118) onwards, while some later members, to judge from their surnames, such as Kulaśekhara Śambavarāya and Sundara-Pāḍiya Śambavarāya, should have changed their allegiance to the Pāḍiyas, evidently due to political exigencies. Most of these chiefs have surnames like *Nāḍiyaraya*,

<sup>1</sup> No. 227 of 1917.

<sup>2</sup> *Pudakkōṭṭai Inscriptions*, No. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 216 of 1902, 107 and 115 of 1909; 223 of 1904; 483 of 1908; 453 of 1913; 254 of 1919; 55 of 1922; 73 of 1945-46.

<sup>4</sup> The Śambavarāyas belong to the Vanniya sect which is found in portions of Tanjore and South Arcot Districts. Some members of this sect at Conjeeveram even now have the title *Vira Śambhu* (*Virasaṅgavarayana*) by Minnaṁai Nayanar, pp. 225 and 226.

<sup>5</sup> *Śaṅgōḷ* seems to be a village from the title *Śaṅgōḷmaṅgala-mittāḷ* (who issued *Śaṅgōḷmaṅgalam*) assumed by a Śambavarāya chief (No. 189 of 1918).

<sup>6</sup> A village called *Śambakulaṣerumāl-aganam* was evidently founded by a member of the Śambavarāya family (*R. I. I.*, Vol I, pp. 102 and 103). In Sanskrit the form *Champa* is found for *Śambhu*.

<sup>7</sup> No. 433 of 1922.



*Ammaiyappan*, *Attimallan*,<sup>1</sup> or *Attiyāṇḍān*. The epithet 'Nālayiravan' i. e., 'the Commander of the Four thousand' seems to indicate the original connection these chiefs had with a body of soldiers consisting of 4,000 members. One such was known as 'Mūnavanai-veṇ-kaṇḍān Vikramaśōḍandāya-Vēlaikkārar', which name suggests his active part in a conflict with the Pāṇḍyas.<sup>2</sup> The Śambuvārāyas worked their way up by service to their overlords in the latter's military campaigns. Their exploits are revealed by the several titles assumed by them such as *Pāṇḍi-nūḍa-koṇḍa* (who took the Pāṇḍya country), *Taṇiṇṇirān* (who conquered single), *Seṇradilai-vaṇṇān* (who conquered in every direction he went), *Seyyārril-vaṇṇān* (who conquered at Seyyārri), *Palavāyale-vallavan*<sup>3</sup> (adept in wielding various weapons), *Tan-vaṇi kōṭṭuḍān* (who shows his sword)<sup>4</sup> and *Veyrumaṇkoṇḍa* (who took the earth by conquest).<sup>5</sup> They also endeared themselves to the people by charitable acts like founding villages, constructing tanks and building temples.<sup>6</sup> It is worthy of note that some of these chiefs called themselves **Pallavas**. They also shared the titles of Kāḍava Kōpperuṇṇiṅga such as *Alappiṇṇāṇḍān*,<sup>7</sup> *Alagiya-āyan*<sup>8</sup> and *Alagiya Pallavan*,<sup>9</sup> or *Pallavāṇḍān*. These common titles suggest an affinity between the Śambuvārāyas and Kōpperuṇṇiṅgaḍava, but whether the relationship was only political and not matrimonial<sup>10</sup> has yet to be established. From the figure of a bull engraved by the side of each of the two inscriptions under review, it is evident that the Śambuvārāyas adopted the bull as their insignia. As noted before, these chiefs allied themselves with other chieftains like the Bāgas, the Adigaimāns and the Kāḍavas, and even against some rival members of their own family for securing territorial rights and for offensive and defensive action. They gradually assumed such importance that Ediriliśōḷa-Śambuvārāya, a member of this family, was so perturbed by the presence of a foreign army in the land that he sought supernatural intercession to avert the disaster threatened by the Singhalese invasion in the time of Rājādhirāja II.<sup>11</sup> Later members of this family seem to have thrown in their weight against the Muhammadan expansion in the south,<sup>12</sup> which was perhaps the occasion<sup>13</sup> for their assuming independence with the titles *Sakalōḷōkuchakravarti* and *Veyrumaṇkoṇḍān*, and later we find them issuing records in their own

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether this title *Attimallan* is to be traced to the village Attiyār, i. e., Little Conjeevaram (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 849) or Atti in the North Arcot district. This title was also borne by the Mahiyamān chiefs of Kiliyār (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 1022; Nos. 411 of 1906, 311 and 322 of 1921).

<sup>2</sup> *Mūnavanai-veṇ-kaṇḍān* means 'he who saw the back of the Mūnavan i. e., Pāṇḍya' (No. 289 of 1922). Rājārāja-Śambuvārāya's grand-father claims to have conquered the Pāṇḍya country (No. 232 of 1904).

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 181 and 184 of 1930-40.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 87-88.

<sup>5</sup> A record of Rājārāya (No. 59 of 1933-34—A. D. 1340) mentions a chief named 'Sōḍa-koṇḍa Śambuvārāya. It has been suggested in the *An. Rep. on Epy.* for 1934, p. 37 that this title was probably assumed by some earlier chieftain in commemoration of his having won independence from the Chōḷas.

<sup>6</sup> No. 422 of 1922.

<sup>7</sup> No. 353 of 1923.

<sup>8</sup> Nos. 106 of 1912 and 487 of 1921.

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 52 of 1919 and 428 of 1922. *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 123.

<sup>10</sup> No. 435 of 1913 styles Kāḍava as 'brother-in-law', without specifying the person to whom he was so related. An inscription from Vaḷuvār (No. 68 of 1908) mentions Virarāḱkaḍa who styles himself a Pallava, though he uses the Śōḷḍai and Śambuvārāya titles. The Śambuvārāya chief Alagiya āyan Śambuvārāya makes a gift to an image set up in the temple at Tiruveṇṇainallūr in the name of the mother of Alagiya Pallavan Kōpperuṇṇiṅgaḍava 1 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, No. 170).

<sup>11</sup> No. 20 of 1929.

<sup>12</sup> *An. Rep. on Epy.* for 1904, para. 27.

<sup>13</sup> No. 434 of 1903 from Tiruvālmittur in the South Arcot District dated in the 14th year of Veyrumaṇkoṇḍa Śambuvārāya, corresponding to A. D. 1325-26 refers to an invasion of the Turukkas, i. e., Muhammadans which took place in previous days and to the ruin in the country, brought about by the invasion. The relevant portion of the inscription reads: 'mūṇṇāḷ Turukkas vanda tiruvālmittur nūṇaiyāḷ kulaṇḍu dēṇṇuṇṇu aliṇḍu kiḷḷakkiyān, etc.



names, quoting their own regnal years. Prominent among them were Veṅṛumaṅkoṇḍa-Śambuvārāya and his son Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvārāya. These were apparently the latest members of this family with any real independent power.

For purposes of reference and study the names of the several members of this family so far known are given in an appendix at the end of this article, though no regular sequence or actual relationship among the different members can at present be established.

Veṅṛumaṅkoṇḍa Śambuvārāya and his son Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvārāya are known to have ruled from A. D. 1322<sup>1</sup> to 1339<sup>2</sup> and from A. D. 1337<sup>3</sup> to 1362-63<sup>4</sup> respectively. The records of the former who is also called Śkāmbaranātha, are found in the Chingleput, North and South Arcot Districts. The latest regnal year known for him is 18.<sup>5</sup> He died by the 3rd year of his son Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvārāya, corresponding to A. D. 1340.<sup>6</sup> The present inscription is dated in Śaka 1285, Śābhakṛit (A. D. 1363-64). Since Veṅṛumaṅkoṇḍa Śambuvārāya was long since dead, the victory claimed over Veṅṛumaṅkoṇḍa<sup>7</sup> in our inscription must evidently refer to a victory over his son Rājanārāyaṇa, whose rule, as noted above, extended to A. D. 1362-63. According to the Sanskrit poem *Madhurāṅjeyam* or *Kamparāya-charitam* composed by Gaṅgādēvī, the queen of Kampapa, it is stated that after besieging and reducing the citadel of Rājagambhira, Śambuvārāya was captured and killed. This fact receives corroboration in the main from other literary works, such as the Telugu poem *Jaimini-Bhāratam* of Pillalamarri Pinavīrabhadra and the Sanskrit poem, *Sāluṇḍhyudāyam* of Rājanātha-Diṇḍina and *Rāmābhyudāyam* of Sāḷuva Narasimha.<sup>8</sup>

It must be noted that Gaṅgādēvī<sup>9</sup> does not allude to the restoration of Śambuvārāya, but *Jaimini-Bhāratam* refers to his establishment in the kingdom by Sāḷuva Maṅgu, the general of Kampapa.<sup>10</sup> Since after his overthrow in 1362-63 A. D.<sup>11</sup> Śambuvārāya's inscriptions are not found,

<sup>1</sup> No. 29 of 1933-34 giving Śaka 1260 with 17th regnal year. His accession is placed between May 11, A. D. 1322 and May 10, A. D. 1323 (above, Vol. XI, p. 251).

<sup>2</sup> No. 48 of 1921 dated in the 18th regnal year (No. 45 of 1900 and 49 of 1921).

<sup>3</sup> No. 30 of 1896 and No. 42 of 1900 giving Śaka 1266, Vyaya with 9th regnal year. His accession is placed between July 31, A. D. 1337 and March 24, A. D. 1338.

<sup>4</sup> No. 182 of 1940 giving [2] 6th year with Śaka 1284, Śābhakṛit.

<sup>5</sup> His inscriptions with regnal years begin only from his 14th (A. D. 1333-36) and run up to 18th year (A. D. 1339-40). In the earlier part of his reign, he seems to have had very little power, consequent on the Muhammadan occupation of the country.

<sup>6</sup> His ashes were thrown into the Ganges and arrangements were made for the funeral rites to be performed at Gaya (Nos. 32, 33 of 1933-34).

<sup>7</sup> A *maṇḍapa* in the Śiva temple at Valsiyāṭṭūr (North Arcot Dist.) is known as Veṅṛumaṅkoṇḍāya-maṇḍapa, evidently after the name of this chief (*An. Rep. on Epy. for 1933-34*, p. 36).

<sup>8</sup> *An. Rep. on Epy. for 1928*, page 53; *Sources of Vij. History*, p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> According to the *Madhurāṅjeyam*, 'Kampapa set out from Vijayanagara with an army through Muḥḥāgal and reached Virūḥiparam on the Pālār, which he made the basis of his operations. He entered the Śambuvārāya country, defeated its king in a battle and having proceeded to his capital, captured it. He then pursued Śambuvārāya to the fort of Rājagambhira where he had taken refuge. He invested the fort, put the Śambuvārāya to death in a duel and captured it. On the death of their king, the subjects of Śambuvārāya submitted to Kampapa who having made Kāñchi his capital, according to the behest of his father, began to rule from the erstwhile Śambuvārāya country' (*Jl. of the Madras University*, Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 61f).

<sup>10</sup> The *Jaimini-Bhāratam* states that Sāḷuva Maṅgu defeated the Sultan of the South and thereafter gave his territory to Śambuvārāya, establishing him on the throne (*Sources of Vij. Hist.* p. 20). But *Rāmābhyudāyam* mentions that Sāḷuva Maṅgu, after defeating Champārāya, proceeded against the Southern Sultan who had his headquarters at Madura. There, a hard battle was fought in which the Sultan lost his life (*ibid.*, p. 22). But *Madhurāṅjeyam* is clear on the point. Gaṅgādēvī here states that Kumāra Kampapa first overthrew the authority of Śambuvārāya and occupied his territory before he proceeded against the Sultan of Madura.

<sup>11</sup> In the very year Śābhakṛit, the date of our record, the written order of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvārāya in connection with worship in the temple at Talyūr (Chingleput Dist.) was issued by Sōmaya-Daṇḍayaka, the *śaḍḍhān* of Kampapa, evidently for being carried out, thus indicating the end of the rule of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambuvārāya (A. R. No. 226 of 1915).



the restoration of this chief, if it really took place, must refer to a prior event. The *Sāluvaśāyudayam* explicitly states that Sāluva Maṅgu first subjugated the Sambuvarāya and then restored him to his kingdom. The inscriptions of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya dated from his 14th to 26th regnal years (A. D. 1351 to 1362) are found all over the Chingleput and the North and South Arcot Districts along with a few of those of Bukka, Kampapa and Śāyapa-Uḍaiyar, in this region. At Āvūr in the North Arcot District, there are inscriptions of Kampapa with dates corresponding to A. D. 1352 and 1358 and of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya dated in his 23rd regnal year (A. D. 1360), showing Kampapa's authority, perhaps in a nebulous state in the region even during the regime of Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya.<sup>1</sup> The existence of these inscriptions presupposes good relationship between Sambuvarāya and the Vijayanagara rulers, for which Sāluva Maṅgu must have been responsible, considering the title 'Sambuvarāya-śihāpanābhārya' assumed by him. Whether Rājanārāyaṇa was a subordinate of Kampapa is not clear; but inscriptional evidence points to his rule as an independent chief either with or without the cognisance of Kampapa.

The capture of Madura from the Muhammedans and the establishment of a viceroyalty there under Kampapa, son of Bukka, may be said to mark the foundation of the Vijayanagara rule in the Tamil country. The first opposition to the expansion of this rule probably came from the

<sup>1</sup> In the Tamil country Kampapa's inscriptions are found in the following places prior to Ś. 1285, the date of our record, in some of which, Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya's inscriptions are also found:

Place.	Kampapa's date.	Reference.	R. Sambuvarāya's regnal year.	Reference.
1 Āvūr . . . . .	Ś. 1274, Nandana = A. D. 1352.	No. 297 of 1919 .	23rd -A. D. 1360 . 24th -A. D. 1361 .	Nos. 306 and 307 of 1919.
2 Ditto . . . . .	Vijanta =A. D. 1358-59.	Nos. 304 and 305 of 1919.	.....	..
3 Arakkoṇamallūr . . . . .	Vihāra =A. D. 1359-60.	No. 103 of 1935 .	19th -A. D. 1356 .	No. 131 of 1935.
4 Achecharepakkam . . . . .	Ś. 1283, Piava =A. D. 1361.	No. 250 of 1901 .	18th -A. D. 1355 .	No. 290 of 1901.
5 Śerkāḍ . . . . .	Ś. 1283 =A. D. 1361	No. 203 of 1921 .	.....	..
6 Tirakkōyūr . . . . .	Ś. 1284 Śubhaskṛit = A. D. 1362-63.	No. 351 of 1921 .	.....	..
7 Mēlpāḍi . . . . .	Piava =A. D. 1361-62	No. 89 of 1929 .	.....	..
8 Tiruvāmattūr . . . . .	Śubhaskṛit =A. D. 1362-63.	No. 49 of 1922 .	19th -A. D. 1356 .	No. 64 of 1922.

It is noteworthy that in portions of the present South Arcot District, immediately after the disappearance of Sambuvarāya, no chief is recognised, as some of the records do not mention the king. No king is mentioned in the following records:

Village.	Date.	Reference.
a Elavāṇallūr . . . . .	Śaka 1284, Śubhaskṛit . . . . .	No. 480 of 1933.
b Tirumangunkurai . . . . .	Śaka 1283, Do. . . . .	Nos. 303 and 304 of 1933-40.
c Vāraḍjaram . . . . .	Śaka 1287 . . . . .	No. 151 of 1940-41.
d Nallūr . . . . .	Śaka 1287 . . . . .	No. 163 of 1940-41.



Sambuvarāyas who were in power in the Tondaimaṇḍalam region comprising the present Chingleput, and North and South Arcot Districts. Our present inscriptions state how this was overcome by capturing the Sambuvarāya alive. After the subjugation of this chief Kampapa felt himself so secure in the Tamil country that in an inscription dated in Śaka 1287 from Tiruppuṅṅuḷi in the Chingleput District, he is stated to be ruling from his 'permanent throne' after taking possession of Rājagambhira-rājya.<sup>1</sup> His inscriptions in the Tamil country are generally found from Śaka 1280\* to Śaka 1296.<sup>2</sup> Kampapa is chiefly remembered in history for his services in checking the expansion of the Muhammadan rule in the south and for liquidating its power in the Tamil country.<sup>3</sup> An inscription from Tirukkalakudi<sup>4</sup> in the Ramnad District thus narrates his exploits: 'the times were Tulukkaṇ (Muhammadan) times. Kampapa-Uḷaiyar destroyed the Tulukkaṇ, established orderly government throughout the country and appointed many chiefs (*aiyakkapudai*) for inspection and supervision in order that worship in all temples might be conducted regularly as of old.' In this move to eliminate the threat to Hindu religion, Kampapa must have received full local support which indirectly paved the way for the expansion of the Vijayanagara rule in the Tamil land without any serious opposition except that offered by the Sambuvarāya chief. The causes for the invasion<sup>5</sup> and defeat of this chief are nowhere stated. Probably he wanted to free himself from the Vijayanagara power. The Sambuvarāyas ceased to count as a power after their subjugation by Kampapa and even individual members of this family are not heard of thereafter as holding any important position in the state under the Vijayanagara rulers.

Of the persons mentioned in the present records, Sōmaya-Daṇḍāyaka was the chief minister (*Mahā-pradhāni*) of Kampapa. He figures as *pradhāni* from about Śaka 1274\* and continued to serve under Harihara<sup>6</sup> and Virupapa.<sup>7</sup> He was so devoted to Kampapa that he is said to have made provisions for worship in the temple at Śērkaḍu in the North Arcot District, for the continuity of the rule of this prince.<sup>8</sup> Judging from the title *Saṅgita-sāhityārava* and *Gūṇa-parama-māhe-*

\* S. L. I., Vol. VI, No. 454.

<sup>1</sup> No. 304 of 1919, dated in Vijamitri (= Śaka 1290). There are, however, a few records dated Śaka 1274, Nandana at Avur (No. 287 of 1919) and at Ulapadu (No. 172 of 1933-34).

<sup>2</sup> Kampapa seems to have died in Śaka 1296, since a record of this year makes provision for the recitation of the Vēda daily in the temple at Tiruvannāmalai as *Siddhāntam* for the merit of (the deceased) Kampapa (No. 573 of 1902, vide also No. 372 of 1902). Strangely enough there are two records of Kampapa, dated beyond Śaka 1296: one from Beahmadisām, dated in Randri corresponding to Śaka 1302 (No. 207 of 1921), and the other from Aragalūr, dated in Śaka 1297 (No. 431 of 1913).

<sup>3</sup> An inscription from Śrīraṅgam (No. 55 of 1902) states that the images of god Rāṅganātha and of his two consorts Śrīdēvi and Rūḍrādevi were recovered from the Tulukkaṇ (Muhammadan) during the reign of Kampapa and restored to the temple at Śrīraṅgam by Goppanārya, an officer of the king in Śaka 1293. The temple of Pōḍaṇḍi at Karaikal was converted into a mosque by the Tulukkaṇ ruler at Karaikal (Trichinopoly District) which had been converted into a mosque by the Tulukkaṇ ruler at Karaikal in the course of his victorious campaign (No. 162 of 1936-37). The period of anarchy was reconstructed by Kampapa in the course of his victorious campaign (No. 162 of 1936-37). The period of anarchy in South India is stated as 40 years in a stone record from Ippambūr in the Tanjore district (No. 322 of 1927). Whatever might have been the exact period of this rule, people were anxious to get rid of it, because it was characterized by cruelty, loot and massacre. The devastation and ruin caused in the country by the Muhammadan invasion is also referred to in inscriptions from Tiruvānāmalai (South Arcot Dist.) No. 434 of 1903, Tirukkalai (Tanjore Dist.) No. 642 of 1902, Tiruppuṅṅuḷi (Madurai Dist.) Nos. 119 and 129 of 1908 and Tiruvottiyār (Chingleput Dist.) No. 303 of 1912.

<sup>4</sup> No. 84 of 1916.

<sup>5</sup> In the expedition against Sambuvarāya, minister Gōpanārya and Sājara-Maṅga, the ancestor of Sājara-Narasimha took part (*Annals of Vj. History*, p. 29). It has been noticed above that Sājara-Maṅga assumed the title 'Sambuvarāya-athāpanāchārya' and an inscription from Villiyannūr gives him also the title 'Gaṇḍara-gō' (No. 191 of 1936-37). The title 'Sambuvarāya-athāpanāchārya' was assumed by later members of the Sājara family, namely Sājara Tirumalaideva-Mahārāja in Śaka 1370, Prajāpati (wrong) (No. 448 of 1922) and Sājara Saṅgamadeva-Mahārāja in Śaka 1403 and 1408 (Nos. 593 and 594 of 1902), even though the Sambuvarāyas had ceased to exist as a ruling power by this time.

<sup>6</sup> No. 287 of 1919.

<sup>7</sup> No. 51 of 1913 dated in Śaka 1306.

<sup>8</sup> No. 221 of 1931-32.

<sup>9</sup> No. 203 of 1921.



seems given to him,<sup>1</sup> he seems to have been proficient in music. His name was perpetuated by the institution of a service named after him in the temple of Aṭṭiṇṇa-Nāyaṇār at Tiruvānāntūr in the South Arcot District,<sup>2</sup> and by the village Śāttampāḍi in the same district being known after him as Śōmayya-Daṇḍāyaka-chaturvēdimaṇḍalam.<sup>3</sup>

His son Gaṇḍaragūḷi Mārāya-Nāyaka, according to our inscription, was directly responsible for the defeat and capture of Veṅṇumaṇḍala Sambavarāya, for which he received Appamāṇḍalap-paru as *Ḍipi* from the king. He is given the title 'Aliyā-arua-alitta' i.e., destroyer of indestructible fortress,<sup>4</sup> evidently for taking the impregnable fortress of Rājagambhīraṇḍamalai. He made gifts in the name of his father at Śāttampāḍi<sup>5</sup> and Peruvāḷūr,<sup>6</sup> both in the South Arcot District. He also figures as donor in an inscription from Saṭṭravēḍu in the Chittoor District.<sup>7</sup> The title 'Gaṇḍaragūḷi' assumed by him was also borne by a Sambavarāya chief.<sup>8</sup> There seems to have been a *maṭha* in existence at Maḍam itself named after Gaṇḍaragūḷi Mārāya-Nāyakkar.<sup>9</sup> His brother was Dharapi-Appar figuring in a record from Peruvāḷūr.<sup>10</sup>

The territorial division Appamāṇḍalap-paru was situated in the district of Palkuṇṇa-kōṭṭam,<sup>11</sup> in the sub-division *Śingapura-valanāḍu* included in Jayanḱaṇḍasōḷa-maṇḍalam.<sup>12</sup> It included the modern villages of Dēvaḷūr<sup>13</sup> and Gaṇḱapuram<sup>14</sup> in the Ginji taluk of the South Arcot District and may be taken as roughly comprising a portion of this taluk.

Rājagambhīraṇḍamalai has been identified with Paḍalvēḍu in the North Arcot District,<sup>15</sup> Ari<sup>16</sup> in the Cheyyar taluk and Dēvikāpuram<sup>17</sup> in the Arni division were situated close to it and Vaḱa-Mahāḱṣamaṇḍalam<sup>18</sup> in the Polur taluk was situated within its jurisdiction.

The *gōpura* in the second *prākāra* of the Tājākapurīśvara temple at Maḍam is said in our inscriptions to have been built by Gaṇḍaragūḷi Mārāya-Nāyaka in Śaka 1285, Śōbhakṛt; but in an inscription<sup>19</sup> dated in the next year Krōṭhi, corresponding to Śaka 1286, the walls of this *prākāra* are stated to have been raised by Tirmallikijān Nallakamḱaṇṭa Tēṇṇavarāyaṇ of Iṇḱāḱḱu. A record without date in the same *gōpura* mentions that this structure and the doorway were the gifts of Tūḱāḱḱār Āṇṇāḷār.<sup>20</sup> Probably this refers to the renovation or the completion of the *gōpura* referred to in our inscriptions.

## A

TEXT<sup>a</sup>

- 1 Śvaṭi [ ] \* Śrīman Mahāmaṇḱaḱṣavarān Harirāya-vībhāṭan (bhā)ṣaikkut-tappuvarāyaṇ-  
gaṇḱan Mūvarāyaṇ-gaṇ.
- 2 ḱan pūrva-paśchima samuḱrāḱḱpaṇ Śrī-Vīra-Bokkaṇ-Uḱaiyar kuṇḱarar Śrīmatu Kampāṇa-  
Uḱaiyar mah[ ] \* jpa-
- 3 ḱhāni Sōḱmaya-Daṇḱāyakkār kuṇḱarar Śrīmatu Gaṇḱaragūḷi Mārāya-Nāyakkar Veṇṇumaṇ-  
ḱaḱa-Sambavarāya-

<sup>1</sup> No. 221 of 1931-32.

<sup>2</sup> No. 226 of 1928.

<sup>3</sup> No. 236 of 1928.

<sup>4</sup> No. 391 of 1911.

<sup>5</sup> No. 728 of 1919 dated in Śaka 1285, Śōbhakṛt.

<sup>6</sup> No. 297 and 303 of 1928-29.

<sup>7</sup> No. 297 of 1928-29.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*, *Sup.* on *Epp.* for 1913, para. 32.

<sup>9</sup> No. 352 of 1912.

<sup>10</sup> No. 271 of 1919.

<sup>11</sup> No. 45 of 1922.

<sup>12</sup> No. 255 of 1934-35.

<sup>13</sup> No. 512 of 1937-38.

<sup>14</sup> No. 239 of 1901.

<sup>15</sup> No. 511 of 1937-38.

<sup>16</sup> No. 290 of 1919.

<sup>17</sup> No. 510 of 1937-38.

<sup>18</sup> No. 298 of 1912.

<sup>19</sup> No. 54 of 1933-34.

<sup>20</sup> No. 269 of 1919.

<sup>a</sup> No. 267 of 1919.

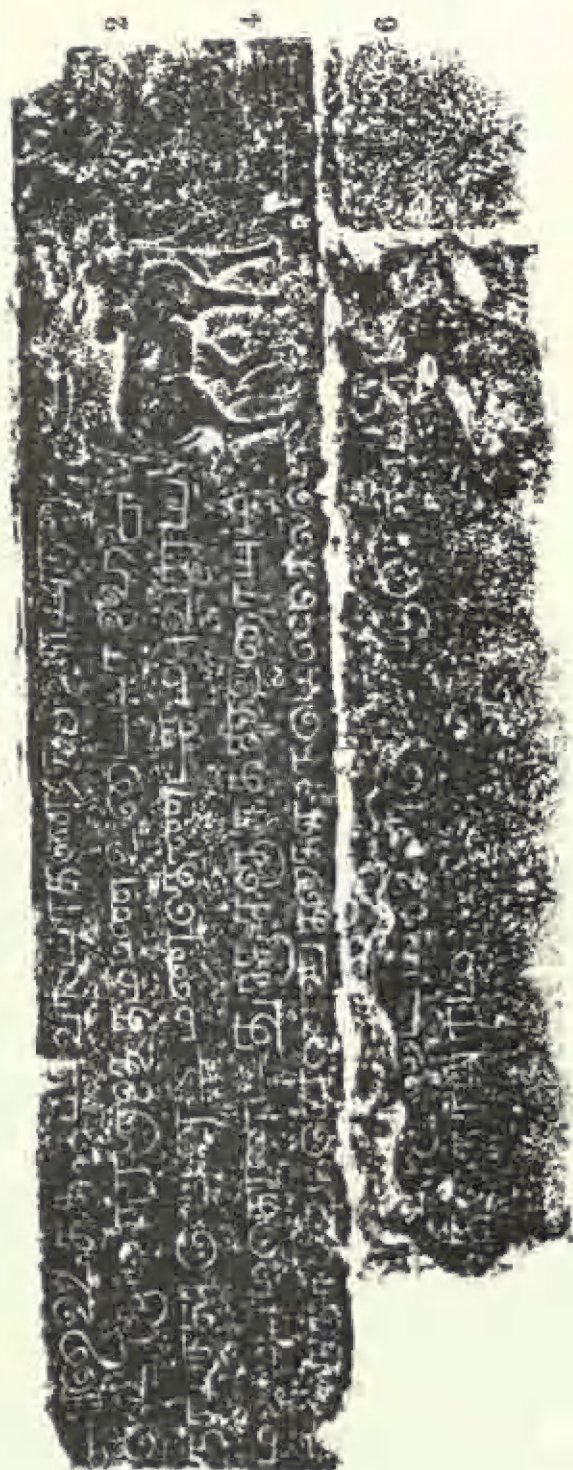


A

Left half



Right half





Left half



B

Right half





- 4 niyūm [jayi<sup>1</sup>]ttu kaippidiyāgap-piḍitta Irāḡagembīraḡ-malaiyum koṇḡaḡuḡka chandraditta-  
varaiyūm  
5 iella [k-kuḡu<sup>2</sup>]tta Appama[ḡga]lap-paru [i<sup>3</sup>] [Śakābd]am āyiratta-irunūḡḡu [yo<sup>4</sup>]uḡū-  
taiḡjinnēl iella-  
6 niura [Śōbho<sup>5</sup>]kṛit samvatserattu [Ku]ḡattūr Āḡuḡaiyār Tiruvagū[ēvara]muḡaiya-Mahādē-  
varikku iroḡḡā[m]  
7 [re<sup>6</sup>]kāratil paḡḡiḡa dharḡḡama Gaḡḡaragūḡi Māya-Nāyakkaḡ tīrak-kōparam<sup>7a</sup>.

## TRANSLATION

(Li.1 to 4) Hail ! Prosperity ! Śrīmat-Kampaṇa-Uḡaiyar, son of Śrī-Vīra-Bokkaṇ-Uḡaiyar, with the titles Śrīman-Mahāmaḡḡalēvaraṇ, Harirāya-vihhāṇ, Bhāḡhaikkut-tappuva-rāyara-  
gaḡḡan, Mūvarāyara-gaḡḡan and the lord of the eastern and western oceans, gave (the village)  
Appamaḡḡalapparru (to last) as long as the moon and the sun, to Śrīmat-Gaḡḡaragūḡi-Māya-  
Nāyaka, son of Sōmaya-Daḡḡāyaka, the mahāpradhāni, (as a reward) for having conquered and  
captured (alive) Vengraḡḡkoṇḡa Śamhavarāya (and) taken possession of (his stronghold) Rāja-  
gaḡḡiraḡmalai.

(Li.5 to 7) (This) sacred gōpura (called after) Gaḡḡaragūḡi-Māya-Nāyaka, in the second  
prākāra (of the temple) is the gift made (by him) in the (cyclic) year Śōbhakṛit which was current  
after Śaka 1285 to Tiruvagūḡēvaramuḡaiya-Mahādēva, the lord of Kuḡattūr.

## B

## TEXT \*

- 1 Pū-mēvu tās-aḡakam pūḡḡāḡat tīrmaḡḡandai tō mēvu mālai puḡai [m]ārbiḡ chīraṇ-  
2 ōlaḡḡa kēḡḡa dīḡai venguvataḡḡ cheyamaḡḡandai tō mēva veng-  
3 puḡai mēvalar[ḡa]-aḡi vaḡḡaḡa mēḡamali Vāḡḡiriy-ulaḡu puḡai varikkāḡ Bukkaḡa-  
4 ḡḡā kōḡamūḡi pōl vaḡḡaḡa Kampapaḡḡu koṇḡāḡa maḡḡalikar-āḡippa vayap-pulava[r]  
5 vaḡam pā[ḡa] [ka]ḡḡavarga[-aḡa maḡiḡak kōḡiniyi[ḡkāl] tīraḡ Champaa-araḡ palav-  
aḡittuḡ Champapaḡḡuḡ kaikkōḡ)  
6 ḡu vempariyal mōḡkoṇḡu vēḡḡḡḡ-aḡa koḡumb-aḡuttu taḡakkur niḡar tōḡḡa Sōmaya Daḡ-  
ḡāyakkaḡ maḡakkālīko[re<sup>8</sup>]ḡḡ-inidituppa maḡ-  
7 pūḡḡanda Māḡappaḡ maḡḡaimai neri tavaḡāḡa Mūvarāyara Gaḡḡḡan karamaliyūm verraḡakkaḡ  
kaḡḡi kaḡarḡ Gaḡḡaragūḡi kuru-  
8 ḡai v[re<sup>9</sup>]ḡi mudalāḡa kōḡiyāḡap-porḡa araḡa [maḡi<sup>10</sup>]ḡḡaiḡ puḡai-ḡū[-Appamaḡḡalap-parḡiḡ  
[va<sup>11</sup>]ḡḡanda Neḡḡumāl-ayan-av-Vāḡavar-  
9 kōḡ vandiḡḡinḡuḡ Kulaḡḡai Vajampatiḡ-āḡar kōḡamaliḡ-tāḡ vaḡḡḡi kaḡḡa gōpuraḡ kaḡḡu  
kaḡ-toḡḡ.  
10 pavar-aḡḡar-āḡuvar-aḡaivarun toḡavō<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The stone is slightly damaged here.

<sup>2</sup> The letters tōḡ, originally engraved, have been corrected on the stone into yō: yōḡḡōḡ-saiḡḡu is not the correct form: it must be yōḡḡḡaiḡḡu.

<sup>3</sup> Against li. 1 to 5 is engraved a fine bull in relief, facing the proper left, with a sword and crescent above and a lamp-stem in front of the animal.

<sup>4</sup> No. 288 of 1910.

<sup>5</sup> The word mēḡai is engraved below the line.

<sup>6</sup> The letter re is engraved below the line.

<sup>7</sup> To the proper right of this record is engraved the figure of a caparnced bull with a dagger in front, pointing downward.



## TRANSLATION

(Ll.1 to 5). While the goddess of prosperity who is resplendent on the lotus flower was adorning gracefully (*his*) chest wreathed with fragrant garlands, while (*he*) was conquering in all directions in which (*he*) proceeded, while the goddess of victory was seated on (*his*) shoulders, while (*his*) enemies worshipped at (*his*) feet, while Bukkapa who is praised by all the world (*girt round by*) the cloud-capped Vālagiri and Kampapa who bestows gifts like a rain cloud, showered their praises, while the feudal chiefs extolled (*him*), while great poets sang about (*his*) prowess, while all who saw were pleased, while *Kali* came to an end on the earth,

(Ll.5 to 6) (*he*) destroyed many fortresses of Champā, and captured Champā himself and mounted on a fierce steed, conquered many other petty chieftains,

(Ll.6) And, while Sāmaya-Daṣṣāyaka, who is equalled only by himself, was pleased in mind,

(Ll.7 to 8) (*he*), Mārappan, who protected the earth (*and who was called*) Mūvarīyara-gaṇḍan, who does not swerve from the path of justice (*and*) Gaṇḍaraṅgīlī whose broad palm wields a streaked javelin and whose feet have sounding (*anklets*), (*and*) who through the grace (*of the king*) had received as *kāṣṭhī* Aṅṅamaṅḡlap-parṇa surrounded by walls of red jewels,

(Ll.8 to 10) having worshipped at the beautiful flower-like feet of god *Īśa* at the fertile Kulandai, who is adored by the tall Viśṇu, god Brahmā and the lord of the celestials (*Indra*), built this *gōpura*.

Those that adore (*it*) will become immortals.

## APPENDIX

## SAMBUVARĀYA CHIEFS KNOWN SO FAR

For the sake of brevity the following abbreviations are used in the list given below.—*S.*—for Sambuvarāya, *N.*—for Nāḷayiravag, *Am.*—for Annaiyappan, *Seṅg.*—for Seṅgōi and Atti.—for Attimallan.

In the last column, references are to numbers and years of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*; thus 422/1922 refers to inscription No. 422 given in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1922.

For possible identification and study, different names adopted by chiefs are grouped together and shown below in sub-numbers a, b, c, etc. under each main number.

No.	Name of Chief.	Overlord.	Reign Year.	Equi- valent A. D. date.	Place.	References and Remarks.
1	Am. S. . . . .	Vikrama-Chōla . .	6	1123	Tiruvallam . .	232/1921.
a	Seṅg. S. N. Am. alias Rajendra- Sōla-S. of Munūntruppallu in Oyrik-aiḍu.	Ditto . . . . .	11	1129	Vāyalūr . . . .	422/1922. Begins with the introduction 'po-mādu paṇara'. The chief con- tented tanks, built temples and protected people from occasional dangers and thus won popular support.
b	Seṅg. N. Am. . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	15	1132-33	Madhurāntakam .	400/1922. Begins with the introduction 'Po-mādu paṇara'.
c	Seṅg. N. Am. alias Rajendrasōla- S. . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	16	1133	Śyamasagalam . .	63/1000.
	Ditto . . . . .	Kolātṛuṅga-Chōla II .	5	1138	Madam . . . . .	294/1919.
	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	8	1141	Dēvendr . . . .	298/1929.
	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	14	1146	Ditto . . . . .	302/1929.
d	Seṅg. Am. Am. alias Pāḷṇo- araiḍōla-S.	Rajaratja II . . . .	4	1150	Madam . . . . .	228/1919. Title N. omitted and Atti. used.
e	Seṅg. Atti. alias Rajendrasōla-S.	Rajadhiraja II . . .	11	1174	Ditto . . . . .	252/1919 and 100/1939-40. (Fide 3a below.)
f	Ediripāla-S. . . . .	Kuṭṭuṅga-Chōla II .	6	1139	Tirukkalukkuppan .	107/1932-33.
g	Am. Śyām Pālārādān alias Rajaratya-S.	Rajaratja II . . . .	10	1156	Munṇūr . . . . .	52/1910.
h	Ditto . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	13	1161	Āṇadamagalam .	428/1922. Begins with the introduction 'Pamaraviya'.



APPENDIX—*contd.*

No.	Name of Chief.	Overlord.	Regnal Year.	Equivalent A. D. date.	Place.	Reference and Remarks.
a	Rajaratayapa-S. of the Seng family.	Rajaraja II . . .	18	1164	Achutharapakam . . .	244/1901.
b	Seng. Am. Seng Pallavarandan alias Rajaratayapa-S.	Rajaratnaja II . . .	11	1174	Mangur . . .	71/1919.
c	Seng. Mudan Seng Pallavarandan alias S.	Ditto . . .	11	1174	Madam . . .	252/1919. Chief joins Seng. Am. alias Rajaratnaja-S. and Odavan alias Rajaratnaja-S. against Atiyandan alias Varamadaja-S. P. 22e 166/1930-40 and No. 5a below.
d	Seng. Mudan Seng Atti. S.	Kalottiranga-Chola II (*)	8	1141	Tiruvallam . . .	S. J. I., Vol. III, p. 121. His connection with 3a is not clear.
e	Mudan Seng. Am. alias Rajaratnaja-S.	Rajaraja II . . .	16	1161	Vayalur . . .	421/1923.
f	Seng. Am. S.	Rajaratnaja II . . .	4	1166	Tirupallivanam . . .	993/1923. Identification not clear.
g	Edirudaja-S.	Ditto . . .	5	1168	Arakkam . . .	20/1899.
h	Seng. Mudan Seng Am. alias S.	Ditto . . .	8	1171	Aravudamallur . . .	179/1935.
i	Seng. Mudan Atti. S.	Kalottiranga III . . .	8	1180	Tiruvallam . . .	301/1897; S. J. I., Vol. III, No. 60.
1	Atiyandan, son of Seng. Vindu- qan.	Rajaratnaja II . . .	4	1167	Tiruvallam . . .	70/1900; S. J. I., Vol. VII, No. 84.
2	Atiyandan alias Varamadaja-S.	Ditto . . .	11	1174	Madam . . .	Compact formed against the chief by (1) Seng. Mudan Seng Pallavarandan alias S. (2) Seng. Am. alias Rajaratnaja-S. and (3) Odavan alias Rajaratnaja-S. (vide 3 a above).

d	Am. Pāṇḍināḍu-kondān alias Kaṇḍar Sūryan-S.	Ditto . . .	7	1170	Tiruvakkaraḷ . . .	106/1904.
e	Song. Am. Pāṇḍi alias Rājārāja-S.	Rājāśāri Rājādhi-rāja II.	13	1176	Māṇḍēvūr . . .	222/1904. Mentions S.'s grandfathers Am. Kulāṇḍikkam who claims to have 'conquered the Pāṇḍya Country'.
f	Song. Am. . .	Vīraśāṇḍra-aḷḷaḍēva	2	1179	Tiruvotaiyūr . . .	60/1900 : S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 88. Identification not clear.
g	Am. Qandar Sūryan-S. 'who took the Pāṇḍya Country'.	{ Kulōttunga-Chōla III	2	1179	Tiruvakkaraḷ . . .	100/1904.
h	Am. Pāṇḍi alias Rājārāja-S.		10	1194	Ditto . . .	104/1904.
i	Am. Pāṇḍināḍu-kondān alias Rājārāja-S.	Pāṇḍiśāri Kulōttunga-Chōla.	4	1182	Brahmaḍāyam . . .	167/1918.
j	Am. Pāṇḍināḍu-kondān alias Rājārāja-S.	Ditto . . .	4	1182	Ditto . . .	170/1918. Astorian 'Aḍḍars' given for the chief.
k	Am. Pāṇḍināḍu-kondān Kaṇḍar Sūryan alias Rājārāja-S.	Vīraśāṇḍra-Chōla . . .	6	1184	Eppāḷyam . . .	345/1917.
l	Song. Am. Pāṇḍināḍu-kondān Chōḷaśāgāl alias Rājārāja-S.	Kulōttunga-Chōla III	12	1190	Acheharavākkam . . .	230/1901, S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 423.
m	Song. Am. Rājārāja-S. 'who took the Pāṇḍya Country'.	Ditto . . .	13	1191	Māṇḍēvūr . . .	223/1904. Two chiefs pledged themselves to be loyal to this chief.
n	Rājārāja-S. alias Gaṇḍar Sūryan.	Ditto . . .	14	1192	Pennampūr . . .	219/1902 : S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 849.
o	Am. Gaṇḍar-Sūryan alias S.	Ditto . . .	18	1196	Brahmaḍāyam . . .	182/1918; chief constructed the gopura.
p	Pāṇḍināḍu-kondān alias S.	Ditto . . .	27	1205	Tiruvaymālai . . .	610/1902 : S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 106. Chief enters into a pact with Song. Am. Vīraśāgāl alias Kōḷḷaḷḍa-S. and Am. Pāṇḍināḍu alias Kulōttunga-aḷḷa-S. and seven others against three chiefs (See No. 86 before).
q	Song. Am. Rājārāja-S.	Rājārāja III . . .	13	1229	Mangūr . . .	67/1919. This record extends the life of the chief to over 60 years, if he is taken as identical with No. 6. The omission of the title 'Pāṇḍināḍu-kondān' must be noted.



## APPENDIX—contd.

No.	Name of Chief.	Overlord.	Regnal Year.	Equivalent A. D. date.	Place.	Reference and Remarks.
7	Śaṅg. Am. alias Kappadāya-Perumal alias Vikramaditya-S.	Kuluttunga-Chola III.	10	1188	Ammundil near Virinchipuram.	<i>S. I. I.</i> , Vol. I, p. 130.
a	Ditto	Ditto	10	1188	Solapuram	343/1912, vide also <i>S. I. I.</i> , Vol. III, p. 208.
	Ditto	Ditto	11	1189	Tiruvallam	<i>S. I. I.</i> , Vol. III, No. 61.
	Ditto	Ditto	12	1191	Tiruvalluvalai	653/1902.
	Ditto	Ditto	12	1191	Tiruvalluvalai	422/1921.
	Ditto	Ditto	13	1191	Kāṇḍiṭṭuram	620/1919.
b	Śaṅg. Am. Vikramāditya alias Vikramaditya-S.	Ditto	12	1190	Kāvērippakkam	403/1905. Chief probably same as Viramāditya against whom a plot was formed, by Śaṅgeṭai Māṇḍan Śiyan in 3-a above; 252/1919.
c	Śaṅg. Am. Atti. alias Vikramaditya-S.	Ditto	20	1198	Chengam	115/1900: <i>S. I. I.</i> , Vol. VII, No. 127. Chief enters into a compact with Karikalaśōla Adāyār Nāḍiṭṭēṭṭi mentioned below for concerted action, either friendly or otherwise, towards Pirandā-Perumal alias Rājaraṅga Adigalman.
	Ditto	[No king]	-	-	Ditto	107/1900: <i>S. I. I.</i> , Vol. VII, No. 119. Compact between (1) Vikramaditya-S. (2) Karikalaśōla-Adāyār Nāḍiṭṭēṭṭi and (3) Viṇḍadāyā-Perumal alias Rājaraṅga Adigalman against (1) Viṇḍavarkar (2) Śiyan Gaṅgar and (3) sons of Kuluttungaśōla-S. One condition of the compact was all to recognize the territorial boundary of each as it stood in the time of Rājaraṅga Adigalman.
8	Śaṅg. Viṇḍiṭṭan Atti. alias Kuluttungaśōla-S.	Kuluttunga-Chola III.	11	1189	Madam	254/1919. Compact with Kōḍal Andan-ṭṭāyāṇ Alappirudān alias Kāḍavarāya against Alappirudān-ṭṭāyāṇ.





APPENDIX—*contd.*

No.	Name of Chief.	Overlord.	Regnal Year.	Equivalent A. D. date.	Place.	Reference and Remarks.
d	Song. Virabani Am. Tappalavutten Tappalakkattoran Alagiyadai alias Edirillai S.	Rajaraja III . . .	22 and 8, 1160	1238	Viridhichipuram . . .	S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 60.
e	Virabani Am. Alagiyadai/60 alias Edirillai S.	Ditto . . .	24 and 8, 1161	1239	Ditto . . .	Ibid., No. 61.
12	Song. Am. Vanniyapayan S. .	Tribhuvannavradaiya .	36	1215	Ilambayagottur . . .	234/1910; S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 849. Refers to a former gift by the chief. Title Vanniyapayan, i.e., chief of Vanniyas, was assumed by Periya-Udaiyan Sarva-kudadan (171/1936).
13	Alagiyadayan S. . . . .	Ditto . . .	35	1213	Tiruvannaimalur . . .	S. I. I., Vol. XII, No. 170. This record was reemployed in the 11th year of Kopperunjiladaiya.
a	Song. Alagiyadayan, son of S. Palarvudai.	Rajaraja III . . .	18	1228	Tiruvottiyur . . .	106/1912; Probably son of No. 3 above.
b	Alagiyadai alias Alagiyadai S. son of Palarvudai Edirillai S. son of the Songai chief.	Ditto . . .	15	1231	Machurankam . . .	363/1922.
14	Tribhuvannavtra S. . . . .	Rajaraja III . . .	14	1230	Ditto . . .	406/1922.
15	Song. Viraperumal alias Kubittungak S.	Ditto . . .	17	1233	Vajurur . . .	37/1908; cf. No. 8 above.
16	Viradaiyan Atai S. alias Edirillai S.	Ditto . . .	19	1235	Tiruvannaimalur . . .	63/1902; S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 142.

a	S. Virasam	Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla	16	1200	Tiruppuṭṭu	100/1016
17	Att. Samutukula-Perumal alias Rājarambhara-S.	Rājārāja III	20	1236	Tirumalai	S. I. I., Vol. I, pp. 165, 168, Founded Gaṇḍabūda-chaturvīṅśatīnagalam.
18	Viraperumal Alappiramanāyan alias Rājārāja-S., grandson of Songera Viragamu Am.	Rājārāja	22	1245	Little Kūñel	200/1914. Probably grandson of No. 19 above.
a	Pillaiyār Rājārāja-S.	Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla	8	1258	Atti	302/1912.
b	Alappiraman alias Rājārāja-S.	Ditto	18	1268	Ditto	302/1912.
c	Alappiraman alias-S.	[No king]	..	..	Perumgar	353/1923. Chief revives festival instituted by Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla.
19	Sōng Att. Am.	Vira Rājendra-Chola	2	1247	Tiruvottiyār	80/1900; S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 88.
20	Alagōya Pallavan Edirūṭṭa-S.	Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla	3	1253	Tiruvallam	S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 123.
21	Samutukulaṭṭaṭṭa-S. Vira-Chempu	Saṭṭagōpavarman alias Tribh. Vikrama-Pādya.	8	1257	Tiruppuṭṭu	52/1900; 183/1916. Instituted 'Vira Chaturvīṅśatī', S's. star-Aṣṭyam.
22	Sondara-Pādya-S.	Jat. Sundara-Pādya	17	1268(?)	Kalaiyal	232/1901. Inscription begins with 'Sa-manta jagadīdharā'.
23	Kulittanagōḷa-S. alias Alagiyaden.	Tribh. Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla.	19	1269	Tirubayen-kōttir	230/1916.
24	Sōṭṭapāḷa alias-S. of Vīṭṭa-kāṇḍi in Maṭṭu, a district of Maṇḍānanagalam.	Jatavarman Vira-Viṅḍya.	21	1274	Kalaiyār	104/1918. Probably the Pādya king in this case who ruled from A. D. 1253 to 1278; Vide No. 11 above.
25	Koṭṭakura-S.	Vira-Pādya	19 + 11 + 15 = 45	..	Pallikonda Ditto Ditto Ditto	458/1925. 466/1925; 467/1925. 466/1925. 469/1925.
		Vira-Pādya	22 + 148 = 170	..	Tiruvottiyār	92/1900.
		....	22 + 144 = 166	1803	Pallikonda	409/1925.
		....	25 (with astro-nomical details)		Vōṭṭi	77/1906. Gives the 25th regnal year of Kuladharā-S. Rājāraja for a festival called 'Seyyārṭṭi-veṅṇaṭṭu'.



APPENDIX—*contd.*

No.	Name of Chief	Overlord	Regnal Year	Equi- valent A. D. date	Place	References and Remarks
		Vira-Pādya Māra-varman Pādya	25 31st year and Śaka 1230 (with antero- moned de- tail),	1318	Uttamōḍr Virāchipuram	199/1923. 177/1040. Māra-varman is a mistake for Jagad-varman.
26	Vira-Champaka S.	Mira-Tribh. Sunda- Pādya	12	1318	Tiruvottiyūr	97/1900. The Pādya king was evidently Jag. Simhara-Pādya. TL
"	Vira-Champa, son of Vira-Chōlo	"	Śaka 1236	1314	Tiruvallam and Co- jannam.	<i>Ep. Ind.</i> , Vol. III, p. 70 f. His connection with the Sambavarādya is not clear.
27	Vijayamācharya S. called Eṇṇa- mānūthian ( <i>Ep. Dep.</i> for 1923-34, p. 36).	[Quoted his own years]	Latest year 18	1322 to 1330	Kāñchi and other places.	Initial date fixed by 20/1933-34. Last year is 46/1009 and 48/1021.
28	Mallināthan Rajanārāyaṇa S.	Ditto	0, 16, 18 and 19 years known.	"	Gudalur, Pijai- palyam, Kāvam, Thuthālur Kōdungalūr.	300/1903 of Kāmmen from Kāvērup- pāṭam refers to Mallinātha. 494/1900 : 86/1021 : 434/1925 and 139/1924. Elder brother of No. 29 below. <i>Ep. Dep.</i> for 1934, p. 36. Patron of the Tamil poets, Iṅṇaiyār.
29	Rajanārāyaṇa S.	[Own years]	Latest 24 and possibly 28 (102/1900)	1337 to 1362- 63	"	Initial year fixed by 30/1866 and 42/1909. Younger brother of No. 28 above. Ref. to Mahamadan invasions in his re- cords (203/1013). Called also Poṅḍi- Tambēyan (33/1933-34).
30	Poṅḍiyan Uḍḍaragunārāyaṇa S.	Ditto	5	"	Tiruthiūr	434/1928. This is a record of Rajanārāyaṇa Mānūthian S., wherein the 6th year of the chief is quoted.

## No. 29—A NOTE ON THE PONNUTURU PLATES OF GANGA SAMANTAVARMAN

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

In the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 236 f. I have examined in detail several early Gāṅga dates and showed that the Gāṅga era commenced on *amānta* Chaitra śu. di. 1 in the expired Śaka year 420 (the 14th March A. D. 498).<sup>1</sup> Since my article was sent for publication, Mr. Somasekhara Sarma also has examined that question. According to him the era commenced in the Śaka year 426-27 or A. D. 504-05 some time between June and January. He did not fix the exact starting point of the era, but tried to prove that the months of the Gāṅga year were *pūrvaṃśanta*.<sup>2</sup> Recently Mr. Sarma has published the Ponnūtūru plates of the Gāṅga king Sāmantavarman, dated Gn. 64. As these plates contain some data for calculation, one would have expected Mr. Sarma to calculate their date in the light of the epoch fixed by him, and to give its equivalent in the Śaka or the Christian era. He has not, however, done so. I therefore propose to examine this date to see how far it agrees with the epoch of the era fixed by me.

The Ponnūtūru plates<sup>3</sup> record a grant by the Gāṅga king Sāmantavarman in the year 64, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana or Makara-saṅkrānti. The date on which the plates were actually issued is given at the end as the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Pūshya. According to the epoch fixed by me, the expired Gāṅga year should correspond to Ś. 484 (A. D. 562-63). Now, the Makara-saṅkrānti in Ś. 484 occurred 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the 20th December A. D. 562. The *tithi*, Pūshya śu. di. 13, in the same year ended 10 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on the 24th December A. D. 562. The plates were thus issued 4 days after the grant was made. This appears quite likely. The date of the Ponnūtūru plates thus corroborates the epoch of the Gāṅga era fixed by me.

On the other hand, this date disproves the other epochs proposed for this era, viz. A. D. 494 by Mr. Subba Rao, A. D. 496 by the late Mr. J. C. Ghosh, A. D. 497 by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao and A. D. 504-05 by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma. I state below in a tabular form the date of the Uttarāyana and that corresponding to Pūshya śu. di. 13 in the Gāṅga year 64.<sup>4</sup>

In all these cases the Uttarāyana or Makara-saṅkrānti occurred some days after Pūshya śukla trayodśī and so the grant made on the occasion of the saṅkrānti could not have been recorded on that *tithi* in any of these years.

In his article on the Gāṅga era as well as in that on the Ponnūtūru plates Mr. Sarma has drawn attention to certain dates of the era which, according to him, are recorded in *pūrvaṃśanta* months. On the other hand I have shown in my article on the epoch of the era that the following three dates are recorded in *amānta* months—

## Gāṅga Year 64

Proposed Epoch of the Era	Date of Uttarāyana	Date corresponding to Pūshya śu. di. 13.
A. D. 494	20th December A. D. 558	9th December A. D. 558
A. D. 496	19th December A. D. 560	16th December A. D. 560
A. D. 497	19th December A. D. 561	5th December A. D. 561
A. D. 504	19th December A. D. 568	18th December A. D. 568

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently I showed that the date of the Tekkal plates of Anantavarman (above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 f.) also corroborates that epoch. See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Coll.*, Vol. IX, pp. 141 f.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 210 f.

<sup>4</sup> I have calculated these dates according to the Arya Siddhānta with the help of the tables in S. K. Pillay's *India Epimeris*.



(1) Santa-Bennāli plates of Nandavarman, son of Anantavarman I—Gn. 221, Āshāḍha dina pañchamī, with a solar eclipse in an unspecified month. There was a solar eclipse in amānta Jyeshṭha in Ś. 641 (corresponding to the expired Gn. year 221). The wording of the date shows that the month Āshāḍha was amānta.

(2) Indian Museum plates of Dhvāndravarman<sup>1</sup>—Gn. 308, with a solar eclipse in Māgha. There was a solar eclipse in amānta Māgha in Ś. 728 (corresponding to the expired Gn. 308).

(3) Poṣṭūru plates of Vajrahasta, son of Kāmāryava<sup>2</sup>—Gn. 500, Āshāḍha-māsa dina 5, Ādityavāra. This date regularly corresponds to Śaka 919, Sunday, the 13th June A. D. 997 which was Āshāḍha en. di. 5. The wording of this date shows that the month Āshāḍha had commenced only four days before, with the bright fortnight, i.e., it was amānta.

These three dates clearly indicate that the months of the Gāṅga year were amānta. On the other hand, Mr. Sarma has drawn attention to some other dates which in his opinion are recorded in *pūrṇimānta*<sup>3</sup> months. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss this question at some length to determine whether the months of the Gāṅga year were generally amānta or *pūrṇimānta*.

The only dates of the Gāṅga year which we need consider in this connection are those which mention a *tithi* in the dark fortnight of a month in connection with a solar eclipse, the autumnal or the vernal equinox or a week-day. Some other dates, whether of the bright or the dark fortnight, in which the *tithi* first mentioned in words is again expressed in the number of days at the end may also throw light on this question. On the other hand, if the *tithi* is not connected with a solar eclipse, an equinox or a week-day, but is mentioned at the end as denoting the date of the issue of the plates, it will be of no avail; for, plates were often issued several days, if not months, after the grants recorded in them were made.<sup>4</sup> With these preliminary observations, we shall proceed to consider the relevant dates of the Gāṅga era—

Mr. Somasekhara Sarma has drawn attention to the following dates which according to him are in *pūrṇimānta* months—

(1) Ponnūṭūru plates of Sīmantavarman<sup>5</sup>—Gn. 64. In this record the *tithi* when the plates were issued is given first in words as *Puṣya-śukla-pakṣa-trayodāśī-dinam* in l. 26 and again in figures in line 29 as *Puṣya-dina 28*. This shows that the month Puṣya was *pūrṇimānta*.

(2) Uṛḷam plates of Hastivarman<sup>6</sup>—Gn. 87. In this record the *tithi* when the grant was made is given in words in l. 13 as *Kārttika-kṛishṇa-śasthamī* and the same date is expressed in figures in l. 23 as *Kārttika-dina 8*. This indicates that the month of Kārttika commenced with a dark fortnight.

These two dates are undoubtedly in *pūrṇimānta* months as stated by Mr. Sarma; but the same cannot be said of the other two dates cited by him.

(3) Takkali plates of Dhvāndravarman<sup>7</sup>—Gn. 192. These plates record a grant made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The date when the plates were issued is given at the end as *Māgha-*

<sup>1</sup> J. A. H. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 185 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 f. and Vol. XXVI, p. 329.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XI, pp. 12 and 147.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 217 f.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., the dates of the Chinese plates of Indravarman (*Iud. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 119 f.), the Puri plates of Indravarman (*above*, Vol. XIV, pp. 361 f.) and Chinese plates of Dhvāndravarman (*Ibid.* Vol. III, pp. 130 f.)

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 214 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 232 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Iud. Hist. Queri.*, Vol. XI, pp. 261 f.



*mās-dinaś trīśatimś*, i.e., the 30th day of Māgha. Mr. Sarma supposes that the eclipse occurred on the day mentioned at the end, but of this there is no indication in the plates. As Mr. Sarma has himself observed, 'the charters in some cases at least were issued long after the actual date of the grant. This shows that the donee was in possession of the land or *agrahāra* given to him from the date of the actual grant and the royal charter recording the gift was given him some time later—after a lapse of some months (or even years)'.<sup>1</sup> The same seems to have happened in the case of the Tekkali plates of Dēvēndravarmān. According to the epoch of A. D. 498, about the general correctness of which there should now be no doubt, the Gn. year 192 should correspond to A. D. 690. In that year there were two lunar eclipses—one in Jyēsthā and the other in Mārgaśīrṣa, but none in Māgha. The expression *Māgha-trīśatimś*<sup>2</sup> need not therefore signify Māgha *pūrṇimā*; it may as well denote Māgha *amāntagā*. This date does not therefore indicate that the month of Māgha mentioned in the Tekkali plates was *pūrṇimā*.

(4) Siddhāntam plates of Dēvēndravarmān<sup>3</sup>—Gn. 195. These plates record in line 14 a grant made on the occasion of the Dakṣiṇāyana or Karkāṭaka-sankrānti. No *tithi* is mentioned in connection with it; but at the end in l. 29 is mentioned *Śrāvṇa-kṛishṇa-dina-pañchamī* as the date on which the charter was made over to the donee. There is no indication in the record that this was also the date of the Dakṣiṇāyana. There is thus no basis for Mr. Sarma's statement that 'the Dakṣiṇāyana referred to in the text of the grant must have occurred on the 5th day of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimā* Śrāvṇa in 195 G. E.'. As in the case of the Ponnuday of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimā* Śrāvṇa in 195 G. E.<sup>4</sup> As in the case of the Ponnuplātes of Sāmāntavarmān dated Gn. 64 and the Achyutapuram plates<sup>5</sup> of Indravarmān II, dated Gn. 87, the Siddhāntam plates of Dēvēndravarmān dated Gn. 195 may have been issued some days after the grant was made. According to my epoch of the Gāṅga era, the Dakṣiṇāyana in the expired Gn. Year 195 occurred 3 h. 20 m. on the 22nd June A. D. 693 and the *amānta* Śrāvṇa *kṛishṇa* 5 ended on the 28th July A. D. 693. This date does not therefore go against the epoch fixed above; nor does it indicate that the month Śrāvṇa mentioned in it was *pūrṇimā*.

There are thus only two dates of the Gāṅga era which are recorded in the *pūrṇimā* months. As against this, in three dates cited before, the *amānta* reckoning is unmistakably noticed. This mixture of *amānta* and *pūrṇimā* months in the dates of the Gāṅga era is not surprising; for the same thing is noticed in the case of other eras also. Kielhorn has, for instance, observed after examining several dates of the Vikrama era that the southern (*Kārttikā*) year of that era was joined with the *pūrṇimā* as often as with the *amānta* scheme. The dates of the Śaka era are generally in *amānta* months, but Kielhorn noticed that in the case of one date, (viz., the Hyderabad plates of Pulakāśin II), the *pūrṇimā* scheme had been used.<sup>6</sup> I have shown elsewhere that the months of the Kalachuri year were generally *amānta* in Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt and *pūrṇimā* in Central India and Chhattisgarh, but in exceptional cases the other scheme also is seen to have been used.<sup>7</sup> The same seems to have occurred in the case of the Gāṅga era also.

It will be noticed that the *pūrṇimā* scheme has been used in two of the earliest grants of the Gāṅga era, while the *amānta* scheme has been adopted in some later ones. The reason for this is

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, p. 142, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 213 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, p. 147. If the Dakṣiṇāyana occurred on the *pūrṇimā* Śrāvṇa *va. di. 5* in A. D. 699, it was a minor coincidence. The *pūrṇimā* scheme is wholly inapplicable in the case of the dates cited above, on p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> These plates were granted on the Udayyana, but were issued on Chaitra *amāntagā*. The Udayyana or Uthirayana could not have occurred in Chaitra.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 272.

<sup>6</sup> *A. B. O. R. I.* Vol. XXVII, pp. 22 f.



not hard to find. According to some scholars the Gāṅgas of Kaliṅga hailed from Karpātaka where the Śaka era was in vogue. As Kielhorn has shown, the months of the Śaka era were generally *amānta* and very rarely *pārvanānta*. Besides, the prevailing custom in Karpātaka in the early centuries of the Christian era seems to have been to use the *amānta* scheme. Very few early inscriptions from Karpātaka contain any data necessary for the verification of the dates mentioned in them, but there is one record which affords a clue. The Saṅgōḷī plates<sup>1</sup> of Harivarman record a grant made on the occasion of the Viśhva on the new-moon day of Āvriṃa. The mention of Viśhva or Tulā-sākrānti in the dark fortnight of Āvriṃa shows that the month was *amānta*. Harivarman flourished in A. D. 526 or 545. So the Saṅgōḷī plates belong to about the same period as the commencement of the Gāṅga era and may be taken to indicate the custom of reckoning of lunar months prevailing in Karpātaka. If the Gāṅgas originally hailed from Karpātaka, they may have commenced their era on *amānta* Chaitra śu. di. 1. The custom prevailing in Kaliṅga may have been to use the *pārvanānta* scheme as it certainly was in the neighbouring country of Dakṣiṇa Kōśala.<sup>2</sup> The Gāṅgas following this custom seem to have dated some of their early records according to the *pārvanānta* scheme. Later on, however, they adopted the *amānta* scheme with which they were familiar in their home province.<sup>3</sup> Hence we find that in all later records of the Gāṅga era, the months are reckoned according to the *amānta* scheme.

### No. 30—INTWA CLAY SEALING

(I. Plate)

B. CH. CHURRA, OOTACAMUND

The ancient site of Intwā is situated on a hill, in the midst of a thick jungle, about three miles from the famous rock at Jūnāgaḥ in Saurāṣṭra, that contains inscriptions of Aśoka, Rudradāman and Skandagupta. The name Intwā owes its origin to the fact that the site has since long been yielding bricks (in/s) in abundance.

During the winter of 1949, the Government of Saurāṣṭra had a small-scale excavation conducted here under the direction and supervision of Mr. G. V. Acharya, once the Curator of the Archaeological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. He has laid bare remains of a couple of Buddhist monasteries. One finds that their pavements, walls, drains and platforms were all made of bricks of extra large size. In plan, they closely resemble those exposed at Taxila. Further diggings at Intwā must yield many more antiquities.

Mr. Acharya has collected an assortment of relics from this site in the shape of tiles, terracotta, pottery, beads and the like, but no inscription. The only inscribed object found there is a baked clay sealing. It is now housed in the local museum at Jūnāgaḥ along with the other Intwā antiquities.

In November 1950, I happened to visit Jūnāgaḥ in the course of my official tour that side. I then had an opportunity of examining the sealing in question. Similar clay sealings have been

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 163 f.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., the date of the Lōḍhīa plates of Mahā-Śivagupta Ballarjuna, *Journal of the Kailasa Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, p. 121. The title *Kārtika-purnamās* is again expressed as *Kārtika dīna 20*, which shows that the month was *pārvanānta*. Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 323, text line 32.

<sup>3</sup> In the same way the Early Chālukyas of Bidāmi continued to use the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era, which was previously current in Mahārāṣṭra, for some years after they conquered the country from the Kalachuris, but later on they gradually introduced there the Śaka era with which they had been familiar in their home province: *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXVII p. 43.

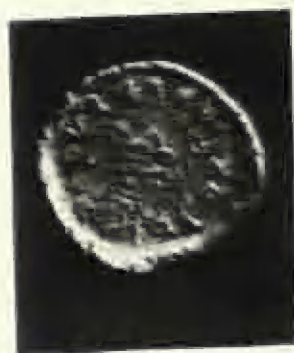
# INTWA CLAY SEALING



Enlarged Photograph



Pencil Rubbing



Photograph





found in their hundreds at various ancient sites in the Uttar Pradesh such as Rājghāt near Banāras.

The Intwā sealing is almost round in shape and about an inch in diameter. In the centre it has what is commonly called the *chaitya* symbol. Along the margin it has a legend in Brāhmī characters, running the entire course. It begins at 3 O' clock. The mixed letters are a little worn out. Mr. Acharya had succeeded in reading a part of the legend; but it still remained a riddle. Luckily it yielded to my examination and revealed its full text to me, which is:

*Mahārāja Rudrasēna-vihāre bhikkhu-saṅghasya*

It means that the seal 'belongs to the congregation of friars at the Mahārāja Rudrasēna Monastery.'

This short record on the sealing is of great historical importance. The Mahārāja Rudrasēna spoken of herein is obviously one of those Kahatrapas who were descendants of Chastana and who ruled in Saurāshṭra and in the neighbouring regions from the 2nd to the 4th century A. C. There were four rulers of the name of Rudrasēna in this dynasty, and it is not possible at this stage to say definitely as to which one is meant here, though the palaeography of the legend would make him Rudrasēna I, who was a son of Rudrasinha I and whose reign-period is known to be 199-222 A. C.<sup>1</sup>

The present sealing is the only record so far discovered that shows that this Rudrasēna built a monastery for Buddhist monks at Jūnāgadh—a natural inference from the name it bore: *Mahārāja-Rudrasēna-Vihāra*. Further light is expected to be thrown on his activities as a patron of Buddhism when more relics will come to light from the Intwā site.

Recently Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel has published an interesting paper on the Seals of Buddhist Monasteries in Ancient India, in which he has discussed similar *bhikkhu-saṅgha* seals from Kasi, Sāmāth, etc.<sup>2</sup> To that list we may now add the Intwā sealing. And this one would be the earliest of the lot.<sup>3</sup>

## No. 31—ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF ANANTASAKTIVARMAN

(1 Plate)

R. Subrahmanyam, Viśakhapatnam.

On receipt of a report from the village officers of Andhavaram, that an urn, containing four sets of copper plates with inscriptions, was accidentally exposed by some cowherds of that village while playing, I visited the village on 27th February 1951. Messrs. Ramachandramurthy and Rajarao, the village officers, took me to the findspot, and were kind enough to permit me to carry the plates to Viśakhapatnam, for study and publication. Andhavaram is a small village in the Nannapeta taluk of the Srikakulam District, Madras State. It is situated on the left bank of the Varuadhārā river. It is about twelve miles from Chicacole Road Railway Station. There are two

<sup>1</sup> See E. J. Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kahatrapas, etc., in Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1906, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Centenary Volume (1945-1946), New Series Vol. I, pp. 27-32.

<sup>3</sup> [As this paper was going through the press, information was received of the discovery of two more similar clay sealings of Buddhist monasteries, one from Kosam, ancient Kaṣṭhāhl, and the other from Kurnahār, ancient Pataliputra. The former belongs to the congregation of friars at the Ghāṣṭhī dharma, while the latter pertains to the congregation of friars at Arāja viṣṭhā.—Ed.]



mounds in the south-east part of the village, on one of which there is a big banyan tree. The urn containing the plates was discovered just at the foot of this tree. The plates were suspended by means of an iron rod inserted across the deliberately broken rim of the urn and are in a good state of preservation.<sup>1</sup> The urn itself is of red earthenware and has a wide circular mouth. It had a hemispherical lid. The copper plates were preserved inside the urn in paddy-husk. This method of preserving copper-plate grants is known from some other cases as well.<sup>2</sup> There were, in all, four sets of copper plates. Each set consists of three plates held together by means of a thick ring, the two ends of which are securely soldered under a seal bearing the *lāchhana* of the respective royal donor.

The earliest of the four records is edited here. Each of its three plates measure  $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{3}{4}'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$ . Its copper ring is circular, 4'' in diameter, and seal elliptical ( $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$ ). The legend on it is badly worn out, though four lines of writing are traceable. The writing is enclosed within straight lines of which there are four running across the breadth of the oval surface. Above the legend, at the top, are figured a dot and a crescent which stand respectively for a star (or sun) and the moon.

The plates do not have raised rims, but still the writing on them is in a fair state of preservation. The first side of the first plate alone is left blank. The ring had to be cut by me for taking impressions. The plates together with the ring weigh 102 *tolas*, the ring alone weighing 67 *tolas*.

The script of the inscription is Brāhmī of the southern type and bears close resemblance to the archaic characters adopted in the grants<sup>3</sup> of the kings of Kalinga of the 5th and 6th centuries. Attention may be drawn to the peculiar type of the serif of the letters which is indicated by a dot or dots as the case may be. In this feature it closely resembles the script of the Rāgōla plates of Śaktivarman.<sup>4</sup> The language is Sanskrit and except for the two benedictory verses quoted from Mann and Vyāsa, at the end (lines 14-17), the inscription is in prose. The final *m* is smaller in size and is often engraved below the line; e.g., *kartavyam* in line 12; consonants are doubled in conjunction with a superscript *r* as in *varmma* in line 5, etc. Except for one or two mistakes of the engraver, the inscription reads all right. The numeral symbols for 10, 5 and 4 are given in the date portion of the grant. The name of the lunar month and the day are also given. Of the two place-names given in the inscription—Vijayapura and Āndōroppa,<sup>5</sup> the latter appears to be the ancient name of Andhavaram, the Rudrapur of the inscription. I am not able to identify the other place, Vijayapura.

The inscription belongs to the king Mahārāja Ananta-Śaktivarman of the Māthara family (line 5) and is issued from Vijayapura, where the king was camping with his army (*hasty-avasthādhārit*). It records the donation made by the king of the village of Āndōroppa converted into an *agrahāra*, free of all taxes, to the very *brāhmaṇa* families belonging to various *gōtras* and *charakas* to whom, earlier, the village had been granted by Aryyaka-Śaktibhāṭṭarāka-pāda who had conquered the celestial beings by the incessant practice of *Dharma* as ordained.

<sup>1</sup> A photograph of the urn with the four sets of plates suspended from the ead in their original position was published in some of the English dailies, announcing the discovery. See, for instance, the *Mail* and the *Hindu* (both of Madras), respectively, of the 11th and the 14th April 1931.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, see above, Vol. XXVII, p. 263 and n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Rāgōla plates of Śaktivarman, above, Vol. XII, pages 1 ff. and plate 2; Rāṭhaprāsthā grant of Umayarman, above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff. and plate 2; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 53; Sakayaka grant of Ananta-Śaktivarman, C. P. No. 21 of 1934-35. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, was kind enough to send me a set of estampages of this last mentioned inscription, the facsimiles of which have not yet been published, for purposes of comparison, for which I am highly obliged to him.

<sup>4</sup> Above, XII, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kīṇḍōppa of the Śrīngavarapukūṭa plates of Anantavarman (above, Vol. X XIII, p. 57).



The king is described as a devout worshipper of the lotus-fee of the god Nārāyaṇa whose chest was embraced by Kamalanīlayā (i.e., Lakṣmī), as an ornament to Māthara-kula, and as the inheritor of the body, kingdom prosperity and prowess through the devotion to the feet of the venerable Lord, the father (*Bayya-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasād-āpta-jarira-rājya-vihara-pratāpaḥ*). The executor or *Ajñāpti* of the grant was one Mahādandanāyaka (Commander-in-chief) and the record was written by Mātipirata who was both *Dandanāyaka* and *Dvālokaḥapataladhikṛita* (Record-keeper of the *dēśa* or District!).

Ananta-Śaktivarman is already known to us by a record<sup>1</sup> issued by him from his capital *Siṅhapura* which registers the grant of the village Sakuṇaka in the Varāhavartani *vīchaya* to the *brāhmaṇa* brothers Nāgakarman and Duggakarman in the 28th year of his reign, but no complete account of the Māthara family and the part played by them in the history of Kalinga is available. During the confusion that followed the invasion of Samudragupta, many new dynasties rose into prominence in Kalinga and of those the Māthara family appears to have acquired paramount sway over the whole of Kalinga. Śaktivarman, the founder of the dynasty, seems to have annexed the kingdom of Piṣṭapura, supplanting Mahendra<sup>2</sup> or one of his successors.

The Rāgōlu<sup>3</sup> charter describes Śaktivarman as an ornament of Mīgadha(Māthara<sup>4</sup>)-kula and Lord of Kalinga. He had also the matronymic name Vāishṭhīputra, perhaps copied from the Śātavāhanas or Ikshvākus. But no definite information is available about the successors of Śaktivarman. But it can be presumed from the Sakuṇaka grant of Ananta-Śaktivarman that the Māthara family lost its hold in the Gōḍavari region where Piṣṭapura (i.e., Piṭhāpuram) was situated and its sway was confined to North Kalinga with Siṅhapura as its capital. About 7 records (excluding the plates under review) pertaining to the successors of Śaktivarman of Rāgōlu plates have so far been discovered. They are: Sakuṇaka grant<sup>5</sup> of Mahārāja of Ananta-Śaktivarman, the Tiritthāṇa<sup>6</sup> grant (Bobbili plates) and the Kōmarti<sup>7</sup> plates of Chandavarman, the Dhavalapēṭa plates,<sup>8</sup> the Brihatprishāṭhī<sup>9</sup> and the Astihavēra<sup>10</sup> grants of Mahārāja Umavarman and the Koroshandī<sup>11</sup> plates of Mahārāja Viśākhavarman. In view of the close resemblances of styles adopted in the *pralasti* portion of these grants and the invariable appearance of the title *pitrībhaṭṭaḥ* or 'devout worshipper of the father' in some form or other in all these grants, in spite of no specific reference being made to Māthara-kula in a few among them, it has been surmised that all the kings figuring in these charters belonged to one and the same family,<sup>12</sup> though it is difficult to establish a definite chronological relationship.

By inference it has been established that Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates was the ancestor of Ananta-Śaktivarman and on grounds of palaeography a time-lapse of a hundred years has been allowed between the records of these two kings. The Government Epigraphist for India, tentatively suggested in his report for the year 1934-35 that Ananta-Śaktivarman was the grandson of

<sup>1</sup> U. P. No. 24 of 1934-35; also see *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-35, p. 53. This record is under publication in this journal.

<sup>2</sup> Mahendra is mentioned as the ruler of Piṣṭapura in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta—Jayawar: *History of India* (1933), pages 134 ff.; Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions* (C. I. I. Vol. III) No. 1, lines 19-20. The Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman of Mīgadha(Māthara)-kula was issued from Piṣṭapura, the capital of Mahendra mentioned in the Allahabad inscription.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XII, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> C. P. No. 24 of 1934-35, *A. S. I.*, 1934-35, page 65 and *A. R. S. I. E.*, 1935, page 52.

<sup>5</sup> C. P. No. 12 of 1934-35. Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 35 and plate.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pages 142 ff. and plates.

<sup>7</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, pages 143-44 and plate; above, Vol. XXVI, pages 152 ff. and plates.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pages 4 f. and plate.

<sup>9</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pages 53-54; C. P. No. 13 of 1934-35. This record is under publication in this journal.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, page 23 f. and plates; *J. S. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pages 282 ff. and plates.

<sup>11</sup> *A. R. N. J. E.*, 1934-35, page 53. *Early Dynasties of Andhra Desh*, pages 387 ff.



Śaktivarman with the possibility of Anantavarman intervening between them who might have been the father of our present Śaktivarman. The latter's name is perhaps indicated by the double form Ananta-Śaktivarman to distinguish him from the earlier Śaktivarman. If this suggestion be accepted, then we may place Mahārāja Ananta-Śaktivarman, the donor of the present charter, in the first half of the 5th century A. D.

Since the grant was issued from a military camp at Vijayapura and not from Simhapura<sup>1</sup> which is mentioned as the capital in the records dated later on is tempted to presume that Ananta-Śaktivarman was just then engaged in some battle. No information is available as to the king with whom he was fighting. Presumably he was compelled in his 14th year to leave Pichhapura, his ancestral capital, by the rising power of the Śālukāyana rulers of Vēṅgī to find a capital in the northern regions of Kalinga, i.e., Vijaya-Simhapura or Simhapura, from where members of his dynasty ruled subsequently till they were overthrown by the Vāsiṣṭhas.

### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

#### First Plate

- 1 Svasti [i\*] mahābhasty-śva-akandhāvārād-Vijayapurād-Bhagavataḥ-Ka-
- 2 malanilay-ākkrānta-vakhasō Nārāyaṇa-svāmīnaḥ-pāda-bhaktah
- 3 parama-daivata<sup>3</sup>-bappa-bhattāraka-pāda-prasād-āvāpta-hartra-
- 4 rājya-vihhava-pratāpō Māthara-kul-ālaṅkarishṇuḥ-Kaliṅgādhipa-

#### Second Plate : First Side

- 5 tiā-śrīman-Mahārāj-Ananta-Śaktivarmanma(mnā)\*Ājādōrappa-grāmō sa(r)vva sa-
- 6 manvāgatān-kṛtumbinaa-samājñāpayati [i\*] asty-avan[pa]-yathōkta-
- 7 dharmu-āvaasthāna-vijita-ttrivishṭapūr-Āryyaka-Śakti-bhattāraka-pā
- 8 daiḥ nānā-gōtra-nānā-chaṇḍēbhyō brāhmaṇēbhyah-pūrvva-datta ity-asamā-

#### Second Plate : Second Side

- 9 bhīr-āpī śva-muḥ-āyur-yyasō-bhivridbhayō ā sahaśrādān-āsi-tāra-
- 10 kād-agnahāraḥ-kpitvā sarva-parihārāḥ-cha parihṛity-aiḥhyō brāhmaṇa-ku-
- 11 lābhyō-tiāpish[ah] [i\*] tad-ēvaṁ jātāvā yushmābhīr-achit-āvaasthānaḥ-ka-
- 12 rtiavayam[i\*]bhavishyad-rājāna-cha vijñāpayati yushmābhīr-āpī pravṛttakam

<sup>1</sup> C. P. No. 4 1934-35. Simhapura has been identified by Dr. Holtzsch (above, Vol. IV, page 142) with the modern Siṅgapuram or Siṅgaparam in the Narasimhapeta taluk of the present Srīlankulam District.

<sup>2</sup> From original plates.

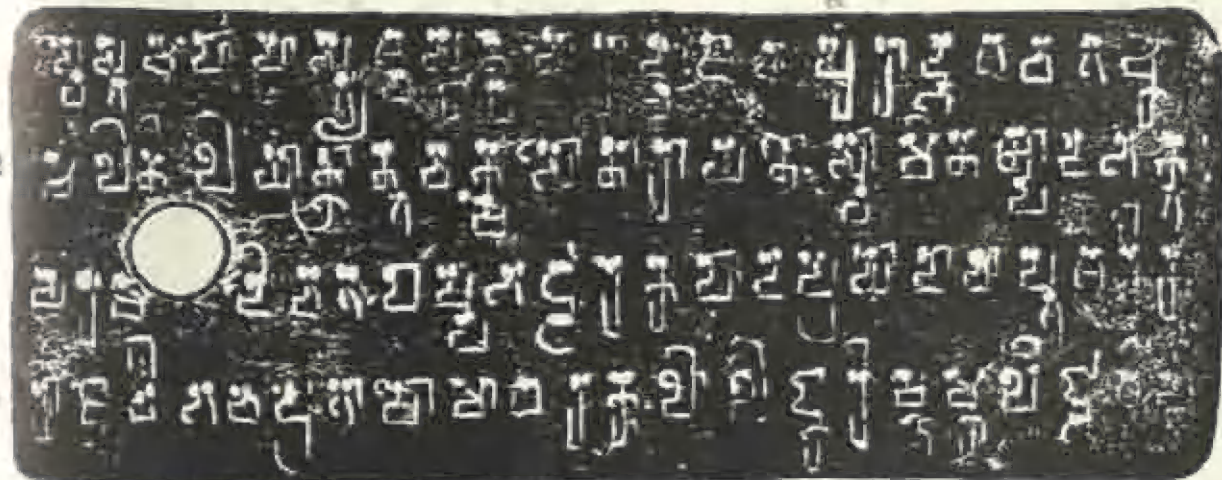
<sup>3</sup> May be corrected as parama-daivata[i\*] in which case this epithet becomes applicable to the royal donor.

<sup>4</sup> [The writer may have purposely used the a-ending form and not ā-ending, thus 'arvamaḥ' and not 'arvama', in which case no correction is necessary, the hiatus in 'parama dāda' being perfectly regular according to the Śānti rules. That the a-ending form is not incorrect, but ought to be taken as a less common form, may be inferred from its use in certain other early inscriptions. Compare, for example, *Sarvasamantam* in the Nirmal plate of Samudragupta (*OII*, Vol. III, p. 299, text line 9); *paṭrō-śarvamaṇi śikṣitāḥ* (the *gopa* inscription A of King Māhevarman, Benares, *Hydrabad et de Toul-Land-en-Fulhens* sur *Nederländisch-Indien*, Vol. 74, 1918, p. 213); and *Vishvasamantam* of the Purāṇ and (*J. A. S. B., Letters*, Vol. I, 1935, p. 28). If the above surmise is correct, the writer of the present charter has done well in employing the less common form, for, in doing so, he has avoided the ambiguity which would otherwise have resulted as to the proper name of the village, beginning as it does with an ā or with an a. --Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> The ā seems to have been written on an erasure. Its form is slightly different from the ā in line 9, which perfectly formed.



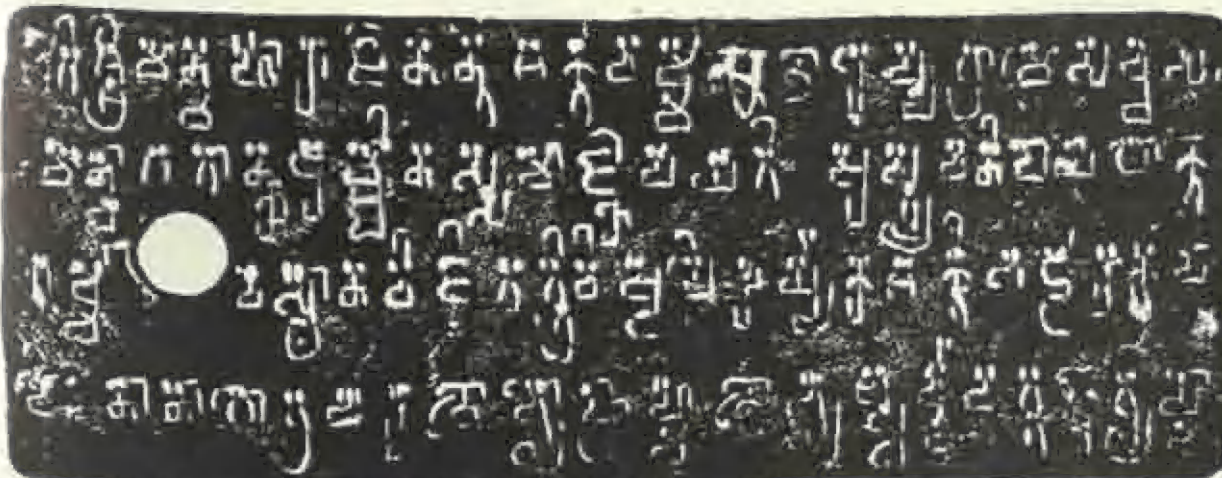
1  
2  
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1  
2  
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4

i, a.

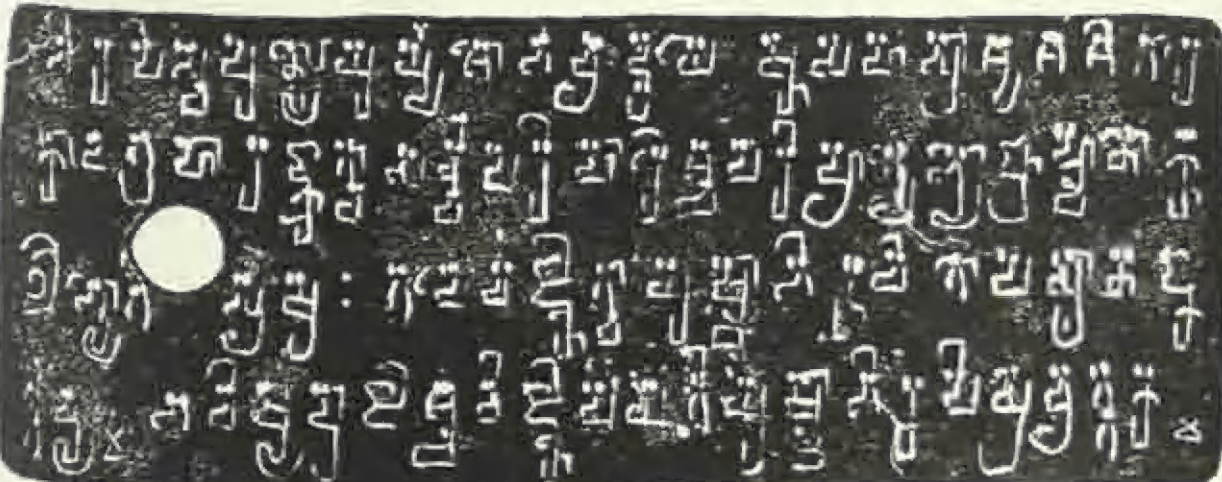
6  
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6  
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ii, a.

10  
11  
12

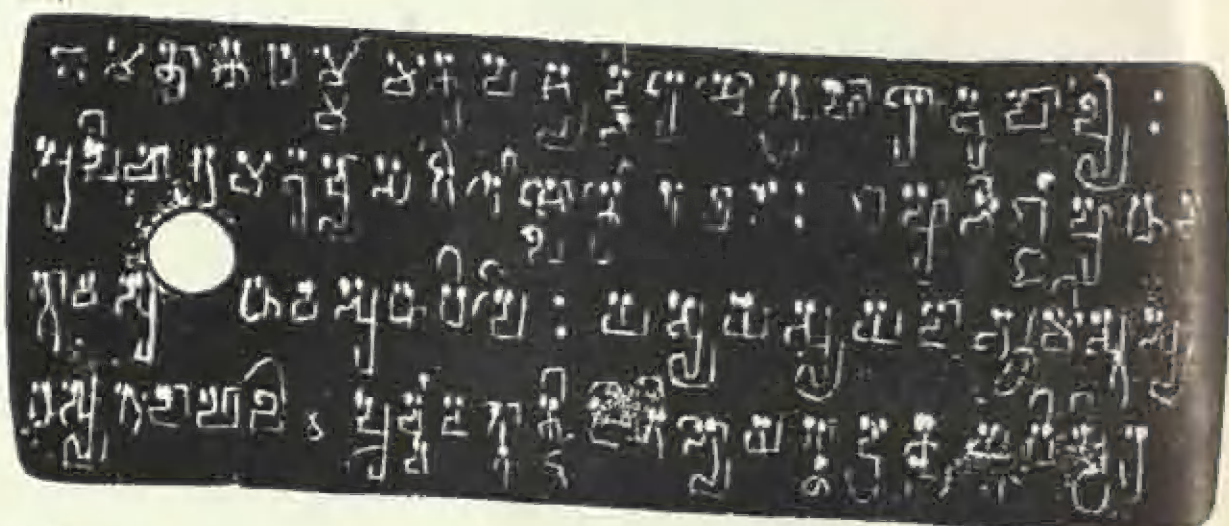


10  
11  
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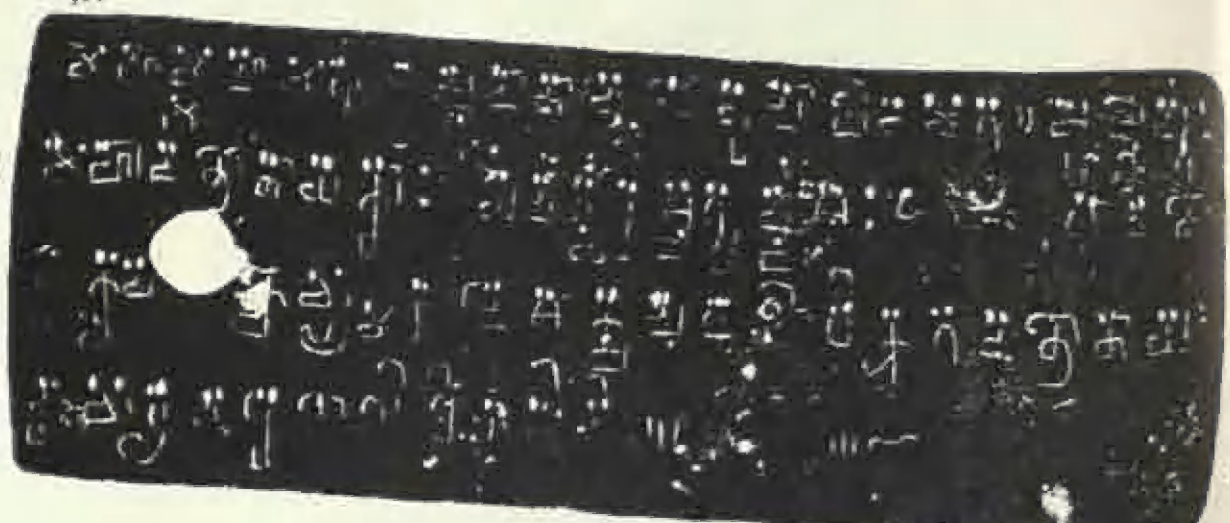
iii, a.

14 14  
16 16



iii, b.

18 18  
20 20







present Jaipur, as an important place of pilgrimage. Jaipur was thus one of the earliest *śrīthas* in the east coast country.

The present name of the town of Jaipur seems to be a corruption of *Yayātipura*. It appears that the Sōmavāṃśīs (from the tenth to the thirteenth century) who had their headquarters at Yayātinagara in Northern Orissa, built by and named after Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti, made Yayātipura or Jajpur their secondary capital after extending their power in Southern Orissa. The fact that Jaipur was probably also called Yayātinagara is suggested by the early Muslim chroniclers as they mentioned the Orissa kingdom of the Gaṅgas, who supplanted the Sōmavāṃśīs from Southern Orissa and may have had their secondary headquarters at Jaipur, as Jājnagar.<sup>1</sup> During the medieval period Jaipur became a great centre of Tantrik worship and of the Mother-goddess cult.<sup>2</sup> Whether this was primarily due to the patronage of the Sōmavāṃśī kings, who were Śaivas, cannot be determined. But Jaipur enjoyed a glorious position, even before the age of the Sōmavāṃśīs, during the days of the Bhauma-Karas (from the seventh to the ninth century), who had their capital at or near the site of Jaipur. Most of the charters of the Bhauma-Kara kings were issued from the city of Guhadēvapātaka or Guhādevapātaka; but in an endorsement to a charter<sup>3</sup> of the Gaṅga king Jayavarman of Śvētaka, Unmattakōśarin ('aimha) alias Śivakara I, who was the founder of the greatness of the family and possibly ruled about the middle of the seventh century, is said to have had his residence at Virajas, i.e., Jaipur, and it appears that Guhadēvapātaka or Guhādevapātaka was the name applied by the Bhauma-Karas either to Virajas (Jaipur) itself or to a new city built by them in its vicinity.<sup>4</sup> It is not known whether the name Guhadēvapātaka or Guhādevapātaka was derived from a deity or a king or from a deity named after a king. There is no evidence regarding the existence of a king having a name or surname like Guha in the family. The dynasty is called Bhauma<sup>5</sup> in earlier records but Kara<sup>6</sup> in later documents. The latter name was actually the stereotyped ending of the names of the kings of the family, although, strictly speaking, it was *kara* in most cases (cf. the names Lakṣmi-kara, Kṣēmas-kara, Śiva-kara and Śānti-kara) but *śakra* in one at least (cf. the name Śubh-ākara). The earlier kings of the family were Buddhists while the later rulers were followers either of Śaivism or of Vaiṣṇavism.

Although Jaipur was certainly the residence of one of the early Bhauma-Kara kings and it is probable that all the rulers of this family had their headquarters at this place or its neighbourhood, it is rather curious that so long no inscription of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty came from the town. In January 1950, I visited Jaipur especially with the idea of seeing whether any record of the Bhauma-Karas could be traced. I am very glad to note that my effort did not prove entirely fruitless as I discovered an interesting lithic record (A) of the time of an early Bhauma-Kara ruler and another (B) that may be tentatively assigned to the early days of the family's rule. These two inscriptions are edited here.

#### A. Harṣaśvara Temple Inscription of the time of the Bhauma-Kara Dynasty.

On the 3rd of January 1950, while I was staying at the Inspection Bungalow at Jaipur, I received information about the existence of a stone inscription in the ruins of the Harṣaśvara temple from

<sup>1</sup> See *J. H. Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *The Śākta Pīṭhas* (J. R. A. S. B., Vol. XIV), pp. 33, 43; cf. also references under Yājñapura, Yājñapura, Virajā, Nābhigayā, etc., in Appendix V, pp. 90-100. Jaipur is written in Oriya as Yājñapura and pronounced as Yājñapura or Jājpur.

<sup>3</sup> *J. H. Q.*, Vol. XII, pp. 492-93.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *J. K. B. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 103; B. Mitra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 8, 14, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23, 34, etc. The recently discovered Terapāṭi plate of Śubhākara II (son of Śivakara II from Mihinddevi), dated year 100, mentions the family both as Bhauma and Kara. This is the earliest mention of the family as Kara.



an old Oriya gentleman named Chandrasekhar Das who is a poet and an inhabitant of Śivadāsa-pura forming a part of the Jajpur town. Mr. Das kindly led me to the site which was found to be not far from the Virajā and Trilōchana temples at Jajpur. Of the Harṣaśvara temple only the plinth and the floor and the lower part of the side and back walls could be seen. There was no trace of the front wall, the upper parts of the other walls and the roof. A rectangular piece of black stone, bearing an inscription, was found embedded in the inner side of the existing lower part of the back wall. It appeared to me that the stone actually belonged to an earlier temple whose materials were utilised in the construction of the Harṣaśvara temple possibly on the same site after the former had become dilapidated owing to the ravages of time. The ruins of the Harṣaśvara temple lie on the bank of an old tank now almost dried up. Mr. Das informed me that the whole area had been formerly covered with a dense jungle which was cleared some 20 years ago.

The inscribed stone is rectangular in shape. There is a margin of several inches to the left of the writing; but the right side of the stone is broken and there is no margin to the right of the inscription. The lower end of the stone seems also to be broken off; but it is difficult to say anything definitely on this point. The inscription is thus fragmentary with portions lost at the end of all the extant lines, and possibly some lines of writing now missing totally. The inscribed face of the stone, as it now stands, contains altogether eleven lines, each measuring 11·5'. An examination of the verses inscribed on the stone shows that an equal number of *akṣaras* have been broken away from the end of all these lines. Thus the inscribed stone seems to have been originally at least double its present length. Single letters are about ·5" in height.

The characters employed in the inscription belong to the East Indian type of the Northern Alphabet and may be ascribed on palaeographical grounds to the seventh or eight century A.D. Some of their characteristics are the same as those of the early records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa. Of initial vowels, the inscription employs *a* (line 10), *ā* (line 2), *i* (lines 3, 5, 6), *ī* (line 6) and *u* (line 1). Medial *u* has two different forms. In many cases it resembles its late Dēvanāgarī form (cf. *\*r=avata* in line 1, *\*m=bhuvī* in line 5, *\*d=hatam* in line 8, etc.); but in a few cases (cf. *kul-ābbhut=ē* in line 2) it looks almost like medial *ū* (cf. *\*vy=abhūd=a* in line 4 and *\*d=bhūshitam* in line 7). The form of medial *au* in *\*d=Bhauma* in line 2 is interesting to note as it has an ornamental *śira-mātrā* besides the two *prishtha-mātrās*. Of final consonants we have only *m* (cf. lines 7, 8). The lower part of subscript *y* is ornamental and considerably long and it covers the space below several preceding *akṣaras*. In the passage *śrīman-Mādhavadēy=a* in line 4, the subscript *y* in *vya* covers the space below the five preceding *akṣaras*. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is composed entirely in verse. Interesting from the orthographical point of view is the wrong spelling in *vidhamsanaḥ* for *vidhamsanaḥ* in line 2. Final *m* has usually been changed to the nasal of the class of the following consonants (cf. *\*talan=Ka* in line 7, *\*nīdāsa=tēna* and *\*dēyā=gatā* in line 10). Consonants like *m* and *ṣ* have been reduplicated in conjunction with *r* preceding them.

The existing portion of the fragmentary inscription contains no date. But as will be shown below, it refers to king Śubhākara I of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, who may be assigned roughly to the third quarter of the seventh century.<sup>1</sup> The date quoted in the Neulpur plate<sup>2</sup> issued by this king cannot be definitely deciphered; but the Dhauli cave inscription of his second son Śāntikara I is clearly dated in the year 23 of an unspecified era.<sup>3</sup> The era used by the Bhauma-Karas is now usually identified with the Harsha era of 606 A. D. and consequently the date of the Dhauli cave inscription would correspond to 629 A. D. As Śubhākara I was succeeded first by his elder son

<sup>1</sup> J. K. H. R. S., Vol. II, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 1-8, and plate; Miers, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-7.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 263-64; Miers, *op. cit.*, p. 11.



Śivakara II and then by his younger son Śāntikara I, he seems to have flourished considerably before the end of the seventh century. It, however, seems that our record was inscribed when Śubhākara I may not have been on the throne. The inscription under discussion may thus roughly be assigned to the third or fourth quarter of the seventh century.

The inscription begins with the usual symbol for *siddham* or *siddhar*—*astu*. Line 1 of the epigraph seems to have contained a complete verse in the *Aryā* metre. This is suggested by the fact that line 2 begins with a different verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīṭa* metre. Of the verse in line 1, only the first foot and nine syllables as well as traces of four more *akṣaras* of the second foot are found. That the right part of this line, that has been broken away and lost, contained a little above twenty *akṣaras* appears to be suggested quite clearly by lines 9-11 of the inscription. Line 9 begins with a verse in the *Indravajrā* or *Upajitā* metre which ends with the word *harṣaḥ* followed by two *daṇḍas* at the commencement of the next line. Then follows a verse in the *Mālinī* metre ending with the word *yasya* followed by two *daṇḍas* and the expression *tena=aita*<sup>1</sup> forming the beginning of another verse in a metre other than the *Mālinī*. This analysis shows that no less than twenty-one syllables are lost at the end of line 9 and twenty-three at the end of the following line.

The extant portion of verse 1 containing the words *‘aiḥ=aita*, “let the bee protect [us]”, is apparently in adoration of some deity. The reference to the god as a bee reminds us of the mention of Viṣṇu as “the mighty bee on the lotus which is the face of Jāmbavatī” in the Tusham rock inscription.<sup>2</sup> But the god adored in the first verse of our epigraph is probably Śiva as the construction of a temple of that god is the main subject recorded in the inscription.

Verse 2 says that there was a mighty king in the **Bhāuma** family whose name was [Śu\*]-**bhākara**. The past tense in the verb *āsit* may suggest that the inscription was engraved after the death of the king. As we know, there were no less than four kings of this name in the Bhāuma-Kara dynasty of Orissa, although the reference to the family as Bhāuma in the present record and not as Kara no doubt points to an earlier ruler of the family. The identity of Śubhākara mentioned here is, however, made clear by the following verse (verse 3) which speaks of queen **Mādhavadēvī** apparently as the wife of the king referred to in the previous verse. As known from the Chaurasi plate<sup>3</sup> of Śivakara II, son of Śubhākara I, queen Mādhavadēvī, whose name is often wrongly supposed to be *Mādhavīdēvī*, was the wife of king Śubhākara I and the mother of Śivakara II. The second half of verse 3 says how a temple of the god Bhava (i.e., Śiva), entitled *Mādhavāvara*, was built. There is no doubt that the temple was built and the deity was installed on behalf of the queen Mādhavadēvī and that the god (probably in the form of a *liṅga*) was styled *Mādhavāvara* after her name in accordance with an old practice followed in different parts of India.<sup>4</sup> Verse 4 seems to compare the temple with Śiva's residence on Mount Kailāsa and also to record the appointment of a Śaiva *śekharya* for conducting the worship of the deity installed. Verse 5 refers to a *vīpī* or tank that must have been excavated near the temple in question. The old tank, on the bank of which the ruins of the Hamaśivara temple at Jaipur stand, is possibly no other than the *vīpī* mentioned in this verse. The next verse (verse 6) speaks of a *haṭṭaḥ*, “a market or a fair,” that seems to have been established or organised in a locality in the vicinity of the temple and the tank. Possibly the income of the *haṭṭa* was assigned to the temple. Verse 7 refers to a person who did

<sup>1</sup> The date of the Chaurasi plate of this king (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292 ff. and Vol. XV, pp. 372-373 and plates) is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 279. [There is no reference to any bee in the present inscription. See note 3 on p. 183 below. Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 292-306; *Misc.*, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the cases of *Prithivīvara* named after *Prithivīśikha* (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 293), *Mādhavāvara* evidently named after *Mādhavakāśmī* (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 288-89), and numerous other later instances recorded in inscriptions. Fleet's interpretation of the name *Mādhavāvara* as a “form of the god Śiva combined with the Son” is no doubt wrong.

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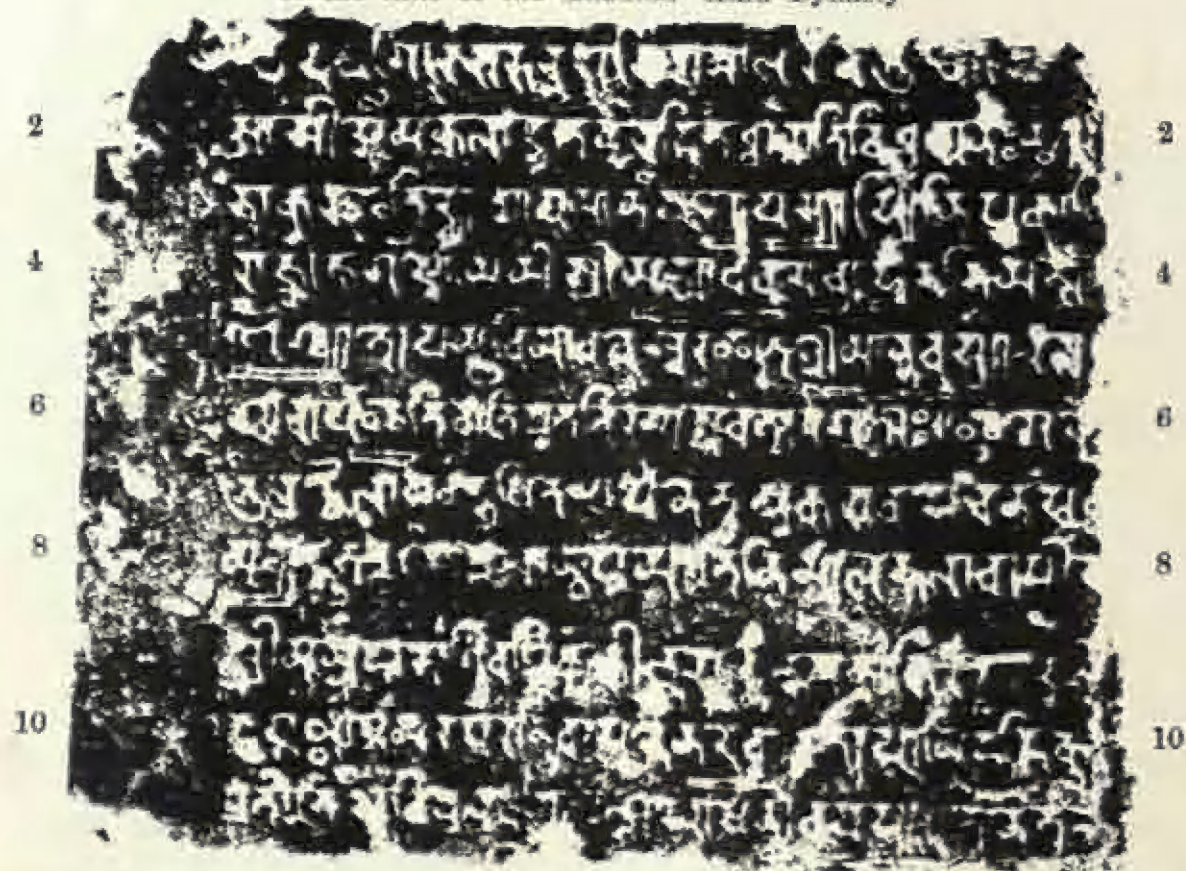
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A. Hamsesvara Temple Inscription  
of the time of the Bhauma - Kara Dynasty



Scale: Two-fifths

B. Chamunda Image Inscription of Vatsadevi



Scale: One-fifth





## B. Chāmundā Image Inscription of Vatsadēvi

Jajpur, a famous centre of Tantrik worship and the Mother-goddess cult, abounds in the images of the Mātrikās. There is a small temple where the Mātrikās are in actual worship. A number of huge Mātrikā images are preserved in shades within the compound of the S. D. O.'s Bungalow. Of the Mātrikā, Chāmundā appears to have been in special favour at Jajpur and her images are very often met with scattered here and there. One such image of the goddess Chāmundā was found by me on the main road in the neighbourhood of the Trilōchana temple. The image is not under regular worship, although its mutilated face, dabbed with vermilion, shows that it commands at least some respect from the womenfolk of the locality. Most of the images examined by me at Jajpur were found to be uninscribed; but the image of Chāmundā noticed above has one line of writing on its base. The inscription covers a space of 1½ feet in length. A single letter is about 1.5" in height; but a conjunct and a consonant with vowel marks are in some cases about 4" high.

The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabet of about the seventh century A. D. The ornamental vowel mark in *rā* reminds us of epigraphs like the Banakhera plate of Harshavardhana dated [Harsha] Samvat 22 (=628 A. D.)<sup>1</sup> and the Udaypur inscription of Aparājita dated V. S. 718 (=661 A. D.).<sup>2</sup> Medial *i* is still short; but medial *i* is long enough to reach the bottom line of the letters. Subscript *y* has its lower part lengthened towards the left; but it is shorter than in the case of the record of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty edited above (A). Although some of the palaeographical features of that inscription are present in the epigraph under discussion, this record seems to belong to an earlier date. The forms of *s* and *d* are slightly earlier. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, although there is Prakrit influence in the form *\*dāyāyāḥ* for *dāyāḥ*. As regards orthography the reduplication of *t* in conjunction with the preceding *r* may be noticed.

The inscription simply refers to the *kīrti* of queen Vatsadēvi. The *kīrti* (literally meaning 'fame') referred to is undoubtedly the image of the goddess Chāmundā on which the epigraph is incised. Bhagwanlal Indraji and K. T. Telang pointed out that in certain connections the word *kīrtana* means a temple.<sup>3</sup> R. G. Bhandarkar supported the suggestion by quoting passages from the *Agni Purāṇa*, Bāṇa's *Kūṭanburi* and Sōmāśvara's *Kīrti-kāumudī*.<sup>4</sup> J. F. Fleet referred to the Mandar rock inscriptions of the time of Ādityasēna mentioning one's *puṣṭkarigī-kīrti* which he rendered as the "famous work of a tank" and pointed out that the same meaning may be applied in many other cases to the word *kīrti*.<sup>5</sup> But he further suggested on the authority of R. G. Bhandarkar that "*kīrti* and *kīrtana* are hardly to be actually translated by the word 'temple' or by any other specific term, but denote generally 'any work of public utility, calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it. . . . And the particular work referred to may be a temple, as in the instances quoted above' or a tank as in the present inscriptions' or anything else of a suitable nature". The inscription under discussion referring to an image of a goddess as the *kīrti* of a queen perfectly bears out the above suggestion of Bhandarkar and Fleet.<sup>6</sup>

Queen Vatsadēvi of ancient Orissa, who installed the image of Chāmundā in question apparently in a temple at Jajpur, is not known from any other source. She was probably the wife of one of

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 316 ff. and plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31 and plate.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 36, note 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 228 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 212, note 6.

<sup>6</sup> This is in reference to *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 36; XII, pp. 228, 229; XIII, p. 185. See also above, Vol. XXIV, p. 240 and a.

<sup>7</sup> These are the Mandar rock inscriptions of the time of Ādityasēna.

<sup>8</sup> See an article on *Kīrti* : Its connotation in the *Siddha-Bhārat* (Dr. Siddhacharan Varma Presentation Volume), pp. 34-42.

the early Bhauma-Kara kings. The earliest member of the family is mentioned in some records as Kahēmaṅkara and in others as Lakṣmīkara and often the latter is regarded as the father of the former.<sup>1</sup> I have elsewhere suggested that the two names may actually indicate the same person.<sup>2</sup> The son and successor of the *Param-āpānka Mahārāja* Kahēmaṅkara was the *Param-āthāgata Mahārāja* Śivakara I Unmattasimha (also called Bhārasaha) who married Jayāvalidēvi, daughter of a ruler of Rāṣṭhā in the valley of the river Ajay in South-west Bengal, according to the *rākṣasa* form of wedding.

The issue of this union was the *Paramasauvata Mahārāja* Śubhākara I who is the king mentioned in the record edited above and whose queen was Mādhavadēvi. It is tempting to suggest that Vatsadēvi of our inscription was one of the wives of one of the two predecessors of Śubhākara I.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

Siddham<sup>4</sup> {||\*} rājñi-Vatsadēvyāyāh<sup>5</sup> kīrttiḥ {||\*}

## TRANSLATION

Let there be success! (This image of the goddess Chāmurṣṭā is) the fame (i. e. the fame-producing work) of the queen Vatsadēvi.

## No. 33—KENDUPATNA PLATES OF NARASIMHA II; SETS II AND III

(2 Plates)

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND.

When the Kāndrāpadā canal in the Cuttack District, Orissa, was being excavated more than sixty years ago, a stone box measuring 3' x 3' x 2' was found about 20' below the surface of the earth in the village of Kāndupātnā in the Kāndrāpadā subdivision. The box contained three copper-plate grants issued by the imperial Eastern Ganga monarch Narasimha II (circa A.D. 1278-1306) in favour of one of his officials. Each of the grants is said to have consisted of seven plates. The box together with the copper plates was preserved in the local temple of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa. Sometime about the year 1892, the late Mr. N. N. Vasu secured the inscriptions for examination. Vasu edited the first of the three sets of the Kāndupātnā records in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXV, Part I, 1896, pp. 229-71 with plates. The third set of these inscriptions was transcribed by the same scholar in the Bengali encyclopaedia entitled *Vibimbāśa*, Vol. V, 1893, s.v. *pāṇḍya* (appendix between pp. 320 and 321), where the second set of the plates was barely noticed. Unfortunately Vasu's transcripts and interpretations of the inscriptions are far from satisfactory. Even his description of the three sets of plates is not free from errors. The *Vibimbāśa* containing his transcript of one of the grants is, moreover, not easily available to scholars,

<sup>1</sup> Mier, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> J. K. H. R. S., Vol. II, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> He is called simply *Mahārāja* in his own Nāulpur plate; but in the records of his successors he is endowed with the imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāra*. Śubhākara I was the first imperial ruler of the family while his father and grandfather possibly owed allegiance to Harshavardhana who is known to have led an expedition in Orissa about A. D. 643; cf. J. K. H. R. S., Vol. II, p. 102-04.

<sup>4</sup> From impressions.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Śloṣā*.



while one of the three inscriptions has never been published. For these reasons, a re-edition of these records was desirable. As all the three sets of the plates are now the property of the Orissa Museum at Bhubaneswar, I approached Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Research and Museums, Government of Orissa, and Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator, Orissa Museum, for a loan of the plates. They were kind enough to send me for examination the first set of the Kāndupāṭṇā plates in July 1930. My paper on that inscription was soon completed and I contributed it to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*,<sup>1</sup> Calcutta. In August 1930, I received the second and third sets of the plates. These are edited here. My thanks are due to Messrs. Acharya and Panigrahi for the kindness they have shown to me.

It is now well known that the 105 verses, containing some stray names between verses 6 and 7, form the introductory part of the charters of Narasimha II and are the same in the different charters of the king. As the later imperial Gaṅga monarchs used to copy the genealogy of the family from the introductory portion of the grants of their predecessors, the above verses, sometimes with slight modifications, are also found in some other Gaṅga charters.<sup>2</sup> Since the historical value of these verses has been dealt with by us in detail in connection with the Nagari, Amarkhali and Alampur plates, there is hardly any necessity of discussing the introductory part of the two inscriptions now under review. I am therefore editing here only the charters of Narasimha II forming the concluding portions of the inscriptions engraved on the second and third sets of the Kāndupāṭṇā plates. As a matter of fact, the grants of the king have really nothing to do with the introductory part which deals with the genealogy of the imperial Gaṅgas down to the reigning monarch as well as the achievements of some of the kings.

#### A.—Set II: Śaka 1217; Aṅka year 22.

The record is inscribed on seven plates of which the first and seventh plates are inscribed only on the inner sides. The plates are about 13 inches long and about 9 inches high. They are not numbered as in the case of the first and third sets, although the first plate seems to bear traces of the figure 1 without any preceding letter. The plates have raised rims. The hole for the ring to pass through has a diameter of 1". The diameter of the ring is  $4\frac{1}{2}$ " while its thickness is a little above  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The space between the left border of the plates and the ring-hole measures 1". The seal soldered to the ring is the same as that attached to other charters of king Narasimha II and closely resembles the seal of other imperial Gaṅga grants. It is of the shape of an expanded lotus about 2" in diameter, its border containing the petals slightly bent upwards. The principal emblem on the seal is a bull,<sup>3</sup> about  $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and 3" in height, in an inclined posture. The size of the seal and of the bull emblem is bigger than that of the seal and the emblem of the first set of the Kāndupāṭṇā plates. There are also the emblems of the *triśūla*, *damru*, crescent and solar orb; but the *aśvata* found on the seal of the Nagari plates is absent. The writing on the plates is neat and clear; but its preservation is not quite satisfactory. Some of the plates are damaged here and there, especially about the borders, owing to corrosion. There are altogether 117 lines of writing on the plates. The inner side of the first plate and the reverse of the second have 19 lines each, while the reverse of the sixth plate and the inner side of the seventh have respectively 18 lines and 1 line. The rest of the

<sup>1</sup> See now *op. cit.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1931, pp. 33-39.

<sup>2</sup> See the Nagari plates of Anagabhini III (circa A.D. 1211-38) to be published in this journal; the Pari plates of Bhāsa II (circa A.D. 1205-27), son of Narasimha II, which have been discussed by me in the *JRASB*, I, Vol. XVII, pp. 19-26; the Pari plates of Narasimha IV, *JASB*, Vol. LXIV, Part 1, 1906, pp. 153 ff.; the Amarkhali and Alampur plates of Narasimha II to be published in this journal.

<sup>3</sup> The Gaṅgas were originally Śaivas but became Vaiṣṇavas from the time of Anantavarman Chōdagaḍga. The Śaivite emblem on their seal, however, was not modified.



inscribed sides of the plates have each 20 lines of writing. The weight of the plates is 955 *tolas*, while the seal and the ring weigh 253 *tolas*.

The inscription very closely resembles the other records of Narasimha II in respect of **palaeography, language and orthography** and nothing calls for special mention, especially because they have been discussed in details in connection with the Asaukhali and Alalpur plates of the same king to be published in this journal.

The date of the grant is given in words in line 177 as the expired Śaka year 1217 corresponding to the 22nd *Aśka* year (i.e., 18th actual regnal year omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth, sixteenth and twentieth years of the *Aśka* reckoning) of Narasimha II. The precise date of the document as given in line 178 is Saturday the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Māṣa (solar Vaiśākha) corresponding, if the Śaka year is regarded as current, to Saturday, the 10th April, A.D. 1294. This date, however, seems to be actually earlier than the 18th regnal year of Narasimha II. It is said that the king made a number of grants in his 19th *Aśka* (i.e., 16th regnal year), one of which was being recorded on the plates under discussion. The above date of the document is, however, based on the supposition that the word *abhilāṣyamāṇa*, found in other similar records (cf. the first set of the Kēndupāṭṇā plates, line 176) of the king in association with the Śaka year, has been omitted in the present inscription as in the third set of the plates to be discussed below. But the language of the record as it stands may indicate that the grant had been made when the king was in the *pāṭiyo-chāḍḍiyā-maṣapa* (possibly a shaded hall cooled by water) at the *kaṭaka* (residence, city or secondary capital) called Rāmuṣā (the same as Rāmuṣā of several other records of the king) on Saturday, the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Māṣa in the king's 19th *Aśka* or 16th regnal year, although the charter was issued a few years later in the king's 22nd *Aśka* corresponding to the expired Śaka year 1217. If such was the case, the date of the grant may correspond to Saturday, the 14th April, A.D. 1291, although this date also actually appears to be earlier than the 16th regnal year of the king. It may be pointed out that the date of the first set of the Kēndupāṭṇā plates is Monday, the 6th of the month of Śiṃha (i.e., solar Bhādrapada) in Śaka 1217 and in the 21st *Aśka* (17th regnal year) of Narasimha II. This date is irregular for Śaka 1217 and, for Śaka 1218, corresponds to Monday the 6th August, A.D. 1296. None of these dates tallies with the generally accepted date of the king's accession in A.D. 1273.

King *Vira-śiṅ-Narasimha-dēva* (i.e., Narasimha II), who was endowed with such *birada*s as *chaturdaśa-bhuvanādhipati*, is said to have made the grant of 100 *viṣṭā*s of land in favour of Bhīmadēvaśarmaṇ who is also the donee of the other two sets of the Kēndupāṭṇā plates. Bhīmadēvaśarmaṇ, who was a Brāhmana of the Kātyāya *gātra* having the Kātyāya, Āvatsāra and Naidhrava *puruṣas*, is described as the king's *Kumāra-mahāpātra* in the first set of the plates, while, in the present record as well as in the third set, he is called *Brihat-kumāra-mahāpātra*. *Mahāpātra* was no doubt a minister and *Kumāra-mahāpātra*, like *Kumār-ānāyaka* of the older records, a minister of the rank of a *Kumāra*, i.e., a prince of the royal blood. The word *brihat* suggests that Bhīmadēvaśarmaṇ was a *Kumāra-mahāpātra* of the foremost rank. The *mulala*, which in Telugu means 'an order' and in this context signifies the king's order regarding the execution of the grant, passed through the *Purā-parikṣaka Pātra* Trilochana Jēnī.<sup>1</sup> The word *jēnī* originally meant 'a prince' and later came to be the cognomen of many noble families of the Orissa region. *Parikṣaka*, the same as Oriya *parikṣa* or *parikṣā*, was used to indicate a governor, a superintendent, an inspector, etc. Thus the word *purā* prefixed to *parikṣaka* may be Sanskrit *pura* and indicate a *Parikṣaka* attached to the capital or secondary capital of the Gaṅga monarch, which may, in the present case, have been the *kaṭaka* of Rāmuṣā.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the records of Narasimha IV and in the *Mādala Pāṭṇī*, the word *mulala* seems to mean 'an arrangement made or to be made according to an order'.

<sup>2</sup> If *purā* stands for Sanskrit *pura*, it may indicate a higher officer in the class in question. The word is found as *purā* in the grants of Narasimha IV and as *jēnī* in the *Mādala Pāṭṇī*.



The land measuring 100 *vīṭikās* granted to Bhīmadēvaśarma consisted of several plots. The village called Vāhālagrāma situated in the Pūrva-khaṇḍa or eastern subdivision of the Śālagāḍā *vishaya* (district) formed the first of the plots. The *nala*, which in Oriyā means the measurement of area, was done by *Pura-nāyaka Śivadāsa Śeṇapati*. The word *nāyaka* (meaning a superintendent, possibly a superintendent of survey in the present context) in the designation *Pura-nāyaka* (possibly *pura-nāyaka*), indicated a high officer like the *Parīkshaka*. The designation *Śeṇapati* (leader of army) suggests that Śivadāsa held both an executive and a military post possibly at the same time. Vāhālagrāma is said to have been bounded in the east by the junction of two of the boundary lines of Bhaṭṭaṅḡagrāma and in the west by the contiguous part of the boundary line of Jōmarāmagrāma. The southern boundary of the village was the contiguous part of the boundary line of Sunāilō-grāma, while its northern limit was the path (*dupḍā*) in front of the *kālmali* tree at Anḍiyōalagrāma. Within these boundaries, the land measured 60 *vīṭikās* 7 *mānas* and 20 *guṇṭhas*; out of this, an area measuring 20 *vīṭikās* 2 *mānas* and 15 *guṇṭhas* was covered by cattle tracks, pasture lands, *manḍapas* (public buildings), canals, jungles, palmyra groves and *nīśadhi* land under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmanas and was subtracted leaving the net remainder (*nīśadhi-bhūmi*) of 34 *vīṭikās* 5 *mānas* and 5 *guṇṭhas*. The expression *nīśadhi-bhūmi*, used in this connection, no doubt means the same thing as the *nīśadhi-kṛte* land referred to in line 190 of the first set of the Kēndupāṇā plates. The word *nīśadhi* may be a corruption of Sanskrit *nīśādha*. Thus *nīśadhi-bhūmi* may indicate 'forbidden land'. In Kannada inscriptions, the word *nīśadhi* is used to indicate a Jaina burial ground. Whether *nīśadhi* is related to *nīśadhi* cannot be determined. A *māna*, which consists of 25 *guṇṭhas* and 20 of which make a *vīṭikā*, is now regarded as equal to one acre of land in Oriyā.

The second plot of the gift land comprised the village of Gadhaigrāma situated in the Kusamāṇḍala *vishaya*. It was bounded in the west by an *aśvattha* tree near the tank at the junction of two boundary lines of the Maṅgalapura *sāna* (gift village) and in the east by the contiguous part of the boundary line of Dāvapura. Its southern limit touched the junction of two boundary lines of Maṅgalapura and its northern limit comprised parts of the canal at Sāṅgapadāgrāma. The area within these boundaries measured 40 *vīṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 1 *guṇṭha*. Out of this, an area of 11 *vīṭikās* and 8 *guṇṭhas*, covered by cattle tracks, pasture lands and tanks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmanas from earlier times, was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 29 *vīṭikās* 16 *mānas* and 23 *guṇṭhas*.

The third plot of land comprised the village of Khadiṅḡagrāma situated in the same Kusamāṇḍala *vishaya*. This village was bounded in the east by two boundary lines of Naṅrōagrāma and in the west by those of Gadhaigrāma. Its southern limit touched two boundary lines of Maṅgalapura and its northern limit those of another village the name of which is doubtful. The land within these boundaries measured 10 *vīṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 8 *guṇṭhas*. Out of this, an area, which measured 1 *vīṭikā* 16 *mānas* and 23 *guṇṭhas* and was covered by cattle tracks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmanas from early times, was subtracted leaving the net remainder of 9 *vīṭikās* and 10 *guṇṭhas*.

The name of the village forming the fourth plot of the gift land was possibly Bhāṭṭapadā. Its southern boundary touched parts of two boundary lines of Khadiṅḡagrāma and its northern boundary ran from parts of the canal up to the village road of Gadhaigrāma. In the east, the village was bounded by parts of two boundary lines of Maṅgalapura and in the west by those of Gadhaigrāma. The area within these boundaries measured 31 *vīṭikās* 15 *mānas* and 6 *guṇṭhas*. Out of this land, an area measuring 4 *vīṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 19 *guṇṭhas* was covered by cattle tracks, pasture lands and tanks under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmanas from earlier times and was subtracted, leaving the net remainder of 26 *vīṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas*.

The areas of the four plots of the gift land, viz., 34 *vīṭikās* 5 *mānas* and 5 *guṇṭhas*, 29 *vīṭikās* 16 *mānas* and 23 *guṇṭhas*, 9 *vīṭikās* and 10 *guṇṭhas*, and 26 *vīṭikās* 17 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas*, together



made a total of 100 *aiṭikāḥ* of land which was granted to the donee Bhīmadēvaśarmaṇ as a permanent rent-free holding together with the right to enjoy it along with land and water as well as fish and tortoise. The *śāsanādhibhikṣu*<sup>1</sup> (writer and keeper of documents) Allālanātha *Śāṇḍapati*, who is also known from other records of Narasimha II, received two *aiṭikāḥ* of mixed homestead and water-covered land apparently as his fees or perquisites. The engraver of the document, the copper-smith Pannāḍi, who was also the writer of the first set of the Kendupātṇā plates, similarly received one *aiṭikā* of mixed homestead and water-covered land. It is specifically said that the copper-smith received his plot of land from the donee, the *Bṛhat-Kuṁāra-mahāpātra* Bhīmadēvaśarmaṇ. The absence of the specification of the boundaries, etc., of any extra plot of land suggests that the *śāsanādhibhikṣu* also received his plot from the donee. This seems to have been the established custom as indicated by the expression *śāsanādhibhikṣu-vyavasthitiḥ* in line 197 of the first set of the plates.

The following seven rent-paying subjects were allotted to the *śāṣana*, which is not endowed with a special name as in other charters :

(1) Kālidāsa who was the son of Anantāi, a *śaṅkhakāra* (maker of conch-shell bangles) of the Gōḷḷōḍā *haṭṭa* (market); (2) Kṁṣō *śrēṣṭhika* who was an inhabitant of Kōmatīchehhaṅḡula and belonged to the Jayanagara *haṭṭa*; (3) Alālō<sup>2</sup> who was the grandson of the goldsmith Vāmadēva of the Kivalōḷō *haṭṭa*; (4) Vanamālin who was the grandson of Virjū, an oilman of Ārūlapura<sup>3</sup>; (5) Anantāi who was the grandson of Raṇḍāi, a milkman of Vattakōṣvara *haṭṭa*; (6) Indū who was the grandson of Sīrū, a potter of the Pannapaḍā *haṭṭa*; and (7) Vanamālin who was the grandson of the oilman Rāju of Jhaḥhallapura. It has to be pointed out that the words *pōpa* and *pōpara* are prefixed to the names of *tailika*-Virjū and *śūḷi*-Rāju. The same word seems to have been used as *pōpōpa* in the passage *Vāirōḷō-pōpōpa-tailika-Jāguli-śrēṣṭhikasya* in the Asankhali plates and in line 197 of the third set of the Kendupātṇā plates. Whether this refers to a particular community among the oilmen cannot be decided.

Besides Rōmṇūā, a well-known locality near Balasore, the charter mentions a number of districts, villages and market places. The districts mentioned are the Sōḡgaḍā and Kusamaṇḍala *vishayas*. The villages lying in the Sōḡgaḍā district were Vohāla, Bhaṇḍapaḍā, Jōmatāma, Sunāilō and Aṇḍiyōḷā and those in the Kusamaṇḍala *vishaya* were Gadhaī, Maṅḡalapura (styled *śāṣana*), Dēvapura, Sōḡgaḍā, Khaḍḡiṅā, Naērōā and Bhāmdapaḍā, all situated in the vicinity of one another. The list of rent-paying subjects discloses the names of the following localities : Gōḷḷōḍā *haṭṭa*, Kōmatīchehhaṅḡula, Jayanagara *haṭṭa*, Kivalōḷō *haṭṭa*, Ārūlapura, Vattakōṣvara *haṭṭa*, Pannapaḍā *haṭṭa* and Jhaḥhallapura. I have not been able to identify them satisfactorily. The name Sunāilō, also known from other records of king Narasimha II, was apparently borne by different villages.

#### TEXT\*

[Lines 1-155 are incised on Plates I, IIa, IIb, IIIa, IIIb, IVa, IVb and Va.]

#### Fifth Plate : Second Side

Lines 159-175 [Verse 105 of the introductory part ends with line 175].

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *śāsanādhibhikṣu* in the records, e.g., of the Western Chāḷukyas. See above, Vol. XII, pp. 215, 214. Allāla is a Tamil name and Allālanātha may have been the descendant of one of the Tamil officials of the chambers of Narasimha II. See our article on the Alagum inscription to be published in this journal.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the name Alālā above.

<sup>3</sup> Araḷ is a Tamil name and appears to point to Tamil influence in Orissa. Cf. note 1 above.

<sup>4</sup> From the original plates and their impressions.



- 176 Svasti [I\*] chaturdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipat-ity-ādi-vimūḍa-rāji-virājamānaḥ sva-pratāp-ānala-  
paripū(ṭṭ)ṣṭy-ā(ṣṭ-ā)nti-gaṇaḥ vijaya-[ma\*].  
177 bhūdayi vira-śri-Narasai[di\*]hadēvaḥ sva-rājyaḥ dvāvīḍa(vimūḍa)ty-aṅkē septadaś-ādhiḥka-  
dvādaśa-śata-mitē gatavati Śaka-vatsarē | Rā(Rō).  
178 maṇḍābhīdhāyā katākē pāṇiya-chohāyā-maṇḍapē Mōsha-kriṣṇa-chaturdaśyām Saṁ-  
vārē av-ānavīḍa(vimūḍa)ty-aṅka-samutpaśṭa-bhū-madhyāta(dhyāt)

## Sixth Plate : First Side

- 179 t' purō-parikṣaka-pātra-jenā-T[ri]lōchan-ākhyā-mū(mu)ḍalēna Kāśyapa-sagōtrāya  
Kāśyap-Āvataśra-Naidhrūva-pravarīya vṛi(hri)hat-ka(t-ku)māra-ma-  
180 hāpāta(tra)-Bhimadēvaśarimmaṇē vāṭik-aika-śata-pradāṇyā Sāṅgaḍā-viya(sha)ya-pūrvva-  
khaṇḍa-madhyā-sthitam Vohāla-grāmaḥ purō-nāyaka-Śi-  
181 vadāsa-sūnūpati-mala-p[ri]amāṇēna | pūrvvataḥ Bhad[ra]ḥgā-grāmīya-dvā(dvi)-ā(ā)ma-da-  
[ṇḍā]taḥ Jōmarāma-grāmīya-ārdh-ādi-daṇḍā-paśchima-pari-  
182 chohādaḥ(dam) | dakṣiṇataḥ Sunāilō-grāmīya-ārdh-ādi-daṇḍām-ārabhya Aṇḍiyālā-  
grāmīya-Sālmall-vṛikaka-sammukha-daṇḍā-paryant-ā(ā)nt-ā(ā)ntara- | \*  
183 [a\*]mānam-ōvam chatuḥ-ā(ā)ma-āvachchhina-viḍa(vimūḍa)ti-guṇṭh-ōpāta-sapta-mān-  
ādhiḥka-cha[ṣṭi]-vāṭikā-bhū-madhyā-purātana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhōgya-gō-  
184 hari-gōpatha-gōprachāra-maṇḍapa-jōḍ-ā(ā)va[ṇa]-niga(ā)dhī-bh[ū]mi-samēta-paṇ-  
chadaśa-guṇṭh-ōttara-māna-dvay-ādhiḥka-choḍvīḍa(dvīmūḍa)- | \*  
185 ti-vāṭikā-bhū-va(ba)hīrbhūtaḥ niravakara-paścha-guṇṭh-ōttara-paścha-mān-ādhiḥka-cha-  
tustriśa(striśa)ḍ-vāṭikā-parimitam(tam) | Kusamaṇḍala-vishaya-ma-  
186 dhya-varttinam Gadha-grāmaḥ paśchimataḥ Jaṅgalapū(pu)ra-śāsanīya-dvi-ā(ā)ma-  
daṇḍā-pū(pu)ṣṭa[ṇḍi]-samip-āsvattha-vṛikahāt Dēvapū(pu)r-ārdh-ādi-  
187 daṇḍā-paryanta-pūrvva-parichchēdam(dam) | dakṣiṇataḥ Maṅgalapū(pu)riya-dvi-ā(ā)-  
ma-daṇḍām-ādhiḥkṛitya Sāṅgaḍā-grā- | \*  
188 mīya-jōḍ-ārdh-ōttara-parichchēdam-ōvam chatuḥ-ā(ā)ma-āvachchhina-guṇṭh[ā]-aik-  
[ō]ttara-septadaśa-mān-ādhi[ka]-chatv[ā]-  
189 riśa(riśa)ḍ-vāṭikā-madhyā-pū(pu)ratana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hma[ṇa]-bhōgya-gōhari-gōpatha-  
gō[ṇa]ḥ[ra]-pūṣṭa[ṇḍi]-samēta-gu-  
190 ṇṭha-tray-ādhiḥka-śikādaśa-vāṭikā-va(ba)hīrbhūta-niravakara-guṇṭha-trayōvīḍa(vimūḍa)-  
dhika-choḍaśa-mān-ō[ṇṭar]-ō-  
191 natriśa(triśa)ḍ-vāṭikā-parimitam(tam) | tath-aitad-vishaya-madhy-āśma-Khaḍḍi[ḍi]-  
grāmaḥ pūrvvataḥ Nāśrōḍ-grāmīya-dvi-ā(ā)ma-daṇḍām-ā[ra]bhya Ga-  
192 dha-grāmīya-dvi-ā(ā)ma-daṇḍā-paśchima-āvachchēdam dakṣiṇataḥ Maṅgalapuriya-dvi-  
ā(ā)ma-da[ṇḍā]m[ā]-vadhiḥkṛitya × × × grāmīya-dvā(dvi)- | \*  
193 ā(ā)ma-daṇḍā-paryant-ōttara-ā(ā)manam-ōvam chatuḥ-ā(ā)ma-ā[va]chchh[ā]ṇa-  
guṇṭh-āṣṭ-ādhiḥka-septadaśa-mān-ōttara-da[śa]-vā[ṭi]kā-madhyā-purā-  
194 tana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhōgya-gōhari-gōpatha-trayōvīḍa(vimūḍa)ti-guṇṭh-ōttara-  
śikādaśa-mān-ādhiḥka-aika-vāṭikā-va(ba)hīrbhūta-nira-  
195 vakara-duḥ-guṇṭh-ōttara-nava-vāṭikā-parimitam(tam) | tath-aita(d-vimūḍa)ya-madhyā-  
varttinam [Bhām][ḍi]pāḍ-grāmaḥ(mam) | dakṣiṇataḥ | Khaḍḍi[ḍi]- | \*

\* This is superfluous.

\* The daṇḍā is superfluous and is used to cover some space at the end of the line.

\* Read mān-ādhiḥka.



v, b.

160

162

164

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164

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178

vi, a.

180

182

184

186

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198







KENDUPATNA PLATES OF NARASIMHA II: SETS II AND III  
2—Set III

r, b.

162

164

166

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176

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176

178

vi, a.

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- 196 [grāmi]ya-[dvi-āi(s)]ma-dap[ā-ār(ddham-ā)]dih kṛtvā Gadha[grāmiya-jō]-ārdh-ādi-dā-  
[nā-paryant-ōttara]-āi(s)mānā(nam)|| pūrvvataḥ [Ma]ṅgala-purī-  
197 ya-[dvi-āi(s)]ma-[dan]-ārdh[ā]t Gadha[grāmiya-dvi-āi(s)]ma-dap[ā-pāschī(m-āvaohchō]-  
dan-ēva[m] cha[tul\*]-ā[m-āvaohchī\*]ma-[cha]-gu[ḥ]-ōpēta-pāschadaśa-mā- |  
198 n-ā[dbik-aika] [triśa(triśa)-d-vā\*][ti]kā-madhyā-[purātana-dēva-Yrā(Brā)hmaṇa]-  
bhōgya-[gō]hari-gōpatha-gōprachāra-pushkarigī-samēt-ō[na- |<sup>1</sup>]

## Sixth Plate : Second Side

- 199 viśa(viśa)ti-guṇṭha-sahita-saptadaśa-man-ādhika-chatuṣṭaya<sup>2</sup>-vātikā-va(ba)hīrāhṭa-  
niravakara-guṇṭha-dvādaś-ōpēta-[saptada][śa-mā\*]-  
200 n-ōttara-ahajviśā(dviśa)ti-vātikā-parimitān(tam)|| ma(ō)vaṁ si(mi)litvā vātikā-  
kātān jala-sthala-machchha(taya)-kuchhapa-sahitam-ān(m-ā)chandr-ārka[m-a\*]-  
201 karikṛitya prādāt|| asmin āsanō āsan-ādhikāri<sup>3</sup> A[llā]lanūtha-sēnāpatayā vāsta-samēta-  
jala-[kūḥ][tra\*]-  
202 vātikā-dvayam(yam)|| āsana-lākhaka-tāmra(nura)kārāya Pannāji-nāmnō vāsta(etv-a)-  
rddha-samēta-jalakakētra-vātik-aikā vṛi(bṛi)ba[t-ku][mā\*]-  
203 ra-mahāpātra-Bhūmadēvna datt-ōti||<sup>4</sup> ōtach-ehhāsanasy-āngatayā Gōlāōjā-hattīya-  
śa[śka]kāra-[Aṇa]-  
204 ntā-antō(taḥ) Kālidās-ākhyah[ō] Jayanagara-hattīya-Kūma[śchchha]gū(?)liya(ya)-  
Kāś-ārē(ārē)chthi(chthi)-nāmā[ō] Kīra(?)ā-  
205 lō-hattīya-savarṇakāra-Yāmadēvasya naptā Alālū-nāmā[ō] Ārū(?)lapura-gōpa-  
tallika-Virjū-naptā Va-  
206 namāli(li)-nāmadhāya[ō] Vattakōvara-hattīya-gōpāla-Rapū-naptā Apantāi-nāmā  
[ ]\*  
207 Pannapadā-hattīya-kumbhakāra-Sūm-naptā Indū-nāmā[ō] Jhājhallapū(pu)ra-  
goparā<sup>5</sup>.  
208 tel(li)-Rāju-naptā Vanamāli(li)-nāmā|| ōtāḥ sapta parajāḥ prādāta(dāt)[ō].....  
Lines 209-16 [Imprecatory verses]

## Seventh Plate : First Side

217 .....

## B.—Set III ; Śaka 1218.

The charter is written on six plates, although there is a seventh plate without writing either on the obverse or on the reverse, apparently meant for the protection of the inscription on the second side of the sixth plate. The plates, each measuring about 13" × 9", are very similar to those of the other records of Narasimha II including the second set of the Kēndupātṇā plates described above. The preservation of the writing is not very satisfactory. As in the case of the other set, some letters have suffered from the effects of corrosion on many of the plates. Of the six inscribed

<sup>1</sup> The *daśa* is superfluous and is used to cover some space at the end of the line.

<sup>2</sup> Read *vātikā-chatuṣṭaya*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sevāli* has not been observed here.

<sup>4</sup> There is the usual flower design between the double *daśas*.

<sup>5</sup> The intended reading may be *gōpāra* or *gōpa*. The second *va* of *parava* may either be regarded as redundant or as the Oriya suffix indicating the sixth case-ending.

<sup>6</sup> There is a flower design between the double *daśas*. These are followed by the usual imprecatory and hence, distatory verses.



plates, the first has writing on the inner side, while the others are inscribed on both the sides. Five plates are consecutively numbered on the left margin of the reverse and the numerals are preceded by the *akṣara* *bhī* or *bhī* (wrongly written *hī* in one case) which appears to be a contraction of the donee's name Bhīmadēvaśarman. It may be recalled that on the first set of the Kēndupāṭṇā plates the numerical figures are similarly preceded by the *akṣaras* *kuma* or *kū* which we have taken to be an abbreviation of the donee's designation *Kumāramahāpātra* as given in that record. There are altogether 208 lines of writing. The second sides of the fifth and sixth plates have respectively 19 and 9 lines, all the other inscribed sides having 20 lines each. The seven plates together weigh 952 *toḷas*, the weight of the uninscribed seventh plate being 127½ *toḷas*. The seal which must have resembled the one described above and the ring on which the plates were originally strung appear to be lost.

The palaeography, language and orthography of the inscription are similar to those of the king's other records and do not call for any special remarks.

The introductory part of the record ends in line 176 and is followed by the word *svasti* and the date which actually begin the charter. The date recorded in lines 176-77 is Thursday, the fifth *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Mēṣa (solar Vaiśākha) in the expired Śaka year 1218. The year of the *Alīka* reckoning is not mentioned. The date is irregular; but if the Śaka year is taken to be current, the date corresponds to Thursday, the 21st April, A.D. 1295.

The king is said to have had previously made, for the increase of his longevity, health, wealth and sovereignty, a number of grants of land, one of which was recorded on the plates under discussion. This particular grant of 50 *vāṭikās* of land was made in favour of the same *Brihat-Kumāra-mahāpātra* Bhīmadēvaśarman who was a Brāhmana of the Kāśyapa *gṛāma* having the Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva *pravara*s and was a student of the Kāśyapa branch of the Yajurveda. The *modala* or order of the execution of this grant was issued by king *Vira-īri* Narasiṃhaśa (i.e., Narasiṃha II) on the date discussed above, when he was staying at the *kaṭuka* (city, camp or residence) of Chauhattā, to the *Pura-parikṣaka* Alāla, who was also a *Brihat-Sandhivigrahi-Mahāpātra*, in the presence of Kumāra who seems to have been the adopted son (*duḥita*) of the *Rāja* and *Kāśhādhyakṣa* Yāgānanda styled *Khaḍgagrāhi-Mahāpātra*. The expression *maṇḍāli-samay-śrāntari* used in connection with the issue of the king's order is difficult to explain.<sup>1</sup> The executor of the grant, Alāla, was not only a *Pura-parikṣaka* (possibly *Pura-parikṣaka*) but also a *Brihat-Sandhivigrahi-mahāpātra*, i.e., a minister of the superior rank for war and peace. *Mahāpātra* Yāgānanda, called *Khaḍga-grāhi* (possibly the same as Oriyā *Khaḍgāṭa*), has also the official designation *Rāja* (officer in charge of the royal lands) and *Kāśhādhyakṣa* (treasurer). He seems to be no other than the *Ghaṭavastya-Khaḍgagrāhi-Mahāpātra* Yāgānanda mentioned in the Alāpur plates of Narasiṃha II as the owner of a *śāraṇa* or gift village possibly called Ghaṭavata.

The 50 *vāṭikās* of land granted by Narasiṃha II to Bhīmadēvaśarman covered two plots. The first of them comprised the village of Sindhādāmaṣṭoi situated in the Rēṇupā *śikṣa*. The measurement of the area was done by Mahāśvara-nāyaka (*nāyaka* here indicating the caste or family name of Mahāśvara or his official position as a surveyor) who was the representative of the *Pura-nāyaka* Śivādīna also known from the second set of the Kēndupāṭṇā plates edited above. The village was bounded in the west by parts of the boundary line of Tantiśāḍagrāma (also called Tantiādā) and in the east by the western boundary line of a village, the name of which ended with the letter *ṛṣa*. Its southern boundary was a sandy waste land and its northern limit was the bridge on the river Suvārparākhā. Within these boundaries, the land measured 48 *vāṭikās* 12 *mānas* and

<sup>1</sup> *Maṇḍāli* (for *maṇḍāli* ?) may be Oriyā *maṇḍāli* meaning the act of taking food by a king. The word *maṇḍāli* occurs in the *Madala Pāṭi*, ed. A. B. Mahanti, p. 30.  
MGIPC—SI—14 DGA—10-2-53—430.







Lines 161—79.....

- 176....<sup>1</sup> Svasti [||\*] Śaka-nīpatitaḥ samatitē-shābhayādaś-ōttara-dvādaśa-śata-[vata]-  
rāhu |<sup>2</sup>  
177 Mēsha-śukla-pañcama-yān-Guru-vārō Chauhaṭṭā-nāmadhēyō kṣakā māgabā-samay-  
ānantarē hali(h)-kō(śh)lādhyakāha-kha- |<sup>3</sup>  
178 Jgagrāhi-mahāpātra Yāgānanda-śulāla-Kumāra-sannidhau purō-parīkṣhak-Ālāla-vpi(bṛi)-  
hat-sandhivigrahi-mahāpātra-mū(nu)-  
179 dalēna Vira-śri-Narasimhadēvaḥ sv-āyur-āśy-gy-aśivarya-sāmrāja-sampriddhayaḥ pūrv-ōttagēbt-  
ānēka-bh[ū]-madhyā-

*Sixth Plate : First Side*

- 180 (t Kāśyapa)-magōtrāya Kāśyapa(p-Ā)va[tsāra-Nai]dhruva-pra[va]rāya Yajurvrid-āntar-  
agata-[Kā]gva-śākh-arka-dōś-ādhyāyinaḥ [vpi(bṛi)hat-Kumā]ra-nā[ma]hā-  
181 pātra-śri-Bhīmadēva[śa]ramapā pañchād-vāṭikā-pradān[āya Rē]munā-vishaya-ma[db]ya-  
varttinaḥ Sindhā[śaman]dōi-grāmaḥ purō-nā-  
182 yaka-Śivadāsa-pratīhastā-Mahēśvara-nāyaka-nala-pramāṣṇa paśchūmataḥ Tantiōdā-  
grāmiya-daṇḍ-ārddh-ādīm-āra[bhya]x x x  
183 rpa-grāmiya-paśchīma-śi(s)ma-daṇḍā-pūrv-āvacchhēdāśi dakṣiṇataḥ vāḷ[ū]kā-patita-  
bhūmim-ādīkṛitya Suvarganārūkhā-nadi-s[ā]r[ā]te-parya-  
184 nt-ōttar-āvacchhēdā ēvarchatuḥ-śi(s)m-āvacchhīna-bhūmi-guṇṭha-dāś-ōpāta-māna-  
dvādaś-ādīka-vāṭik-ābh[ā]bhāt-vāriṣṭāda-madhyā-[purāta]-  
185 purātana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmapa-bhōgya-gōhari-jalāśaya-samōta-māna-dāś-ōttara-vāṭikā-  
tritaya[m\*] va(ba)hāhkritya nīravakara-[dāśa-gu]-  
186 gṛh-ādīka-māna-dvay-ōttara-paśchachāt-vāriṣṭātikā<sup>4</sup>-parimitam(tam) || tath-aitad-  
vishay-āśanaḥ Chekhōdā-grāmam(mam) [ ] [ ] purō-nāyaka-Śivadāsa-[pratiha]-  
187 sta-Bavi-nāyaka-nala-pramāṣṇa | ētat-grām-ōttara-śi(s)mānta-Tantiōdā-grāma-  
dakṣiṇa-kāhētra-sētom-ādīkṛitya Chekhōdā-grāma-dakṣiṇa-[Su-]<sup>5</sup>  
188 varpa-mady-uttara-Rupādihāri-tikkar-kāhētra-kōdār-ōttara-sēta-paryanta-dakṣiṇ-  
āvacchhēdāś(dam) | pūrvvataḥ | Tanti-  
189 audā-paśchīma-kāhētra-parichchhēdā-Sijgal-tikkaram-aḍḍikṛitya Chekhōdā-pūrvva-  
kāhētra-madhyā-Bhairā-tikari-[va(ba)ndha]-  
190 parichchhēdam-ēvam chatuḥ-śi(s)m-āvacchhīna-bhūmi-paśchadāśa-guṇṭh-ōttara māna-  
saptadāś-ādīkam(ka)-vāṭikā-chatuṣṭa-  
191 ya-parimita-madhyā-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmapa-bhōgya-gōhari-gōpātha-daṇḍā-samōta-māna-  
dāśa-mitam va(ba)hāhkritya nī-  
192 ravakara-pañchadāśa-guṇṭh-ādīka-sapta-mān-ōpāta-vāṭikā-chatuṣṭaya-parimitam-  
ēvam grāma-dvayēna pa-]<sup>6</sup>  
193 śchād-vāṭikā-parimitam jula-ēthala-machchha[śya]-kacchhapa-sahittam(ta)m-ā-  
chandr-ārkkam-akarīkṛitya prādāt [V] Asmin Bhīmanārā-

<sup>1</sup> Verse 165 of the introductory part ends about the beginning of this line.

<sup>2</sup> Read *śābhāśa*.

<sup>3</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous and is used to cover some space about the end of the line.

<sup>4</sup> Read *\*vāriṣṭātikā*. The following three characters are superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> Read *\*chāt-vāriṣṭātikā*.

<sup>6</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>7</sup> There is the usual ornamental flower design between the double *daṇḍas*.

- 194 yaṇṭa(na)plu(pu)r-ākhyā śāsanā Pāṇinīśa-gōṭṭasya [Bilgṛvā-āntarggata-Śākala-ākṣh-  
ādhyāyina] śāsan-ādhiṭā[ti] |<sup>1</sup>  
195 Allālanūtha-sāṇṭpatār-bhāga-dvayaṇi dvija-vyavasthitaṇ(tam) || śtat-tāmvra(mra)-lē-  
khaka-tāmvra(mra)kārasya Paṇṇāṇirap-ākṣh[ya]sya |  
196 dvija-vyavasthitaṇ bhāga-ākṣh(kam)<sup>2</sup> || o] aṣṇ śāsanasy-āgatayā Jayapura-haṭṭiya-  
suvareṇakāra-Nārāyaṇa-[sā]-  
197 [dhār-na]ptā Kumbhāra-sādha-nāmā || Sidraṅga-haṭṭiya-gōpāla-Gōpā-nāmā || Vaḍa-  
tāla-daṇḍā-gōpāpa-t[ali]-  
198 ka-Dradāi-ārśaṭhikaṇya naptā Kālā-ārśaṭhī-nāmā || Satha-grāma-na vā(va)-haṭṭiya-  
kumbhakāra-Jayadēva-ārś[ah]thikaṇya na[ptā]  
199 Dē[vā]ji-ārśaṭhī-nāmā || etā- chataṣaṇ prajāḥ prādāt ||<sup>3</sup>.....

*Sixth Plate; Second Side*<sup>4</sup>

Lines 200—208 .....<sup>5</sup>

### No. 34—TWO SENDRAKA GRANTS

(2 Plates)

G. H. KHADE, POONA

*A. Nāga Plates of Sendraka Nikumbhallaśakā : Śaka year 577*

These plates were originally owned by Mr. Giramāji Dugadu Pāṭil of Nāgaḍ, taluqa Kannaḍa, District Amrāgabād (Hyderabad State). Mr. G. R. Pūjalkar of Chāligason (East Khandesh) acquired them on loan for the Rājwāde Sansādhana Maṇḍala, Dhulā (West Khandesh), the Secretary of which Institution very generously allowed me to edit them in the Society's Journal in Marāṭhī.<sup>6</sup> I re-edit them here in English.<sup>7</sup>

The set in question consists of **two plates**, each measuring 8½" by 3½", strung together on a circular ring two inches in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into an oblong seal with diameters of 1½" and 2". The first plate is written on one side only, while the second contains writing on both sides. Though the rims of the plates are raised to protect the writing, it is not well preserved. It has been obliterated all along and a large number of letters has been practically erased. Owing to rust, the first plate has got a hole in it, while a corner of the second plate has completely disappeared. Still, with the help of the texts of the Bagumra<sup>8</sup> and Kalwan (Mundakhāḍe)<sup>9</sup> plates, I have been able to decipher the grant fairly well.

The characters of the grant are the proto-type of old Kannaḍa and closely resemble those of the Bagumra plates and also the Kāśārē plates published below (B).

<sup>1</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfl. one. *Saṇḍā* has not been observed here.

<sup>2</sup> Better read "ayamāṭhā bhāga śakā".

<sup>3</sup> This is followed by parts of the verse *maḍ-āṇa-phala-siddhy-arthaṇ*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> This face is not numbered as the reverse sides of the first five plates.

<sup>5</sup> Continuation of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses found in the records of Narasimha II.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. VIII, No. 3.

<sup>7</sup> A note on this grant in English has been published by me in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, No. 12.

<sup>8</sup> *Jour. As.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 295 et seq.

<sup>9</sup> *Prabhā* (Marāṭhī Journal), Vol. II, No. 12; *Annual Report of the Bhopāl District Sahasādhaka Maṇḍala* for Śaka 1834, pp. 60 et seq.



About **orthography**, the following peculiarities deserve notice. *ṛ* is generally substituted by *ri* with only two exceptions, viz., \**erish* (l. 18) and *paṭal-dvīpa* (l. 21). A consonant preceded by *rēpha* is doubled, except in *krimur-bhūta* (l. 24) and *nirbhūta* (l. 25). If the doubled consonant happens to be the second or the fourth letter of a class, then the initial consonant is changed respectively into the first or the third consonant of the same class; for instance \**śarppa-ārtham* (l. 18), *dharmu-ārtha* (l. 35) and *dirgha* (l. 29). In *saṁhigāṇa* (ll. 5, 7) similarly *ḍ* has been doubled. In *saṁśiḥ* (l. 19) the *anuvāsa* has been replaced by *ā*. *Upadhāniya* has been used in two places: *dhīma* < *putra* (l. 16) and *śripatibhi* < *prabala* (l. 19). In *hāḥ* (l. 26) *h* has been substituted by *l*.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit prose all through, excepting the verses in ll. 22-25.

The record belongs to the king **Nikumbhāśakti** of the Śāndraka dynasty, whose father and grandfather were **Ādityaśakti** and **Bhānuśakti** respectively. In all the records of this branch of the Śāndrakas that have come to light hitherto, the name of the last member was spelt as **Nikumbhāśakti**, i.e., with a short *a* in *bā* and we were unable to split the word correctly.<sup>1</sup> But here the *ā* in *bā* is clearly long and we can easily split the word into **Nikumbha** and **Āśakti** meaning thereby **Āśakti** of **Nikumbha**. In the following grant we actually get the name **Āśakti** as a variant for **Nikumbhāśakti**. The same kind of genealogy appears in the Bagumra and Kalwar plates with the exception that the Kalwar plates carry the pedigree one generation further and name **Jayaśakti** as the son of **Nikumbhāśakti**. The plates under discussion supply no historical information about the three members of the dynasty mentioned in it. But being dated in Śaka 577 current they would show that **Nikumbhāśakti** died some time between Śaka 577 and Śaka 602 which is the date of the Kalwar plates of his son **Jayaśakti**.

After the eulogy of the three members in general terms, which closely resembles that in the Kalwar plates, comes the description of the grant proper. We are told that **Nikumbhāśakti**, while camping near the lake **Vṛśchi**...ndha in the vicinity of the austerity-grove at **Kāyāvatāra**, with a view to gain merit for himself as well as for his parents, granted the village **Saśchirākhōḥi**, situated to the south of the hill **Bāruvāṇa**, which was lying in the district of **Nāndipurādvāri** to the **Bṛāhmaṇa** **Bhōḡika**, the son of **Namasvāmin**, a student of the **ḡṛṇāla**, belonging to the **Ātrēya** **gōtra** and a resident of the village **Prāktatgaṇi**. The boundaries of this village are not specified. The charter was drafted by **Māridatta** by the order of the generalissimo **Vācava** and with the consent of **Dēvadinna**, the minister for peace and war. In the Bagumra plates, both **Vācava** and **Dēvadinna** figure in the same capacities and in addition it has been stated there that the latter was the younger brother of the former.

The **date** of the inscription is given as the year 577 without quoting any era, cyclic year **Ānanda**, the month **Māgha**, and the 3rd day of the bright fortnight. As 577 of the Śaka year current coincides with the cyclic year **Ānanda** according to the southern system of reckoning, it must be referred to the Śaka era. The corresponding Christian date is the **15th of January 655 A.C.**

Of the place-names occurring in this record, I am unable at present to identify any except **Kāyāvatāra**. This place is referred to in another grant found at **Namsari**,<sup>2</sup> which is later in date and issued by the **Gūjara** king **Jayabhaṭa III**. The editor of the grant was inclined to look

<sup>1</sup> Prof. V. V. Mirashi has rightly pointed out that the name **Jayaśakti** in the Kalwar (**Mudgakhōḥi**) plates is preceded by the word **Nikumbha**, but I cannot understand how he calls it a *śrōṭa* (D. K. Bhattacharya *Commemorative Volume*, p. 23, note 4).

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 71.



upon Kāvātāra as the Sanskrit form of Kāvī (Jambhar-Broach). Dr. A. S. Altekar of Patna, in his monograph on the *History of Some Important Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawar* by oversight assumes the place-name to be Kāvātāra instead of Kāvātāra and opines that this Kāvātāra is the same as ancient Kāpilā or modern Kāvi.<sup>1</sup> But both of these scholars seem to be in the wrong. Kāvātāra must be identified with the modern Kārwan near Dabhoi in the Baroda State. For this is the very place that was sanctified by the residence of Lakulīśa, the pioneer exponent of a Śaiva (Pāmpata) sect. The same is referred to as Kāvāvi-(v)ārōhaṇa in the Śkalīṅga inscription and under the more simplified form Kārōhaṇa in the Cintra (Portugal) *preśanti*, in *Linga-Purāṇa* under its variant Kāvārōhaṇa, in the local *māhātmya* of Kārwan under the slightly corrupted forms Kāvārōhaṇa and Karōhaṇa, and in a still more corrupted form Kāvārōhaṇa in *Vāyu-Purāṇa*.<sup>2</sup> But as Kāvātāra and Kāvārōhaṇa mean one and the same thing, Kāvātāra cannot be any other place but Kārwan. It is interesting to note that there is also a very large and holy tank at this place as stated in the present record.<sup>3</sup> But unfortunately I could not trace the name of the tank even after much correspondence and oral enquiry. The place-name Nāndipuradvārī mentioned in the present record occurs also in the Jethwani plates<sup>4</sup> of the Rāshtrakūṭa queen Śīlamahādēvī and in the Bhāndak plates<sup>5</sup> of Rāshtrakūṭa Kriṣṇarāja I dated Śaka 708 and 694 respectively. The editor of the former grant has left this place unidentified; and the late R. B. Hirallal in his note on the latter has identified this place with Nāndorā, a village just near, and to the north of, Wardha, the headquarters of the district of the same name in Berar. I would like to suggest the following: Nāndipuradvārī literally means a door to Nāndipura. Nāndipuradvārī, therefore, must be a locality wherefrom a road should lead one to Nāndipura. Now Nāndipura or Nāndipurī which could have some possible connection with Nāndipuradvārī and which was situated in Western India, is the one referred to in the two Kaira and the two Sāṅkhēḍa plates of Gūrjara Dadda II which were issued from Nāndipurī or Nāndipura itself. Dr. Bühler identified this place with an old fort just outside the town of Broach,<sup>6</sup> but the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's suggestion that it should be identified with Nandod in the Rajpipla State stands on a firmer ground.<sup>7</sup> The only place which could have served as a door-way to either of the places and especially the latter, is Nanturbār, a *talūqa* town in the West Khandesh District. It is only sixty miles from Nandod and has some ancient remains.<sup>8</sup> Moreover it is interesting to note that the feminine gender of the name is still retained in colloquial language.

#### B. Kāśrī Plates of Śindraka Nāṇabhāllabakti; year 404

These plates were indeed originally edited by the late G. K. Chandorkar in a now-defunct Marāṭhī quarterly *Itihāsa Aṇi Atikāśikā* (year 3, Nos. 26, 27; p. 44); but the editing was done in such a way that no apology was needed when I re-edited them in *The Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. III, p. 66. I edit them here for the third time.

The plates originally belonged to one Bhikā Pāṇḍū Chaudhārī, of the village Kāśrī, *talūqa* Śākri, District West Khandesh. I secured them for the *Bharata Itihāsa Samikṣhaka Maṇḍala*

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> P. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.* 1906-07, p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* and *Baroda Gazetteer*, pp. 49, 551.

<sup>5</sup> *Ahmedn. Vol. XXII*, p. 98.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 121.

<sup>7</sup> *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Nos. 1209, 1210, 1212 and 1213.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 62.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 73.

<sup>10</sup> *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XV, part 2, July 1946.



through the good offices of Professor S. R. Phatak (Bombay), the late V. G. Joshi (Poona) and Mr. Balubhai Mahta, M.A., LL.B. (Dhulia), all of whom I thank heartily.

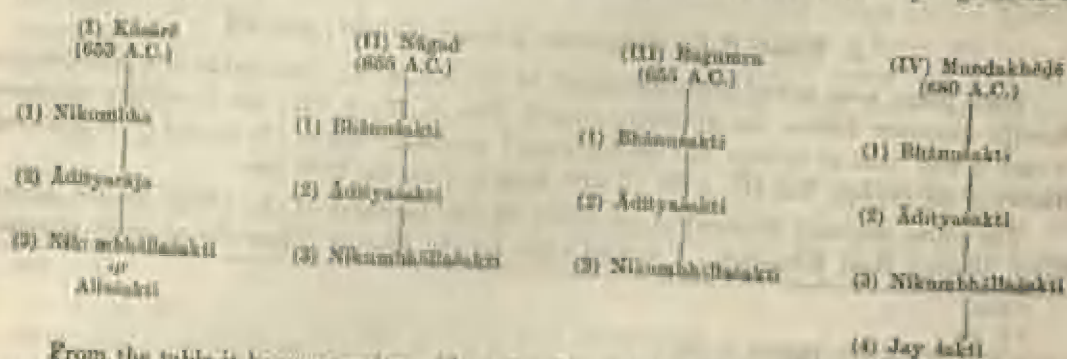
The set consists of two plates,  $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$  in length and breadth, which were strung together with two rings  $2''$  and  $1\frac{1}{2}''$  in diameters respectively through two holes bored lengthwise. One of the rings was found already cut and without a seal. The two ends of the other were soldered into a circular seal  $\frac{1}{2}''$  in diameter and bearing the legend *Śrī Allasakti* engraved on it. Both the sides of the first plate and the inner side of the second are inscribed containing 4, 14 and 15 lines respectively. The 4 lines of writing on the outer side of the first plate are in continuation of the second plate and form the concluding portion of the grant. On the inner side of the second plate, just in the space between the lines 19 and 20, are inscribed the words *yathā mayā brāhma* and below the lines 20 and 21 are inscribed some words which have been partially erased. The upper lines are, therefore, so much obliterated that it is very difficult to decipher either of the two writings satisfactorily.

The characters of the inscription resemble those of the Nāgaḍ and the Bagumra plates with little variations and consequently require no special remarks.

About **orthography** some points deserve mention here. *Ri* is invariably substituted for *ri* except in *bhūbhīri* (I.8). The *anusvāra* is generally changed into the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs. But in *śaṣṭhānu* (I.5), *vaśajāḥ* (I.7) and *-mad-vaśajāḥ* (I.26), the *anusvāra* has been wrongly changed to *n*. In *\*vāgamburcōḥṣaḥ* (I.8) *va* is redundant and the two words are unnecessarily joined together. In several places *visarga* or its transformation is dropped. In *\*Mālaś-tamita* (I.9) and *\*śiṣṭvitaś-ṣṛṣṭ* (I.12) *visarga* has been changed to the following consonant. *Jānuṁāṭya* occurs in *\*kakti-kutali* (I.18) and *Upaṁṁāṭya* in *śmaṣṭa-prabala* (I.10), *śiṣṭvitaś-pura* (I.17), and *manṣṛṣṭa-prati* (I.27). In *kurcōḥṣṛṣṭaṁ* (I.8), *visarga* has been wrongly changed to *p*. The doubling in *Māddhyandina* (I.22) and *\*vaśigāmi* (I.26) also deserves notice.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, prose and poetry intermingled.

The grant begins with the preamble beginning with *Mēru* and ending with *nigṛhṣṭa-pāda-paṭṭajāḥ* as we find in the other three Śāndraka plates. After it, comes the prose as well as the versified description of the king Nikumbha of the Śāndraka family, his son Ādityarāja and his son Nikumbhāśakti or simply Allasakti. It is interesting to tabulate the pedigree in the four grants here :—



From the table it becomes quite evident that in the Kāsārī grant the first member is named Nikumbha, while the other three grants name the same member as Bhānuśakti. The Kāsārī grant mentions Ādityarāja as the son of Nikumbha while the other three grants give Ādityaśakti as the son of Bhānuśakti. The name of the member of the third generation is the same in all the four grants with the difference that Kāsārī grant supplies a variant Allasakti in addition. But does this mean that the Śāndraka branch represented by the Kāsārī grant is different from the

one represented in the other three ? It is difficult to answer in the affirmative. For, besides the date of the Kāsārē grant which is very near to that of the Nāgaḍ and the Bagumra grants, the writers and the commanders are practically the same in all the three. Thus the *Mahābalādhikṛita* Yāsava was the person at whose command all the three grants were issued. The Kāsārē grant was drafted by one Dēvadinna. In the Nāgaḍ plates, Dēvadinna figures as the minister for peace and war and the charter was drafted by one Mātridatta with the consent of Dēvadinna. The draft of the Bagumra grant was also prepared by Dēvadinna, the minister for peace and war and the charter adds that Dēvadinna was a younger brother of Yāsava. I tabulate the above information in order to have a clear idea.

Grant	Commander	Drafter
Kāsārē (653 A.C.)	Generalissimo Yāsava	Dēvadinna.
Bagumra (650 A.C.)	Do.	Dēvadinna, the minister for peace and war and the younger brother of Yāsava.
Nāgaḍ (653 A.C.)	Do.	Mātridatta with the consent of Dēvadinna, the minister for peace and war.

Thus it is evident that all the four plates represent one and the same family in spite of a slight variation in the name of the first member of the family in the record under discussion.

In an inscription at Bādāmi (Bijapur) occurs the stray name of one Bhīmalaḍḍi Sēndrakān who undoubtedly belonged to a Sēndraka family and the same person appears to have been mentioned in other inscriptions of the same place.<sup>1</sup> But I fear that at this stage of our knowledge of the Sēndraka dynasty it is not possible to assign a definite place to this Bhīmalaḍḍi.

From line 18 begins the description of the grant proper. Nikumbhāḷḷaḍḍi, the last member of the family, who imitated on the feet of his parents, who was a great devotee of Mahāvēara, who had acquired the five great sounds and who was the master of the earth, with a view to acquire merit for himself as well as for his parents, gave fifty *śatābhaya* of land lying to the south of the river at the village Pippalakhōṭa to the *Brāhmaṇa* Bālaprasasta, of the Kṛishṇātrīya *gōtra* and of the Mādhyamīna branch of the *Vājasaṁyī Saṁhitā*, i.e., white Yajurveda, for the *śpaṭhāḷa* of the god Laṅghyāvēara. The phrase *saṁśrīptapaśchamahāśubhaḥ* clearly indicates that the last member was a scintillatory prince, apparently of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi.

The date on which the grant was issued is denoted by two symbols (131). The first symbol undoubtedly represents 400. The second symbol must be taken to represent 4. It is appended with a zig-zag horizontal line at the upper right corner and if this line has been appended purposely the symbol probably represents the number 70. But then we would be confronted with insurmountable difficulties. I, therefore, take the second symbol to represent 4. Thus the year will be 404. The further details of the date are the new-moon day of the month Āshāḍha and the solar eclipse. To what particular era this year of the grant is to be referred ? In the Nāgaḍ and the Mundakhōḷō plates, though no era has been specified, the years 577 and 602 which occur in them can easily be referred to the Śaka era. In the Bagumra grant also though no era has been specified, the year 406 in which it is dated must be taken to belong to the Kalachuri era. The year 404, the date of this grant must also be referred to the same era as both the grants have many points of similarity as shown above. If, according to Prof. Mirashi's calculations, we grant that the initial year of this era began on 6-10-248 A.C., we must add 249 to 404 to get a date in Āshāḍha of that year.<sup>2</sup> According to the *pūrṇimānta* system of reckoning Hindu months, the new-moon

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, for the year 1928-29, Appendix E, Nos. 125, 101, 126, 127.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 12.



day of Āshāḍha of the year 404, i.e., 653 A.C. (404 plus 249) fell on June 1 when there was a solar eclipse visible in India. 1-6-653 A.C. must, therefore, be the date of the grant.

If on the other hand the numerical symbols are taken to denote the year 470 (i.e., 719 A.C.), there was no solar eclipse on the new-moon day of the Nija-Āshāḍha according to either system of reckoning Hindu months. Though there was a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of the intercalary Āshāḍha of this year, there is no mention of such a month in the grant itself. Moreover, it is well nigh impossible for the same generalissimo and the same writer to have lived under the same king in 404 and 470 which will be the dates for the Bagumra and Kāsārī grants respectively.

Pippalakhṣṭa is the only locality that I can decipher. Some river or rather stream is mentioned to be flowing by the side of the village, but its name cannot be properly deciphered. As the boundaries of Pippalakhṣṭa are not specified, it is difficult to identify it.

Though each of these two grants supplies very little direct historical information by itself, the facts supplied by the above-mentioned four grants when pieced together indeed shed much light on some points regarding the history of the Sēndrakas family referred to in the grants, and it would not be out of place if I say a few words about them.

First, what was the extent of the country which the Sēndrakas ruled over? The village granted in the Bagumra record has been rightly identified with Nausari in the Surat District. The place of encampment mentioned in the Nāgad plates from which the plates were issued is Kāyāvātāra or modern Kārwaṇ near Dahhol which in itself is twenty miles to the south-east of Baroda. I may, therefore, be not far wrong if I surmise that the power of the Sēndrakas had extended upto Baroda at the time of the grant. If my conjecture about Nāndīparadvārī, the province which included the village granted in the Nāgad plates, be correct, it follows that at least the southern half of the present West Khandesh District was under the sway of the Sēndrakas at the time of the grant. The places mentioned in the Kājwaṇ plates have not been finally identified as yet, I believe. But if Prof. Mirashi's suggestion about the identification of the places in the grant be accepted as correct, the village granted should be supposed to lie in the north-eastern extremity of the Nasik District. The village granted in the Kāsārī plates should be searched for somewhere in the north-eastern extremity of the Nasik and the south-western extremity of the East Khandesh Districts. For, it is in this part of the country that places bearing the names Pimparkhed, Pimpalwādī-Nikumbha (Pimpalwadi) of the Nikumbhas, Alwādī (Allavāṭkī), etc., lie and it is this part which the Nikumbhas who seem to be related to the Sēndrakas were ruling over in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries of the Christian era. Thus it is evident that the Sēndrakas most probably ruled over the modern Surat and Broach Districts, the southern half of the Baroda State, the West Khandesh District, the south-western part of the East Khandesh and the north-eastern part of the Nasik Districts.

Is there anything to show that the Sēndrakas were connected with the Nikumbhas in any way? On the one hand the Bagumra grant begins with a verse in praise of the Sun. The names of the majority of members of the Sēndraka family begin with some word meaning the Sun, e.g., Bhanusakti, Ādityasakti; and Nikumbha was the name of a well-known mythical king belonging to the solar race. On the other hand the Nikumbha inscriptions begin with homage to the solar race and then Rāma and Nikumbha belonging to the same race are extolled. Lastly, it is stated in Nikumbha inscriptions that in the family of Nikumbha was born the first ancestor from whom begins the pedigree of the Nikumbha dynasty. In these circumstances it appears that the Nikumbha dynasty was either an offshoot of the Sēndraka family or both of them were descended from a common stock.

[A. Naked Plates of Sendraka Nikumbhāśāśakti : year 577]

## TEXT

## First Plate

- 1 ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीकायावतारतपोवनप्रत्यासन्नं (वृ) विच....<sup>1</sup> न्वतटाकावासितविजयस्कन्धावारा[त्]
- 2 मे<sup>2</sup> समहीवरशिखरस्थिररुचिरसमुद्रतः (ते) विकसितयशसि महति सेन्द्रकानामन्वये
- 3 अनेकचातुर्दन्तगजघटाटोपसमरसङ्घट्टलब्धविजयो विजिताशेषरिपुगणः
- 4 स्वभुजबलविक्रमाक्रान्तमहीमण्डलः प्रणताशेषसामन्तशिरोमुक्त (कु) टनिधि (वृ) पृष्ठा-
- 5 दपङ्कजः (जो) नरपतिश्रीभानुसक्ति<sup>3</sup> तस्य पुत्र<sup>4</sup> स्तत्पादानुद्ध्या (ध्या) तः (तो) तयवितयसत्पशौचा-
- 6 चारदमदयादानदाक्षिण्यो (ण्यौ) दार्यवैद्यवैद्यपराक्रमोत्साहशक्तिसम्पन्नः श्रीमदा-
- 7 दित्यशक्तिः<sup>5</sup> तस्य पुत्रस्त्वं (स्त) त्पादाभ<sup>6</sup> नु (पादानु) द्या (ध्या) तः (तो) व्यपगतसजल-
- 8 रदिन्दुकिरणधवलतरपशोवितानलङ्घिताम्भोधिपरापरः परममगौरो देवद्वि-
- 9 जातिस्त्वजनव (जा) न्ववोपभुज्यमानविभवो भवसुनुरिवाप्रतिहृतशक्तिः शक्तिरिवोवा (पा)-
- 10 त्तराज्य (ज्यः) [समद] द्विरदवरसलिल [गति]<sup>7</sup> रजुन [इ]<sup>8</sup> वाषोपसंग्रामविजयी काम इव समदव [र]<sup>9</sup> युवतिज-
- 11 ननयनानन्दो (न्द्रः) [पर] ममाहेश्वरः परमब्रह्मण्यः समधिगत [पञ्च] महाशब्दः

## Second Plate : First Side

- 12 श्रीप्रि (पृ) धिवीवल्लभनिकुम्भाल्लशक्तिः कुशली सर्वा<sup>10</sup> नेव स] मुपगत [विष] यपतिराष्ट्रा-
- 13 ममहत्तराधिकारिका [कान्] समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं नान्दीपुरद्वारीविषयान्तर्गत-
- 14 पर्वतवारुदाणदक्षिणेन सुस्चिरासोली ग्रामो (मः) <sup>11</sup> सग्रामोपान्तसहितस्सर्वदानसया-

<sup>1</sup> Prepared from the original.

<sup>2</sup> Represented by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> A letter has disappeared here.

<sup>4</sup> The text beginning from here and ending with line 22 very closely resembles the corresponding part in the Bagumra and the Kalwan (Mandakhede) plates; but at the same time shows the degree of corruption in the text of the Bagumra grant.

<sup>5</sup> Read \*śakti-maya.

<sup>6</sup> The reading here is rather doubtful to me.

<sup>7</sup> The reading of this and the following two letters is doubtful to me.

<sup>8</sup> The reading here has been restored with the help of the text in the Kaira plates of Gājara king Dadā. 11.

(Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 83).



- 15 ह्यसर्व्वदित्यविष्टिप्रो (प्रा) तिभे[वि\*]क(का) परिहीणो भूमिच्छिद्रं(द्र)न्यायेनावाटव[भ]-  
टप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रा-
- 16 कर्कोष्णवक्षितिसमकालीन) (पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यः प्राक्तंगरावास्तव्य' आत्रेयसगो-
- 17 नवह्वि(ह्व)चसब्रह्मचारिणे ब्राह्मणनम्रस्वामिपुत्रश्रीभोगिकाय बलिचरुवस्वदेवाग्निहोत्रा-
- 18 दिक्षियोत्सर्पणार्थं सातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यामित्रि(वृ)द्वये<sup>1</sup> उदकातिसर्गोणातिसृष्टो  
यतो-
- 19 स्मद्वद्वर्ष्यरन्यैर्वागामित्रि(नृ)पतिभिः) (प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरंगचञ्चलं जीव-  
लोकमभः<sup>2</sup>
- 20 वानुगतानु(न)सारा[नृ\*] विभवा[नृ\*] दीर्घकालस्वे(स्वे)यश(स)श्च<sup>3</sup> गुणानाकलय्य  
अस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पाल-
- 21 पितव्यश्च । यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्वादाच्छिन्वा(द्य)[मान\*]  
वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्मह-
- 22 पातकै(कं) स(सं)युक्तः स्यादित्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । पष्टि वर्षस-  
[ह्रत्वाणि स्व]-
- 23 मों मोदति भूमिदः [1\*] ग्रा[च्छेता चानु]मन्ता च ताम्येव नरके वसेत् [11१11\*]  
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा [यो हरेत वसु]-
- 24 न्वरां [1] स विष्टायां कि(कृ)मिर्भूत्वा पित्रि(तृ)भिस्तह मज्जति [11२11\*]  
यानीह दत्तानि पुंरा नरेन्द्रादानानि धर्म्मा]-

*Second Plate ; Second Side*

- 25 त्वंयशस्कराणि [1\*] निर्भुक्तम(मा)त्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु(धु)  
पुनराददीत [11\*] . . . . .
- 26 पञ्चशतिके काले(ले) सप्तसप्तत्यधिके आनं(न)न्देन्दे मह(हा)बल(ता)विक्रि-  
(कृ)तवासवस[मा]दिशा[तृ\*]
- 27 सान्धिविग्रहिकदेवदिज्ञानुमतेन निम्बि[त\*]मिदः(दम्) मानि(तृ)दत्ते(त्ते)न माव-  
शुद्धि(तृ)तीये(यायां) इति [11\*]

<sup>1</sup> Sandhi has not been observed here.

<sup>2</sup> The reading here has been restored with the help of the text in the Kaira plates of Gōrjara king Dādika II  
(Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII, p. 83).

TWO SENDRAKA GRANTS  
A NAGAD PLATES OF NIKUMBHALLASAKTI : YEAR 577

i.



ii.a.





26

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प्रसन्नचित्तो भवेत्तु मे ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प्रसन्नचित्तो भवेत्तु मे ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प्रसन्नचित्तो भवेत्तु मे ॥

*B. Kāñirē Plates of Śeṇḍraka Nīkumbhāllāṅki : Year 404*

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

*First Plate ; First Side*

- 1 ॐ<sup>2</sup> स्वस्ति<sup>3</sup> मेरुमहीधरशिखरस्थिररुचिरसमुन्नते विकसितयशसि
- 2 महति सेन्द्रकराजामन्वये अनेकचातुर्दन्तगजघटाटोपसमरसङ्घट्ट-
- 3 लब्धविजयो विजिताशेषरिपुगण(णः) स्वभुजबलविक्रम(मा)क्रान्तमहीमण्डल(लः)
- 4 प्रणताशेषसामन्तशिरोमुकुटनिधि(धृ)ष्टपादगङ्गकजो(जः) [1\*] पुनरपिच [1\*]  
‘आजो नि-
- 5 निधनकुम्भप्रगतितरुचिरव्याप्तभूमौ हताश्वे । द्वि(द्व)ष्ट्वा<sup>4</sup> खड्गाङ्गशुबालं शरदनलक-
- 6 णप्रस्फुरद्विबुदामम् [1\*] स्वातु(तुं) शक्नोति येषां प्रभवति न रणे  
ताद्वि(द्व)शामुन(अ)ताना(नां) [1\*]
- 7 राजासीत्<sup>5</sup> श्रीनिकुम्भ(म्भः) सुरपतिरिद्वि(द्व)शो<sup>6</sup> वङ्गजः सेन्द्रकाणां [11१1\*]  
‘विभ्राण(णो) [भा\*]नुरागम्
- 8 जग(न)हितमन(नि)यं(यं) सख्वांदा सानुरागं म्कु(कु)र्वणि(णः) प्रो(प्रो)भ्रताना(नां)  
गुल्फकभि(भु)त(तां) भूभू-
- 9 ता(तां) मूर्द्धिन पादं [11\*] लोकातां चक्षुभूतशमितजनतमा लोकपालः  
त्रि(त्रु)षिव्या(व्यां) धि(धौ)मान्[1\*]
- 10 विख्यातकीर्त्ती रविरिव विम[न\*]स्तत्सुतोदित्यराजः [11२11\*] <sup>7</sup>तस्यात्मजः<sup>8</sup>प्रबलरिपुञ्च-
- 11 लोङ्गूतविभवप्रध्वंसहेतुः शरदमलशशाङ्कमण्डलामलयशः
- 12 सुरपतिरिव विद्याधरजनन्यव्वनिपेक्षितस्त्रेव्यो रम्यज्ञानकर्म्मभावितम-
- 13 तान्च गृह इव विनतानन्दजनो(न)नो राम इव परिसम्प्राप्तसीता-
- 14 विग्रह(हो) यश्च<sup>9</sup> विप्राधिष्ठितसम्पदाहितनृकः

<sup>1</sup> Based on the original plates.

<sup>2</sup> Represented by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Compare this prelude with those of the Bagumra, Kalwar and the preceding grants. The text of the Bagumra grant is certainly defective.

<sup>4</sup> Metre Śraddhārā.

<sup>5</sup> Read *khady-śukla*.

<sup>6</sup> The reading of this letter is doubtful to me.

<sup>7</sup> Read *manjula*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre Śraddhārā.

<sup>9</sup> Grammatically it should be *\*śukla Jdiparājā*; but then the line will be materially faulty.

<sup>10</sup> Here begins a short prose passage.

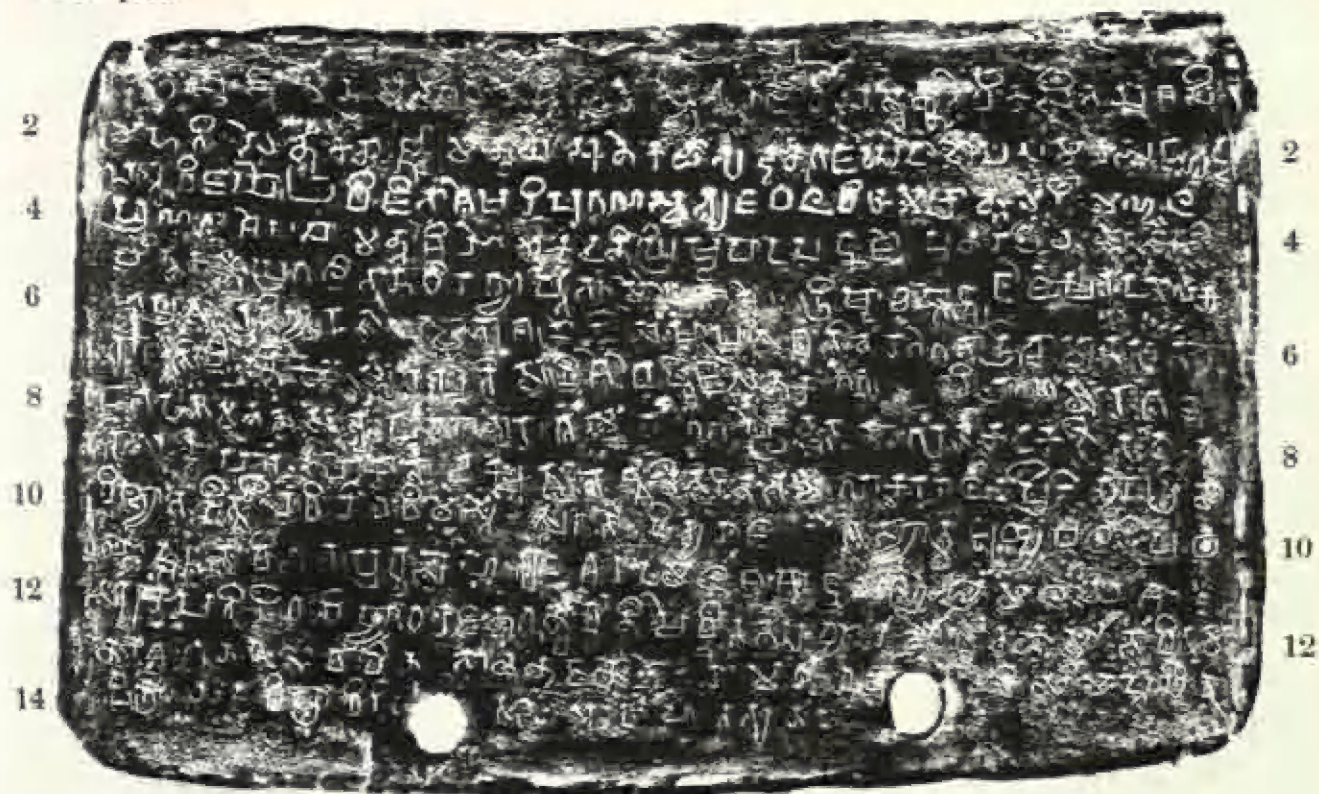
<sup>11</sup> Here begins a verse in the *Śardūlavikrīḍita* metre in which the names of the five Pīṇḍavas have been brought in allegorically.







First plate



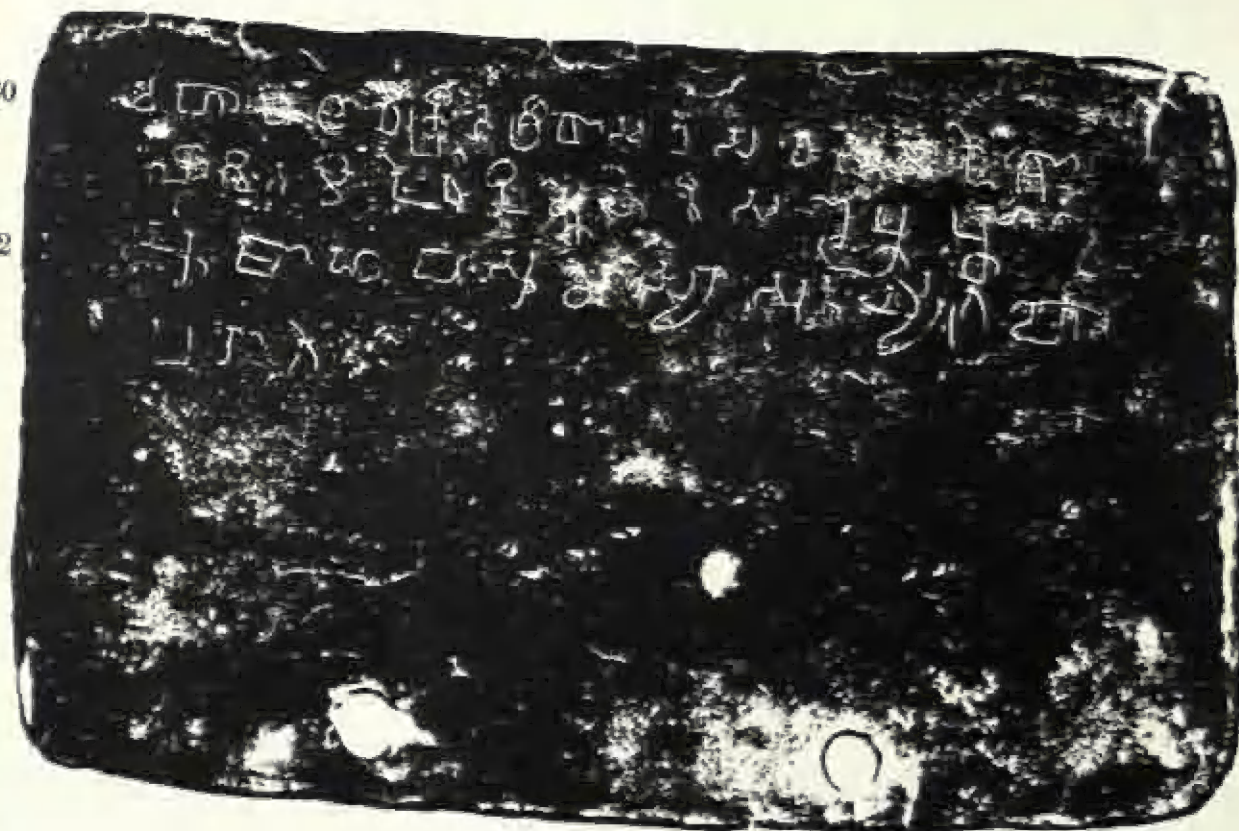
Second plate





30

32



30

32





Similarly the consonant after *r* is doubled, e.g., line 2, *-ōrmmi*; line 5, *Harē-dākskīṇa*; lines 9 and 19, *durṅga*; line 10, *korṅga*; line 21, *surveṣ*; line 25, *Velicherla*; line 28, *udakair-dāhārā*; line 33, *barlāḥ*; line 36, *sarveḥ*. The final *a* (*nakṣatrapollu*) at the end of a *pāda* is given, e.g., line 4, *udāhan*.

In the Telugu portion giving the boundaries, the word *rāyi* (stone) is written with only the initial vowel *i* (short) as *rāi*; *pūṣṇanuvāra* is used where *ardha anuvāra* is used now, e.g., line 35, *vāmga*; *tārpunḡommuna*.

Lines 1 to 4: the charter opens with a prayer to Gaṇēśa and to the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu who raised the earth from the ocean. Lines 4 to 6: the family of the donor is said to have been descended from the Sun-God who is also praised. Lines 6 to 12: in that family was born Kapilēśvara and to him was born Purnabōttama. To the latter was born Pratāpa-Rudra. The charter ratifies the gift of the village, Velicherla, by Pratāpa-Rudradēva Gajapati to a Brāhmana on the 3rd *tithi*, Friday, of the bright half of the (lunar) month of Kārttika of the (cyclic) year (*Pramōdīd-any-ābdavari*) which corresponded to the Śaka year indicated by the chronogram *kara-nām-ābhāi-titāman*, (2, 3, 4, 1).

As this date is important to clear some fallacies created by the historians regarding the relations of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya of Vijayanagara and Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati, I undertake to discuss this first before I proceed to comment on the text of the document. Mr. Venkatarangayya, who published this copper-plate grant, said that the date corresponded to 1510 A. C., October, 4, Friday; but on examination it is found that the *tithi* on that day was not *trītyā* but partly *prathamā* and partly *deśīyā*. The editor of the journal (*J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 57.) argued thus:—Unfortunately the Śaka *sativat* and the cyclic year do not agree; for Śaka 1432 (expired) coincided with Paridhāvi (*sic*), Śaka year 1433 expired or 1434 current alone (*sic*) would correspond to the cyclic year Pramōdūta. The date of the grant in Christian era would be equivalent to Friday, 24th October, 1511 A. C.

In the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1921, para. 70, it is said that Pramōdūta corresponded to 1510-11 A. C. None of these examiners seem to have understood the passage giving the date rightly. I quote here the verses (lines 22 to 24) to make it clear.

Line 22. *kara-nām-ābhāi-titāman-sankhyāka-Śaka-vatsarē Pra-*

Line 23. *mōdō(dā)ḍ-any-ābda-vari māsi Kārttika-nāmani śukla-trītyyā-dīpavē Bhā-*

Line 24. *ṛḡḡavarya cū vṣarē, etc.*

Here the cyclic year Pramōda or Pramōdūta correctly corresponds to the Śaka year 1432; but the compound *Pramōdō(dā)ḍ-any-ābda-vari* clearly indicates that the year other than (next to) Pramōda, i.e. Prajāpati—consequently, the Śaka year next to that quoted in the inscription, viz., 1433 seems to be intended. The date now resolves itself to Śaka 1433, (cyclic year) Prajāpati, (the lunar month) Kārttika suddha 3, Bhārgava's (week-)day, which corresponds to 1511 A. C., October 24, Friday.

Since the grant was made when the king was holding court in the great fort of Uṇḍrakōḍa, it is certain that he was in the south in 1511-12 A. C.; it was his *śaka* 17 as his father died in 1496-97. That the Gajapati king was in the south about 1511 A. C. is corroborated by other sources of information. The *Kaṣṭakārājasaṁskṛtānandī*<sup>1</sup> says that, when, in the 17th year (of reign) Cuttack was attacked by the Mogul called Hassan Shah, the king (Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati) who went

<sup>1</sup> *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, No. 94. The rest of the passage mentions the regnal year as *vatsara* and not as *śaka*. However since the Gajapati rulers invariably reckoned their reign in *śaka*, we may understand by *vatsara* only the *śaka* year.



south to conquer, returned and defeated the Mogul. This was in the 17th year of Pratāpa-Rudra. Jivādēvāchārya in the *Prasasti* of his *Bhaktibhāgavata*<sup>1</sup> says, 'the king, in his 17th year, was at Tirumala, fighting.' All these prove that Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati of Orissa was in the south till October 1511 A. C.

Yet, basing his arguments on the Gōṅgagūṇṭa rock inscription of Kṛishṇadēvarāya, the Superintendent for Epigraphy in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1933-34, para 41, says that Kṛishṇadēvarāya subdued Udayagiri some time between 24th January 1510 A. C. and 15th October of the same year. This argument becomes untenable if the date of the said Gōṅgagūṇṭa epigraph is taken into consideration. The date given in it is Śaka 1433, Pramōdūta, Kārttika śu. 11, Tuesday. Firstly, Śaka 1433 was not Pramōdūta; but it corresponds to Prajāpati, 1511 A. C. If the cyclic year Pramōdūta is taken, Kārttika śu. 11 falls on 13th October, Sunday, 1510 A. C. If Śaka 1433, Prajāpati, is taken, the date corresponds to Saturday, 1st November, 1511 A. C. Either way, the date of the epigraph is not correct, since the week day does not tally; and therefore it cannot be accepted as genuine.

The same officer in the beginning of the paragraph corrects the date of another inscription at Guṇḍlapālem, of Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati, and says that he granted a piece of land in 1510 A. C., sometime after January. Guṇḍlapālem is in Kandukur taluk and Gōṅgagūṇṭa is in Ongole taluk. The two taluks are so adjacent that it cannot be accepted that two hostile kings could hold sway here so closely.

In view of what has been stated above, the conclusions of the Superintendent for Epigraphy regarding the date of Kṛishṇadēvarāya's conquest of the Udayagiri fort need to be modified.

In the Velicherla copper plate under review, Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa bears several titles. It is but necessary to see if they were mere vainglorious ones or were really deserved. He was the overlord of the five Gaṇḍas, (*Pañcha-Gaṇḍa-ādhibhāyaka*), line 16). Kapilēśvara, his grandfather, acquired the title of Gaṇḍēśvara which became hereditary in his family. Only one part of the Gaṇḍa country must have been subdued during the time of Kapilēśvara. But Pratāpa-Rudra of Orissa defeated the ruler of Bengal (Gaṇḍa) and pursued him till the latter hid himself in his fort (lines 13-15). The *Bhaktibhāgavata Prasasti* says (verse 27), 'while his hair was still wet with the bath of coronation, he defeated the Sultan of Gaṇḍa, a conqueror in many battles, and at the end of the sixth week of his father's death he offered handfuls of water of the Gaṅgā for the merit of his father. The Anantavaram plates<sup>2</sup> with the date corresponding to 1500 A. C., November 5, Thursday, lunar eclipse, say that Pratāpa-Rudra drove the Aṅga king to the mountain refuge. This victory is amplified in the Idupulapāḍu-Garuḍastambha inscription,<sup>3</sup> the date of which corresponds to 1500 A. C., November 5, Thursday, lunar eclipse, which declares *Gauḍēndra-kraṇḍana-kuttha-āśiṣṭa-vijayaḥ*. Since these records bear the same date, this particular exploit must have been achieved before 1500 A. C.

Then we consider the other epithet, *Raja-Baṇjāra*. *Raja* means battle or fight; *Baṇjāra* is an Urdu word meaning the same thing as *Lambāḍi* (C. P. Brown), which means a trader.<sup>4</sup> So the phrase means a trader in battles, i.e., a victor in battles.

Since Anantavaram and Idupulapāḍu, where the grants of this Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati were found, are located to the north of the river Kṛishṇā, and since the village of Velicherla, the

<sup>1</sup> *Report on the Search for Sans. MSS., 1901-02 to 1905-06*, by M. M. H. P. Sastri, pp. 14 ff., vv. 31 and 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Andhra Pradesh Annual*, 1929, pp. 175-8; *Kaṇḍadēvarāya*, App. p. 97; *Journal of K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. X, No. 732, text lines 38-9.

<sup>4</sup> [Really speaking, the word *baṇjāra* is derived from Sanskrit *bhāṇjya* (or *śāṇjya*)-*śāra*.—Ed.]



object of this grant, is said to be in Pāka-nāḍu; it may be inferred that the region along the sea-coast might have been called by the name of Pāka-nāḍu.

Udrakonda, one of the forts said to have been captured by Kṛishṇadēvarāya, was a *mahā-durga* where Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati held his court, attended by learned men (*Paṇḍits*), *Pātras* (commanders of army), *Bāharā Mahāpātras* (collectors of revenue as well as commanders of army), and *Sāmantas* (vassals) (lines 19-21). The Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy takes this to be the same as Indrakonda of Briggs' *Perishta*, II.

*Vidyāvidhi* is the last of his titles and it requires explanation. His work, *Sarasvatīnāḍa*, is a living evidence of his lore in *Sūtras*, *Purāṇas* and other works in Sanskrit literature. Some scholars contend that the work was written by Lakṣmīdhara Paṇḍita; yet it may be said that the Paṇḍit might have helped the Gajapati in compiling the work.<sup>2</sup> His father Puruṣōtama Gajapati was such a great scholar that his poetic flourishes were elixir to the ears (*Karṇa-rasāyanaś*) (line 10). The son of such a scholar king must have been educated well in his boyhood. In his 15th year while being the governor of Śrīkūrmam(-Maṇḍala), he wrote such a beautiful and scholarly book as *Syamika-śāstra* (the science of Hawking).<sup>3</sup> M. M. H. P. Sastri, who was not aware of the learning of the Gajapati prince of Kūrmam, considered Kūrmāchala as referring to Kumam and Kūradēva as its king. The other details recorded in the inscription are the following.

Lines 26-28: The donee Kouḍayya, was the best of the twice born (*dvija-niṣṭha*), *dharm* with all good qualities, was the son of Tammaya and the grandson of Nārāyaṇa Yajvan (who performed a sacrifice) of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, of the Yajur(-śākhā) sect, and was a resident of Poluguḷa.

Line 28: The object of the grant was Velicharla, the gem amongst villages situated in the region of Jaladaṅki, in the district (*nāman*) of Pāka-nāḍu. This gift was made with reverence (*anumānāt*), associated with libations of water and gold (*hiranya*).

The gift, exempted from the thirty six kinds of demands and other imposts, was given to last till the moon and the sun endure, to be enjoyed from son to grandson (for generations). Such rights as those of mortgage and sale were also given. The gift was made in the presence of Durgā and Jagannātha for the increase of merit (lines 31-32). The boundaries of the village were shown by the boundary stones.

The boundaries are mentioned in Telugu from line 32 to line 36. Lines 36-39 contain two imprecatory verses.

The charter is ratified by fixing the royal seal which is divided into two parts. The first represents a 'rampant lion' in writing. Many people understand it to be the Telugu letter *lho* which forms the initial of the word *Khāmānda*. This is not tenable as there was no occasion for the kings of Orissa to adopt this word of Urdu origin.

The significance of this seal requires to be traced from the time of the Eastern Ganga kings of Orissa. They ratified their grants by securing the ends of a metallic ring on which the plates containing the document were strung, in a metallic lump on which was fixed the seal consisting

<sup>2</sup> [For a discussion regarding the authorship of *Sarasvatīnāḍa*, see J. E. B. S., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 12 ff.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Published by the A. S. B. New series, No. 1252, edited by M. M. H. P. Sastri. Mr. Sastri understood the author as the lord of Kūrmāchala, which is supposed to be the modern name of Kumam; but considering the internal evidences in the work, Pratāpa-Rudra was really the Governor of Kūrmam which, in analogy with Simhāchalam, was named Kūrmāchala. As in the *Sarasvatīnāḍa*, in this work also, he collects authorities from several books of Sanskrit literature. References to *Purāṇas*, *Vedas*, and other works of Sanskrit are a peculiar feature in the authorship. \* Gajapati kings. Puruṣōttamadeva Gajapati in his *Nāmanāḍikā* says that he had studied several books.

of a couchant bull, couch, sword and elephant-goad. When the Sūryavarmā kings succeeded to the government of Orissa, they replaced the four objects so as to suit their faith and prowess. Kapilēvara's copper-plate grant shows a harnessed elephant and the hilt of a sword. There are some ornamental engravings on the hilt.

Only one charter of Purnashōttama Gajapati is found till now and it is published in *J. B. and O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 361 ff. and plate, under the caption: *A note on an inscribed copper axe-head from Orissa*. The seal represented at the end of the inscription is composed of the engravings of four objects:—(1) a letter (2) a couch (3) a double-edged long sword (4) a dagger.

The first looks like the figure 3 with an uplifted tail behind. Since the donor was a worshipper of Durgā (*Śrī-Jagadurgāyai namaḥ*), he might have adopted the lion, the vehicle of Durgā as his emblem or crest. This figure represents the rampant lion. (2) The couch may stand for the *paścha-mahā-śabda*, often found mentioned in the copper-plate charters of the early Gaṅga kings.

(3) The long sword is always a sign of royal authority and valour.

(4) The dagger is another weapon used in a closer fight.

Purnashōttama's son Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati reduced these signs, omitting the couch, to the writing form.

The first crest lost its middle horizontal projection but retained its tail. This stands for the rampant lion, as emblem of valour and royalty. Then the long sword and the dagger are combined together. The first two ovals stand for the hilt of the sword; the third oval stands for the handle of the dagger the blade of which is shown by a line from the lower part of the oval.

There are some signs on the handle of the long sword. They are the representation of some ornamental carvings of the hilt as found in the Veligaleni grant of Kapilēvara.\*

## TEXT<sup>1</sup>

### First Plate

- 1 Gaṇānām-adhipaḥ pāyāt gaṇḍa-matī-āli-nisvanāliḥ bhakta-saṅgha(ṅghā)ta-vighna-saṅghān  
vāraṇ Vāra-
- 2 pānanab ||1||<sup>2</sup> Pūrāvāra-viśvānīkhka(ākha)l-ōmmi-patāli-pathyā nimagnād bhuvan  
dadabhr-āgrāṇa samu-
- 3 dīharan aa-pulaka-svōd-ōdgamām-ātmanab | sahasa(sa)rgg-ānubhavēna rūma-patāli-svōd-  
ōda-bhūddā(nān)-
- 4 n-iva |<sup>3</sup> kṛtā-kṛōḍa-kaḥharō-yatu aadā apt-ārpavim-advahan ||2||<sup>2</sup> Asti trayī-mūla-mū-  
l-rttir-ādityō mahasān-nidhi(h\*) |<sup>3</sup> aṁbbhōjinām jivātur-Harēr-ddakahipa-lōchanam  
||3||<sup>2</sup> Tad-a-
- 6 svay-ādbhāv-adabhūn-mahaujāḥ |<sup>3</sup> kaḥ-nidhiḥ śrī-Kapilēndra(nān)nāmā | yat-kirtti-  
chandra(nān)-dvita-
- 7 y-ārī-bhūbhṛt |<sup>3</sup> kar-āmbbu(bu)jātāni nimāyastiti(nān) ||4||<sup>2</sup> Sa bhūpatir-ddakahipa-  
bhūmipā-
- 8 lān |<sup>3</sup> vijītya viśvānā-pūrijātab | ananya-sādhārāṇa-sāhasa-ārīr-jagrāha paśhāt ye(Te)-
- 9 lūngā(ṅgā)ṇa-lurggān ||5||<sup>2</sup> Puṇyat-tadiyyab(āyab) Purnashōttam-āśāśā |<sup>3</sup> t-putrō-  
bhavat śrī-Purn-

<sup>1</sup> C. P. No. 17 of 1934-35.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Danda unnecessary.



- 10 śbōtamōndrah(ndrah) | engabdhā(ndhā)yaḥ<sup>1</sup> a-tat-kavitā-villāṣa(-\*)<sup>2</sup> samikhyā(śkhyā)ratān  
karuṇa-raśyanāni ||6||<sup>3</sup>
- 11 Divā-nikarā tasya mahāvarasya |<sup>4</sup> pratāpa-bhāna paridṛśyamānā | nāḥ-āpagāyān nalināni  
ni-
- 12 tyān |<sup>5</sup> n-āti praphullaṁtī(nti) na kotmalāṁtī(nti) ||7||<sup>6</sup> Pūtrō-bhavat-tasya Gajās-  
vatasya | Pratāparudrah para-sainya-

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 13 raudrah | sa Gaṇḍa-rājasya balāni jīvā |<sup>7</sup> pratyagrahā-rājyam-adhijya-dhāvā ||8||<sup>8</sup>  
Matibhā-
- 14 kucibhāu(mbhāu) samarṣhu yaśya |<sup>9</sup> dṛiṣṭvā palāyya ava-putarā pravṛṣyā(śya) | bhay-  
ākulō Gaṇḍa-
- 15 patib kad-āpi |<sup>10</sup> bibhī-kuchau n-ākāhitum-ihāṣa sma ||9||<sup>11</sup> Sa bhūpatir-mmahārājō  
rājendra(odra)-para-
- 16 māvarah | śrīmad-rājādhirājendra(odra)-Paṇḍa(ścha)-Gaṇḍ-ādhināyakaḥ ||10||<sup>12</sup> Yaśasvi  
vira-kōdarō māna-
- 17 Gōvindā(nda)-lāṁchakha(śchha)maḥ | vidyā-nidhīḥ Pāṇka-nāṁtī(-Chō)a-mamḍā(nda)la-  
nāyakaḥ ||11||<sup>13</sup> Trilohavana-tōḍara-
- 18 maḥ |<sup>14</sup> raga-baṇḍārah pratāpa-vira-varah | śrī-Vaṁkka(śka)ta-gajarājah |<sup>15</sup> Pratāparudrah
- 19 pratāpa-mārtāṇḍā(nda)ḥ ||12||<sup>16</sup> Vuhḍṛi(odra)komḍā(nda)-mahādurgga-kajakō maṇi-  
śobhitā |
- 20 śibhyā(hā)ana-samāśna(nō) vidvāj-jana-samāvṛitō ||13||<sup>17</sup> Pātrūḥ(-) bāharā-mahā-
- 21 pātraiś-āṁmahitai(antai)(h\*)<sup>18</sup> parī-sēvitaḥ | pālayan prithivīm sarvām Purnhū-

*Second Plate : Second Side*

- 22 ta yī(i)v-āparah ||14||<sup>19</sup> Kara-nām-ābhi-āṁtān-samkhyā(śkhyā)ka-Śaka-vatārō | Pra-  
Bhā-
- 23 māḍi(dā)l-ary-a(ā)bdā-varō māṣ(ā) Kārtika-nāmanī ||15||<sup>20</sup> Śakla-tritṛyā(tritṛyā)-divasō  
Bhā-
- 24 rggavaśya cha vācarō | Vu(U)dayāchala-durggaśya pūrva-bhāgē pratibhīḥ ||16||<sup>21</sup> Ja-  
Pūṇ-
- 25 laḍakki(āki)-sihalē Pāṇka(śka)-nāṁtī(ṇṭi)-aimmī virājitam(m) | Volicherla-grāma-ratnāḥ
- 26 gulla-nirva(vā)sinō ||17||<sup>22</sup> Śrī-Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Yajus-ākhā-pravartinē | Nārī-
- 27 yaṇa-yajvana(h\*)<sup>23</sup> pautriya Tammayaśy-ātma-sūnavē ||18||<sup>24</sup> Komḍā(nda)ya-dviśa-rājā-
- 28 ya samasta-guṇa-śobhinē | sa-hirany-āḍakair-ddhārā-pūrvam kṛtvā samādarā-
- 29 | ||19||<sup>25</sup> Śrut-trimad-śrōṭanaka-rahitaṁ nirupādhiḥ |<sup>26</sup> ā-chāṁdr-ā(odr-ā)śka-putra-  
putra-pāra-
- 30 śpary-āṁśānām(m) ||20||<sup>27</sup> Adī(dhī)kray-ādhi(dī)-yāgyam-cha(ś-cha) sarva-bhōga-  
samanvitam(m) | prād-

<sup>1</sup> Visarga unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> Dupla unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> The word bibhī is apparently derived from bibi which is of Persian origin meaning 'wife'.

<sup>4</sup> Omit māṣa.



[illegible]

ii.

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*Third Plate*

- 31 [d\*]-Durgā-Jagannātha-saṃnidhan dharma-vṛddhaye ||[21]\*] Tasya grāmasya śmā-chik-  
cāni śilā-stam-
- 32 bhā[ḥ\*] śikṣai (śikṣair)-jñāyāni || Grāmam tūrpura dandāḍa-dōvana guchāḍina rāni [ḥ\*]  
ājñāyāna
- 33 baribānu vidatāḍlāḥ rāi [ḥ\*] dakṣiṇāna Chemujā-guṇṭṭana ā-paḍamaṭi kaddavānu rā-
- 34 tani [ḥ\*] nairuti-mūlana Rōvaḍi-guṇṭa-paḍamaṭi-kommuna rāi [ḥ\*] paḍamaṭa nīva rāi [ḥ\*]  
vāyn-
- 35 vyāna vāṇigu dandāḍa-rāi [ḥ\*] uttarāna va(u)ppuḍḍervu-tūrpun-gommuna rāi [ḥ\*] śānyūna-
- 36 muddala-guṇṭṭa-dandāḍanu rāi [ḥ\*] iviyē polam saṃjñala [ḥ\*] Yā(ē)k-aiva bhaginī lōkē  
sarvā-
- 37 śām-ēva bhūbhujām | na bhōjyā na kara-grām(gm)hyā vipra-dattā vasubhōdha(nḍa)ḥ  
||[22]\*] Śva-da-
- 38 tām para-dattām vā(vā) yū harēd-vasudhām-imām(m) | śhaśḥir(śhṭi)-vvarasha(vatsha)-  
śhaśr-
- 39 vi viṣṭā(śikṣā)yaṇ jāyatē krimiḥ ||[23]\*] *The crest and the sign-manual* [ḥ\*]

## No. 36—TERUNDIA PLATE OF SUBHAKARA II

*(I Plate)*

D. C. SIRCAR, CUTTACKMUND.

About the close of May 1950, I received for examination a copper-plate inscription from Mr. C. M. Āchārya, M.A., L.B., Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University, through the Registrar of the said institution. No information was then available as to its findspot and the circumstance of its discovery. Sometime afterwards Mr. Āchārya kindly agreed to my suggestion that the inscription should be edited by me in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*. My sincere thanks are due to him for his kindness in allowing me to publish the record. In December 1950, I visited Puri in course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions. There I met Pandit Sadāśiva Ratha Śarmā who collects inscriptions on behalf of the Utkal University. I learnt from the Pandit that the plate under discussion had been recovered by him, together with some interesting articles of pottery, from an old well in the house of Śrī Chakradhara Nāmal of Teruṇḍiā, a village about five miles from Nimapāṛā which is the headquarters of a Police Station of that name in the Puri District of Orissa.

The inscription is written on a single plate measuring about 16" in length and 8½" in height. The proper right end of the plate, to which a copper lump containing the seal is soldered, does not run in a straight line but is slightly curved. The plate is thus more than ½" longer in the middle than in the upper and lower sides which are both about 16" long. The seal is much corroded and only the traces of an emblem looking like a couchant bull are visible. The round surface of the seal is 2½" in diameter. The thickness of the lump of metal, on which the seal emblem is counter-sunk, is 1½". The plate is not in a satisfactory state of preservation and the writing, especially on the obverse, has suffered considerably from the effects of corrosion. There are 20 lines of writing on the obverse and 10 lines on the reverse. The weight of the plate together with the seal is 191 tolas.

As regards palaeography and orthography, the inscription under discussion resembles very closely the published records of the Bhaṃma-Kara dynasty of Orissa, including the Śāntiagrāma



grant of Dandimahādēvi (who flourished about three quarters of a century later than the issuer of the present charter) and the Jajpur (Hamaśēvara temple) inscription mentioning the royal couple Śubhākara I and Mādhavadēvi (who were the grandparents of the issuer of our charter), both of which have been recently edited by me for the pages of this journal.<sup>1</sup> The only point of palaeographical interest, to which attention may be drawn, is the way in which the number 100 is written in line 22. Here the usual *la* symbol indicating 100 is rather unusually followed by a cypher apparently indicating the absence of the ten and unit elements in the number. This is no doubt due to the influence of the decimal system of writing numerals which was becoming popular in various parts of India even before the rise of the Bhauma-Kara of Orissa. The Bhauma-Kara king, who is usually styled Śubhākara II, is already known from his two copper-plate grants, viz., the Hindol and Dharakota plates,<sup>2</sup> both of which are dated in the year 103, the former on Śrāvaga Śudi 7 and the latter on Bhādrapada Śudi 7. It is interesting to note that, while the number 103 has been written in the Dharakota plate as 100 3 in the usual way, the same number has been written in the Hindol plate<sup>3</sup> as 100 0 3 with the cypher indicating the absence of the ten element in it. The charter under discussion was issued about three years earlier than the Hindol and Dharakota plates referred to above.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in both prose and verse. It should, however, be pointed out that, while the texts of the Hindol and Dharakota plates of the year 103 closely resemble each other, the draft of the present document issued in the year 100 is quite different. The verses employed in the charter under review are also different from those found in the Hindol and Dharakota records. As, moreover, will be seen from our discussion below, the present inscription offers some interesting new information.

The inscription is dated in the year 100 Vaiśākha Śudi 5(1). As is well known, the era used by the Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa is identified by some scholars with the Harsha era of 606 A.C., although there are writers who are inclined to assign the epoch of the era to a later date. Thus the date of the record under discussion falls in 706 A.C. or, if the views of the second group of scholars are preferred, to sometime in the eighth century or later. I have fully discussed the problem of Bhauma-Kara chronology in connection with the Śāntigrāma grant of Dandimahādēvi recently,<sup>4</sup> and hardly anything in this connection requires special mention here.

The charter belongs to king Śubhākara II of the celebrated Orissan imperial family called usually Bhauma in earlier records and Kara in the later. It was issued, like other grants of the family, from the city of Guhadēvapātaka, otherwise called Guhāvatapātaka. This city, which was apparently the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings, has been identified with modern Jajpur on the Vaitanāgi in the Cuttack District of Orissa.<sup>5</sup> It is mentioned as a *jaya-śaṇḍhāśra*; but it has been shown that, although the word *śaṇḍhāśra* usually means 'a camp,' it has also the sense of a *vijalāṇa* in medieval lexicons.<sup>6</sup> The description of Guhadēvapātaka in prose in lines 1-2 of the record under review is followed by another prose passage saying that, after the death of the Bhauma kings beginning with Lakṣmīkara, the throne passed to *Mahārājādhirāja Paramādeva Śubhākara I who was a parāśāśra*, 'a follower of the Buddhist faith.' It may be pointed out in this connection that, in the Naulpar' plate of Śubhākara I himself, the king is described as a

<sup>1</sup> Above, p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> R. Mitra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 12-22; *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 69-83; *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 129-94.

<sup>3</sup> The plate now belongs to the collection of the Utkal University, Cuttack, and I had recently an opportunity of examining it through the kindness of Mr. C. M. Acharya. An examination of the original plate revealed the fact that the published transcript of the text of this inscription contains some errors.

<sup>4</sup> My article on the inscription is being published in this journal.

<sup>5</sup> Above, n. 180.

<sup>6</sup> *Sanskrit of the Śālisthāna*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 3; Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 4.



*paramasūyata* 'a devout worshipper of the Sugata or Buddha,' while his father Śivakara I (also known as Unmatāsmita alias Bharmasha) and his grandfather Kshēmaśakara are called respectively a *paramaśāhāgata* and a *paramōpāśaka*. The most interesting epithet of king Śubhākara I in our record is *sva-prabhāva-samāśrīta-sārvabhauma-bhīra* in lines 3-4, which suggests, as already conjectured by me elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> that he was the first imperial ruler of the family. It was also suggested by me that Lakshmikara was just another name of Kshēmaśakara, grandfather of Śubhākara I.

The above section of the inscription in prose is followed by three verses in lines 4-8, describing Śivakara II who was the eldest son and successor of Śubhākara I. In the last of these verses, king Śivakara II is described as *Sugat-āśraya*, 'a Buddhist.' The three verses are followed by a long passage in prose in lines 8-13, introducing *Paramabhaddraka Mahārājādīrāja Paramēvara* Śubhākara II described as the son and successor of Śivakara II and the issuer of the charter under discussion. He was a *paramasūyata*, 'a Buddhist,' like his predecessors. (It is interesting to note that, like some of the Buddhist kings of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar,<sup>2</sup> *paramasūyata* Śubhākara II claimed to have established the order of the *śara-āśrama* in its golden age parity in strict accordance with the scriptures (cf. *niratikaya-sūtr-śūnūsāra-pravartita-kṛtyaṅg-ūcīt-śāhāgata-sargg-āśrama-dhyāna* in lines 9-10). This no doubt points to the great influence of the Brahmanical social system on the lay followers of Buddhism which, along with several other factors, ultimately led to the complete absorption of the latter into the Brahmanical fold.) But the most important point in the description of king Śubhākara II in our record is that he is here represented as the son of Śivakara II. He is, moreover, said to have been born of the queen Mōhinīdēvi who belonged to the Bhavāna-varāṇa, possibly indicating a royal family of which the progenitor was a ruler named Bhavāna, although no such king or dynasty is so far known to us from other sources. We know that, according to the Hindol and Dharakota plates of the king usually styled Śubhākara II, he was the son of Śāntikara I, younger brother of Śivakara II, and was born of the queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi belonging to the *Nāg-ābhakara-kula*, i.e., possibly a certain Nāga family.<sup>3</sup> We also know that after the premature death of that king, his mother Tribhuvanamahādēvi, also called Siddhagaurī, ruled the Bhauma-Kara kingdom for some years during the minority of her son's son Śāntikara II.<sup>4</sup> King Śāntikara I is known to have ruled in the year 93.<sup>5</sup> He was therefore followed on the Bhauma-Kara throne by Śubhākara represented in the present inscription (dated year 100) as the son of his elder brother Śivakara II from Mōhinīdēvi, although the Hindol and Dharakota plates (dated year 103) speak of a ruler of the same name as his own son from queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi alias Siddhagaurī. The information offered by the present inscription is a very valuable addition to our knowledge of Bhauma-Kara history. Śāntikara I seems to have been succeeded by Śubhākara who was the son of Śivakara II from Mōhinīdēvi and this Śubhākara was succeeded by another Śubhākara who was the son of Śāntikara I from Tribhuvanamahādēvi. If such was the case, Mōhinīdēvi's son was the son of Śāntikara I from Tribhuvanamahādēvi. If such was the case, Mōhinīdēvi's son Śubhākara (to be called Śubhākara II) must have ended his rule shortly after the year 100 and Tribhuvanamahādēvi's son Śubhākara (to be called Śubhākara III) must have succeeded him shortly before the year 103. It may, however, be argued that the issuer of the present charter as well as of the Hindol and Dharakota plates may have been one and the same king named Śubhākara II and that he was actually the son of Śivakara II from the queen Mōhinīdēvi but was adopted by Tribhuvanamahādēvi queen of Śāntikara I between the years 100 and 103 of the era used by the Bhauma-Kararings, when he was actually on the throne. But I consider it impossible

<sup>1</sup> *JHRBS*, Vol. II, p. 103. Cf. the expression *prati-samasta*, probably meaning 'rival feudatories,' used in connection with the adversaries of his predecessor in lines 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ganga-Bhāṣya*, p. 35 : *śāstra-dīpa-bhāṣa cakṣuṣaśāraṇa sarggā prajāḥ śāhāgataḥ sva-dharmā*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Mitra*, op. cit., p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23 ff. In her own Dharakota plate, queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi is described as the daughter of Rājamañña of the southern country.

<sup>5</sup> *Above*, Vol. XIX, pp. 263-4.



that a reigning monarch could have been adopted as son by one of his female relations. Moreover, the accession to the Bhauma-Kara throne of five queens (*viz.* Tribhuvannashāhdevī I-II, Gaurīmahādevī, Vakulamahādevī and Dharmamahādevī) and of a princess (Dāyāmahādevī) points to the unpopularity of the institution of adoption in the Bhauma-Kara family. The difference of the draft of the present charter from that of the Hīndol and Dhārakata plates has also to be noted in this connection. It is, however, as yet unknown whether there was a struggle for the throne between Śubhākara II and Śubhākara III after the death of Śāntikara I. It is also uncertain why Śāntikara I succeeded his elder brother when the latter had left a son.

The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to the present and future officials and subordinates belonging to Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī such as the *Mahāsāmānta*, *Mahārāja*, *Rājaputra*, *Antarāyoga*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Uparīta*, *Viśayapati*, *Taṭāyuktaka*, *Dāpāpāṭika*, *Sphāṇḍarīka* and other dependants, including persons of the *chāḥa*, *bhata* and *vallabha* categories (lines 13-15). It was also addressed to such officers (*adhiparaga*) within the *Saṁtatarakurkha viśaya* as those of that the kingdom of the Bhauma-Kara was divided at least into two provinces, *viz.* Uttara-Tōsalī and Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī, *i.e.* the North and South Tōsalī. The *viśaya* or district, called *Saṁtatarakurkha* in our record, formed a part of South Tōsalī. A village called *Lavāgaṇḍā*, situated in the said *viśaya*, was granted by the king as a revenue-free permanent gift in favour of certain wives (lines 16-22). The donees, who were inhabitants of *Taramaṇḍapagrāma*, belonged to the *vēda*. They were six in number, *viz.* Bhaṭṭa Bhāṇḍadēva, Bhaṭṭa Viśvānandadēva, Bhaṭṭa Khallā-terms used in connection with the grant are also found in other copper-plate charters of the family and have been discussed already in connection with the *Sāntiagrāma* grant<sup>1</sup> of Dāyāmahādevī. The grant was made for the upkeep of the *maṭhas* and *maṇḍapas* established by the Brāhmaṇas in their native village. The words *maṭha* and *maṇḍapa* appear to mean here respectively 'a college' and 'a public building.' They are often mentioned in later Gaṅga records.<sup>2</sup> Lines 22-23 contain the king's entreaty to the future rulers of the country as well as the date discussed in the precatory and benedictory verses in lines 23-27. There is another verse in lines 27-28, praying for the permanence of the Kara (*i.e.* Bhauma) king's charter recorded on the plate. Similar verses are also found in some other charters of the family.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that our record thus speaks of the royal family in question both as Bhauma (line 3) and as Kara (line 28). This is, again, the earliest record of the dynasty in which the family name Kara occurs. The *Kaṣṭhāntikara*-*Lakṣmīkara*, *Śivakara* I-III and *Śāntikara* I-III of the family, excepting those bearing the name Śubhākara (I-V). The *śālaka* or executor of the grant was the *Mahākṣapaśālākṛita* document was the *Mahākṣapaśālaka* (*i.e.* record-keeper) *Bhāṇḍa* *Ānandanāga*. The writer of the heated (*ṭṭpita*), apparently for soldering the seal, by the *pāṭāpāṭa* *Nārāyaṇakara*. The plate was *pāṭāpāṭa*, also found in many other records, has not been satisfactorily explained. The word *pāṭā* seems to be used in the *Dāyāmahādevī* in the sense of 'a basket.' The *pāṭāpāṭa* thus may have been a storeroom of the king's record-department. It is difficult to say whether *Pāṭāpāṭa*

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is being published in this journal.

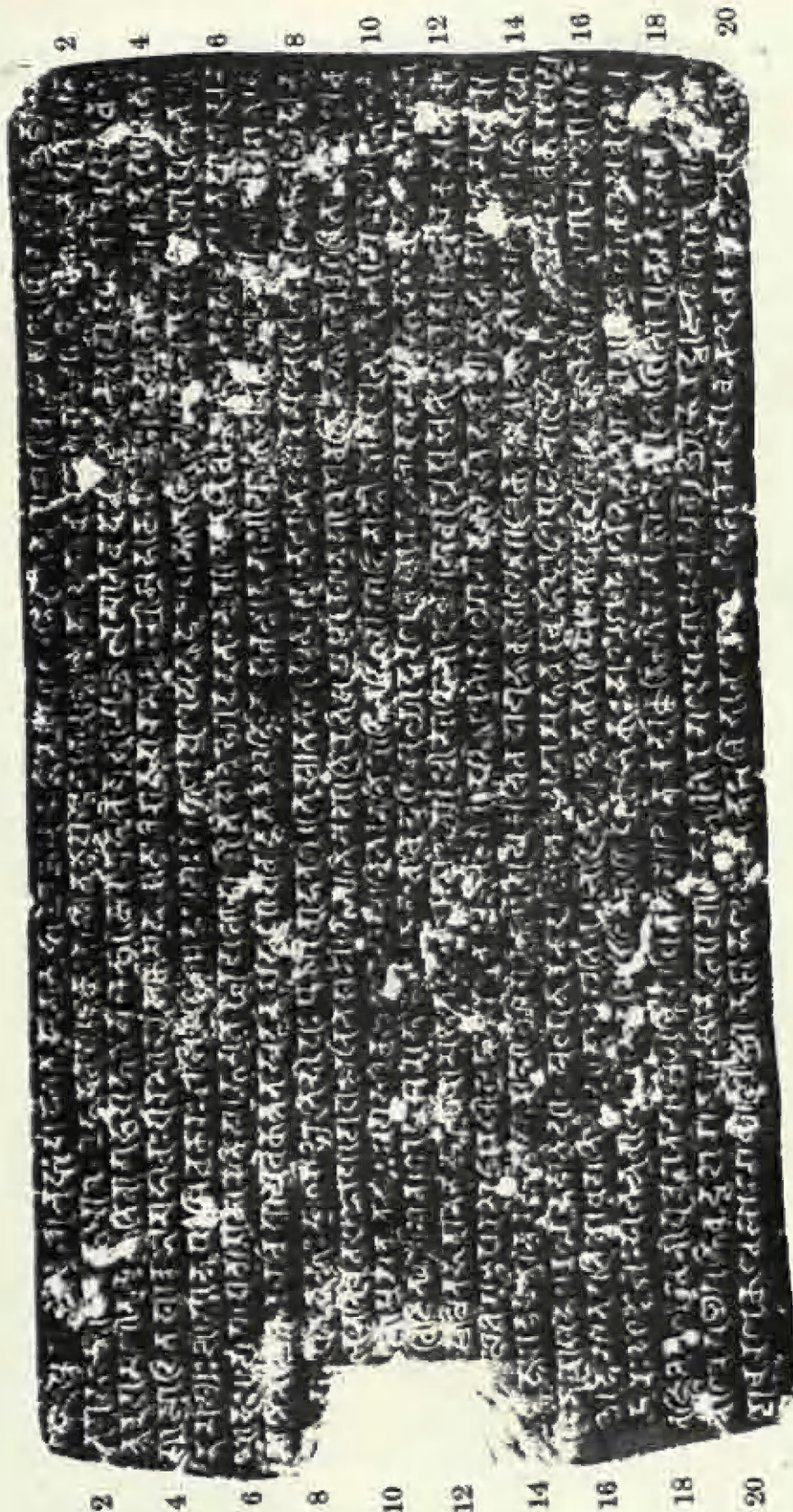
<sup>2</sup> See the grants of Narasimha II, edited above, pp. 187 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Misc.* op. ed., p. 16 (lines 30-32 of text), p. 27 (lines 39-41 of text), etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1899, s.v. The word is found in some records as *pāṭāpāṭa*.



Obverse





ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥  
 दशरथ उवाच ॥ धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता  
 युयुत्सवः मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैतानि ॥  
 तदा संजय उवाच ॥ दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डुपुत्राणामाचारं  
 ब्रह्माणां परमविद्वानसुमनस्य ॥





- 15 dīnāś-*chāṭa*-*bhāṭa*-*vallabha*-*jāti*(t)yaṇ Sulāntarakurubha-*viśayā*-pi mahāmahattara-vi(bpi)-  
[*hadbhāgi*]-*pustapāla*-[*kuṭa*]*kō*[*la*]\*-*ādy*-*adhikaraṇa* ya-  
16 th-*ārha* mānaya<sup>1</sup> vō(bō)dhaya<sup>1</sup> [sa]mā[*sā*]payati cha | *viditam*-*astu* bhavatān ya(th-*ai*)-  
tad-*viśaya*-sa[mva(mba)]*dāha*-*Lavāgandagrāma* s-*ō*pari-  
17 karah s-*ōddēśah* sa-tantuvā[ya]-[*gōkū*]\*[*ta*]-[*śanp*]*di*k-*ādi*-*prakritikah* sa-[*kō*]*ta*-[*gha*]*tta*-*nadi*-  
tara[*ethā*]*n*-*ādi*-*gola*maka[*h*] sarvva-[*pīdā*]-  
18 varjit[ō]-<sup>2</sup>*lōkha*nī-*pravēṣṭayā* bhūmī-*chchh*idr-*āpidhān*-*nyāyān*-*ā*-*chandr*-*ārka*-*kṣiti*-  
sama-*kāla*m mātā-*pitrō*-*ātmanah* sarvva-[*attvā*]-  
19 nāś-cha puṇy-*ābhiv*i<sup>3</sup>*ddhaya* *rājyā*h *śrī*-*Nriṇ*gāyā [vi][*n*]*l*aptyā *Tarama*njapa-*grāma*-*vāsta*-  
vyēhyō Bha(Bhā)ndavāja-*esgō*[*tn*]-*Vā*[*śa*nānō\*]-  
20 ya-*charaṇa*-Ka(Kā)ṇva-*sākh*-*ādhyāyibhyō* Bhaṭṭa-Bhōḍadāya |<sup>4</sup> Bhaṭṭa-Vidrāva[*gāḍ*]*va* |  
Bhaṭṭa-Khēlāvanadāya | [Bhaṭṭa]-Mēru[*dō*]*va* |

## Reverse

- 21 Bhaṭṭa-Rāṅgadā[*va* | ] Bhaṭṭa-*Śaṇḍhadā*vābhyō | (Ta)*ra*māṇḍapa-*grāma*-*mādhya* tat-*kārita*-  
maṭh[*i*](*ha*)-*maṇḍapa*-*pālan*-*ādy*-*artha*m-*asmābhi*-*tāmra*-*śāsan* |  
22 *krity*-*ā*[*khaya*-*nīvi*]-*dharma*m-*ō*-*kara*[*tvēna* *prati*]*pālita*h | tad-*śab*-*āśma*[*d*]\*-*dattir*-  
*ddharma*-*gauravād*-*bhavadbhi*h *paripālaniyā* [ ]\* *Samvat* 100 *ō* *Vai*-  
23 *sākhya*-*su*[*di* 5*t*] *ukta*h-cha *dharma*-*ā*[*strō*] [ ]\* [Va(Ba)hūm-*eva*]-*sudhā* *dattā* *rājabhi*-  
*Sagar*-*ādibhi*h | *yasya* *yasya* *yadā* bhūmī-*tasya* *tasya* *tadā* *phalam* || [4]\*  
24 [Mā] *bhūd*-*s*-*phala*-*lām*kō *va*h *para*-*datt*-*ēti* *pārthiv*[*ā*]*h* | *eva*-*dānāt*-*phalam*-*ānantiyā*[*n*]  
*para*-*datt*-*ānupālānō* || [5]\* *Svadattā*[*n*] *para*-*dattān*-*vā*(*tā*m *vā*) *yō* *harita* *vān**m**tha*-  
25 [*rūm*]\* | *sa* *viśbhāyā*[*n*] *krim*ir-*bhūtvā* *pitribhi*h *saha* *pachyatō* || [6]\* *Va(Ba)hūm*-*āttra* *kim*-  
*uktān* *saṅkshēpād*-*idam*-*mūhyatō* | *svāpam*-*āyus*-*chalā* *bhōgā* *dha*-  
26 [*rūm*ō] *lōka*-*dvaya*-*kāma*h || [7]\* *Iti* *kamala*-*dal*-*ānu*(*ba*)-*vindu*-*lōlān* *āriyūn*-*amuchintya*  
*manushya*-*jivita*h-cha | [*a*]*khilam*-*idam*-*udāhṛta*h-cha  
27 *vu*(*bu*)*dhvā*(*ddhvā*) *sa* *hi* *pu*(*ruchai*)h *para*-*kṛttayō* *vilōpyā*h || [8]\* *Kṣititalam*-*alam*-*āt*  
*yāvād*-*ākramya* *Mēru*-*evila*[*sa*]\**n* *Hara*-*man**la*n *Jahnu*-*ka*-  
28 *nyā* *cha* *yāvat* | *Kara*-*narapati*-*vīra*y-*ōru*-*kṛttā*h *sthira*tvaṁ *vrajatu* *jana*-*manō*[*h*]*ar*h *śāsanān*-  
*tāvād*-*ē*[*tat*] || [9]\* *Dātakō*-*ttra* *mahākṣapa*-  
29 *tal*-*ādhibh*i<sup>3</sup>*ṭa*-*śrī*-*Tāradattā*h | *lōkhakō* *mahākṣapa**ṭalika*-*bhōgy*-*Ānandanāga*h | *āpita*m *pōḍā*-  
*pā*[*la*]\*-*Nārāyaṇakarēṇa* | *utk*-  
30 *ropar*h *ta*[*h*]*ē**kār*-*Āghāka*-*Mallapattirēṇa* ||

## No. 37—TALI INSCRIPTION OF KODAI RAVI : 17TH YEAR

(I Plate)

V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, MADRAS

The inscription<sup>1</sup> published below is engraved on a slab of stone kept in the *vēḍil-mūḍam* or the entrance-porch of the Śiva temple at Tali in the Talappuḷḷi taluk of the Cochin State. The temple contains some records of the time of the Chōra kings Kōvintōṣvaran Kōḍai<sup>2</sup> (Inda-Kōḍaivarman)

<sup>1</sup> The single *śaṅṣas* are used in lines 20-21 as the hyphen is done in English.

<sup>2</sup> No. 244 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1924.

<sup>3</sup> No. 341 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1924.

and his successor Bhāskara-Ravivarma<sup>1</sup> and may therefore be considered to have been in existence from the middle of the tenth century at the latest.

The Vattejuttu characters in which the record is neatly engraved can be approximately attributed to the 11th century A. C. The medial *i* sign which is attached to the left side of the letters in most of the cases is put on the top of the letter in a few instances, as in *vi*, *ti*, *mi* in line 1 and in *ti* in line 2. The letter *ya* is engraved in the earlier form and in the later cursive variety. Grantha letters have been employed in the words *Saṁti śrī* (line 1), *Nityavichārāsvara* (line 2) and *Uttama-madhyaṁma-adhama* (line 13). The language of the record is correct Tamil prose except the word *ittidu* in line 5 which is a slightly corrupt form of the word *ittada* now in use in the Malayalam language. *Iyāma* is the dialectical form of *śāma*, *ya* being the usual substitute for *śa*. Rules of sandhi have generally been followed.

The object of the record is to register a gift of the villages Utkiramaṅgalam (Ugramaṅgalam) and Iyānamaṅgalam (Iśānamaṅgalam) made by the (Chēra) king Kōdai-Ravi in his 17th regnal year to the temple of Nityavichārāsvara so as to provide, from the annual income of 300 *kalam* therefrom, for the expenses of worship, etc., in the temple. The *Taliyār* and *Tali-adhikārār* of the temple are stated to have met under the presidency of a certain Kōdai-Ravi<sup>2</sup> of Venpōli-nāḍu and to have made the arrangement noticed in this document. As published Chēra records are very few, this record of Kōdai-Ravi is edited here and an attempt is made to fix his place tentatively in the line of Chēra kings. Only a few records of a king named Kōdai-Ravi have been secured till now. They are :—

No.	Name of village.	Regnal year.	Position of Jupiter.	Reference.
1	Chōkkr (Malabar) . . . . .	15	..	No. 13 of 1901; S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 173.
2	Tali (Cochin) . . . . .	17	Mithuna . .	No. 344 of 1934.
3	Avittattūr (Cochin) . . . . .	20	Kanni . .	Nos. 300, 301, 303 of 1927.
4	Tirupparaṅgōḍu (Malabar) . . . . .	23+4	..	No. 219 of 1895, S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 783 and plates.
5	Tripūṣittura (Cochin) . . . . .	30	..	No. 1 of 1902 (T. A. S., Vol. VI, p. 94).

Of these, the king mentioned in No. 2 is identical with the Kōdai-Ravi of the Avittattūr records (No. 3), because Jupiter which was in the *Mithuna-rāśi* in the 17th year would correctly be in the *Kanni-rāśi*, three years later in the 20th year of the king's reign. Though the position of the Jupiter is not specified in the other three records (Nos. 1, 4 and 5), they can all be palmographically assigned to the same period and the king. If this is conceded, then the 30th year quoted in the Tripūṣittura record (No. 5) may be considered as the highest so far discovered for this king.

<sup>1</sup> No. 344 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1934.

<sup>2</sup> Kōdai and Ravi are very popular names in the west coast: and so this Kōdai-Ravi of Venpōli-nāḍu, as well as another Kōdai-Ravi of Nedumparaṅgōḍu-nāḍu, figuring as a signature in the Cochin plates of Bhāskara-Ravivarma (above, Vol. III, p. 60) and a third Kōdai-Ravi of Venṇāṭṭaṅkhalai (T. A. S., Vol. II, pp. 154, 164 and Vol. III, p. 165), a contemporary of Indu-Kōdai-varman, were evidently private individuals, having no connection with the king of that name.





*Seṇṇaḍai* (line 5) has been understood to mean 'the sacred temple expenses.' *Naḍai* is still in use in Malayālam as a word signifying 'a temple.' *Aḡambaḍip-paṇimakkal* (lines 7-8); *aḡambaḍi* are servants in palace service such as personal attendants of the king, etc. The temple establishment is probably meant here. In other records of this period, they are called *māḷ-Ṣānti*, *ṭiḷ-Ṣānti*, etc.

*Gāndharvikal* (line 10). This word is derivable from *gāndharvam* 'music and dance' from *gandharva*, 'a class of celestial musicians.' *Gāndharvikal* were probably the musicians attached to the temple, who rendered service in the temple by playing on musical instruments such as the flute, drum, etc., and by singing hymns during the time of worship.

*Naṅḡaimār* (line 10) in conjunction with the *gāndharvikal* may have reference to the wives of the *chāṭṭikṇār* actors who have to sing and mark time during the staging of dance-performances in the temple. This institution of acting and dancing was a permanent feature in West Coast temples and formed part of the daily ritual, while special performances were celebrated during the festivals. From lines 13 to 15 it is learnt that three different scales of payment in kind prevailed in respect of the remuneration paid to the *naṅḡaimār* of the temple, viz., 2½ *nāḷi* to the *uttama* (higher grade), 2 *nāḷi* to the *madhyama* (middling), and 1½ *nāḷi* per day to the *adhama* (lower grade) of incumbents.

*Ōṇṇṇar* (line 12) may perhaps be a mistake for *ḍeṇṇar*, a painter. The walls in the West Coast temples are frequently found decorated with mural paintings of Purāṇic episodes; and a painter may have been borne on the establishment, in the same way as a *Ṣiṇṇāḍāri* or a sculptor was provided for in South Indian temples of the East Coast.

The meaning of the word *ḷāṇṇar* (line 12) is not clear. It has to be ascertained whether the duties of a *ḷāṇṇar* have any connection with the weighing of the articles (*ḷāṇṇam*?) brought to and issued from the temple.

*Ḍaiṇṇam* (line 13) derived from the word *ḍhaṇḍa* means 'pertaining to a day.' *Sattiram* (line 14) was probably a local measure of quantity.

The territorial division *Vēppali-nāḍu* is mentioned in the Cochin plates of Bhāskara Ravi-varman,<sup>1</sup> where it is engraved as *Vēnapāli-nāḍu*. The back-water called *Vēmbānāḍukāyal* between Alleppey and Cochin seems to derive its name from this division which embraced roughly the present taluqs of Kōṭṭayam and Vaikam in the Travancore State. The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao connected the Tekkinkūru-rājas with this region.<sup>2</sup> Ravi-Śrīkaṣṭhan was the governor of this province according to the Huzur office plates,<sup>3</sup> but whether he was related to Kōḍai Ravi mentioned in the present inscription has yet to be ascertained. This province was divided into two divisions called *Tekkinkūru* and *Vaḷakkinkūru*.

The details furnished in the inscription regarding the distribution of paddy are:

For offerings and servants	109 <i>kalam</i> and 20 <i>nāḷi</i>
<i>Paṅḡuṇḷai</i> and lamps	0 <i>kalam</i> and 806 <i>nāḷi</i>
<i>Gāndharvikal</i> and <i>naṅḡaimār</i>	164 <i>kalam</i> and 50 <i>nāḷi</i>
<i>Kāṣaḍ</i> and <i>ḍeṇṇar</i>	16 <i>kalam</i> and 50 <i>nāḷi</i>
i.e., in all	298 <i>kalam</i> and 26 <i>nāḷi</i>

There is thus a balance of 1 *kalam* and 74 *nāḷi* from the annual income of 300 *kalam*, which has not been accounted for in the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 58-59.

<sup>3</sup> *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 141.

*Ibid.*, p. 146.



## TEXT

- 1 Svasti<sup>1</sup> Śrī||\*][Kūḥ-Kōḍai-Iravikkup-padinē]ām-āṇḍu Mituṅa-
- 2 ttil Viyā]m-nirka<sup>2</sup> Nityavichārāvarattu<sup>3</sup> ta]i-
- 3 yāruṁ ta]i-adhikāraṁ Veppolināḍ-udaiya Kōḍai-Iraivi a-
- 4 [pā]ṭṭi-avar-u]lirundu kēyda Kaṭicham-āvada []\*] Ukkī-
- 5 ramaṅgalamū-Iyāṇamaṅgalamū-Śannadaike<sup>4</sup>-i]ṭṭu[(\*] i]ṭṭi[āḍ]i-ṭā-
- 6 [vā]ratu kōyil pāṭṭam-ajakkak-kadaviya nelli-idaṅga]iyā] mu-
- 7 mūṭṭuk-kala[m\*] []\*] i]ṭṭiā-ṭṭi[va]mirdinakkum-aṅamba]ip-pa-
- 8 ṇimakkat]kum-ōṇḍaike vāṇḍuṁ-nel nāṭṭi[ṭi]pa-
- 9 dīa kalam-iṭṭapadi nā]i []\*] pa[ḥ\*]guvulaikkum divikaik-
- 10 kum-āṇḍāṭṭ-aṅu nā]i []\*] Gāndarvika]ṭṭu[m\*] naḍgaimāckkum
- 11 ayykku nāṭṭ-aru-pattunā]k-kalam-aiyampadi
- 12 nā]i []\*] Kāṇḍaikkum-ō]ṭṭi]yayakkum padin-a]ṭṭu] kalam-aiyampadi nā]i []\*]
- 13 Naḍgaimāckku U[ṭ\*]ṭama-nūl]ḍhyama-nūl]ḍhamattinā]l niya]ip-pa]ṭi āṇḍiya<sup>5</sup>
- 14 ā ko]ṭukkum pa]ṭiā iattirattā]l-aru nā]iy-urium-iru nā]iya nā]i
- 15 uriyūm []\*]

## TRANSLATION

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the seventeenth year of king Kōḍai-Ravi, (when) Jupiter stood in (the) Mithunam (rāśi), the following transaction was made by the temple officials and the manager of the Nityavichārāvaram, at a meeting over which Kōḍai-Ravi of Veppoli-nā]u presided.

(The villages) Ukkiramaṅgalam and Iyāṇamaṅgalam were set apart for the sacred temple expenses. Three hundred kalam of paddy by the idaṅga]i (measure) shall be measured in the (temple) varandah as pāṭṭam payable to the temple.

Out of this, the paddy required per annum for the sacred offerings and the servants is one hundred and nine kalam and twenty nā]i; for paṇḍuvila and lamp, eight hundred and six nā]i; for rice to the gāndarvika] and naḍgaimā, one hundred and sixty four kalam and fifty nā]i; and for the kāṇḍa and the ā]ṭṭi]yay sixteen kalam and fifty nā]i.

The allowance in rice to (be given to) the naḍgaimā according to the high (uttama), middling (madhyama) and low (adhama) scales is (respectively) two nā]i (and) one uri, two nā]i, and one nā]i (and) one uri by (the measure called) iattirum.

## No. 38—FOUR BRAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTIONS

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

## A. Three Buddhist Inscriptions from Uren

Uren is an old village in the western part of the Monghyr District of Bihar. It lies by the side of the railway line between the Kiul and Kajra stations on the East Indian Railway—about

<sup>1</sup> These words are engraved in Grantha characters.

<sup>2</sup> The i is shown with a loop at the right side.

<sup>3</sup> The i sign is engraved slightly over the letter, and not at its side.

TALI INSCRIPTION OF KODAI RAVI: 17TH YEAR







7 miles from Kjal and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Kajra. On the other side of the village stands the small range known as the Uren hills. About sixty years ago, L. A. Waddell visited the village of Uren which he identified, in an interesting paper published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume LXI, part I, 1892, pp. 1-24, with one of the Buddha's hermitages on the western frontier of the country of I-lan-na-po-fa-to (Hiranyapurvata, roughly identical with the present Monghyr District) as described by the seventh century Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsang.<sup>1</sup> He noticed a large number of inscribed images in the village as well as inscriptions, markings, sculptures and other ancient remains on the hills. But as regards the process of the loss and destruction of ancient remains from which the village was suffering at that time, Waddell observed, "the unfortunate proximity of the hill to the railway and the excellent quality of the rock (granite) have induced the railway authorities to use the hill as a quarry for road-metal and only about six years ago two of the most interesting of the rock-sculptures were in this way demolished and the fragments further broken up and carried off as ballast, and the blasting operations have now extended to within a few feet of the more important rock-sculptures and markings still remaining. Many of the inscribed statues also have been carried off from time to time by the overseers or contractors supervising the quarrying operations; one of these in particular, a Mr. S., is reported to have carried off, about thirty-six years ago, a full cart-load of the best preserved statuettes, the ultimate destination of which cannot now be traced."<sup>2</sup> In a foot-note to these observations, Waddell further says, "Since writing the above, I have again visited the site and find that further quarrying operations have been extensively carried on since the submission of this report to the Society. The western cliff bearing numerous *chaitya* figures has been in great part removed by blasting, only the fractured bases of a few of the *chaityas* still remaining. Also at the south-east margin of the hill, where the rock was highly polished and contained ancient markings, most of this surface has been removed by blasting."<sup>3</sup> It is therefore no wonder that I could not trace most of the inscriptions and other ancient remains that had been noticed by Waddell about sixty years previously, when I visited the village of Uren in January 1950. On the hills, I found only the engravings of several *stupa* designs, one of them alone containing a line of inscription. I also examined a collection of extremely mutilated images and votive *stūpas* at the *Chaitya-stūpa* in the village and another at its *Siva-stūpa*. Some of these images were found to contain a few lines of writing at their bases. A few broken images also were noticed half buried in the ground at the side of the main road running through the village and one of these was found to bear an inscription. I took impressions of altogether fourteen image inscriptions at Uren, many of which, however, contained nothing but the Buddhist formula *ye dhammā*, etc. Two of the records refer to the reign of Rāmapāla (c. 1084-1126 A.C.), the Pāla king of Bengal and Bihar, one of them being dated in the fourteenth regnal year of that monarch. Two of the image inscriptions at Uren were found to be written in the so-called Bhaikshuki *lipi* or arrow-head characters.

When Waddell visited Uren about sixty years ago, he observed no less than four images with inscriptions in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head script<sup>4</sup> and photographs of two of them were published by him along with his paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.<sup>5</sup> It is possible that he himself or some other later visitor to the village carried away the images containing the two inscriptions of which photographs were published in the above journal. Thus the two Bhaikshuki inscriptions, examined and copied by me at Uren, may be the remaining two of the four such

<sup>1</sup> S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, 1884, pp. 190-91.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate IV, Nos. I and 2.



records referred to by Waddell. That these two inscriptions were also not similarly carried away was possibly due to the extremely mutilated condition of the images on which they are engraved.

Of the two image inscriptions in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head alphabet copied by me at Uren, one, found on a broken Buddhist image at the *Sim-stā-les* of the village, has one line of writing, only a few *akṣaras* of which have been preserved. The other one was found by me on the base of a mutilated Buddhist image lying half-buried by the side of the main road running through the village. This inscription is fortunately in a quite satisfactory state of preservation. There are altogether four lines of writing covering a space of about 1·8 inches in breadth and 9·3 inches in length. The fourth line is short and covers only about half the length of the other three lines. Each *akṣara* is about ¼ inch in height.

The most important feature of the inscription is its **palaeography**. C. Bendall, who first discovered the alphabet employed in the epigraph under discussion in certain manuscripts from Nepal and fully described it,<sup>1</sup> was inclined to identify it with the Bhaikshuki *lipi* mentioned by al-Bīrūnī as being used in Uḍḍapūr in Pūrvaḍāśa (probably the Uddapadapura-vihāra located at modern Biharsharif near Patna) and as being "the writing of Buddha," probably meaning thereby that it was prevalent among Buddhist *Bhikkhus* or monks.<sup>2</sup> The alphabet is characterised by the use of arrow-head marks usually at the top of the letters and, in some letters, also at the sides. Bühler therefore described this script as "the arrow-head alphabet."<sup>3</sup> Bendall and Bühler believed that the script is the immediate offspring of an ancient form of Brāhmī retaining South Indian features in some letters and Northern characteristics in a few. An image inscription from Gayā, written in this alphabet but showing wedges instead of arrow-heads at the top and, in some cases, at the sides of the letters, was published by Bendall in 1890.<sup>4</sup> Some years ago Dr. N. P. Chakravarti edited an inscription written in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head alphabet, which comes from Kara about 41 miles from Allahabad.<sup>5</sup> Another inscription in the same script is said to have been noticed on an image of Jambhala which is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, but that epigraph is as yet unpublished.<sup>6</sup> I edit below three out of the four Uren inscriptions referred to by Waddell as written in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head script, the first from my own impressions and the second and third from the photographs published by that scholar.

The characters of these inscriptions closely resemble those found in the manuscripts as reproduced in Bühler's Table VI, columns xviii-xix; but there are some slight variations. In the first epigraph, among initial vowels, we have *a* (line 3), *ā* (line 1) and *e* (line 3). Among these, *ā* differs from the form of this letter in the manuscripts in having its lower loop and curve not fixed below the upper body of the letter. Of the consonants, *p* has a curved base and an arrow attached to its left limb as in the Kara and Gaya inscriptions. The forms of *m* and *s* are not distinguishable. *ṇ* has been written differently in lines 2 (cf. *dharmāṇam*) and 3 (cf. *dharmāṇaḥ*). The marks of interpunctuation are the usual single and double *danda*; but, at the

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Congress, Asian Section*, pp. 111 ff., and those of the Tenth Oriental Congress, part II, pp. 151 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Sachao, Al-Bīrūnī's India, Part I*, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 60; Palaeographic Table VI, columns xviii-xix.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 77-78. There are some mistakes in Bendall's transcript of this epigraph. It

actually reads (1) *Śrī-dharmasādhya-bhūta* || *Śrī-Vaśiṣṭha-putra-maṇḍa-pa* (2) *Ida-Śrī-śaṅkha-Kṛtyakṣa* *Śādhya Parīkṣa Parīkṣa*, Vol. XX, pp. 152 ff. without noticing that it had been previously published. It is now preserved in the Vangya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 37-39.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 77, note 4. The note is based on a statement of R. D. Banerji in his paper referred to above. My attempts to trace the image in the Indian Museum have proved unsuccessful.



end of lines 3 and 4, we have a visarga-like sign placed before the double *daṇḍa*. This no doubt forms part of the stop and the whole sign apparently indicates a full-stop.<sup>1</sup> The palaeography of the second and third inscriptions closely resembles that of the first epigraph. As suggested by the palaeography of other records of the locality, the inscriptions belong to the age of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. They may be roughly assigned to a date between the ninth and the twelfth century, preferably to the latter half of this period.

The language of the inscriptions is Pāli which is, however, greatly influenced by Sanskrit. The use of the palatal sibilant and the subscript *r* (of words like *prabhavā*, *īri*, *prati*, *\*śāmanā*, *dhānī*, etc.) is a peculiar feature of the orthography of these records and go in favour of the above observation. Interesting from this point of view is also the Sanskrit *vibhakti* in the word *\*pālanya* in line 4 of the first epigraph. The word *dharmāpām* (line 2 of the first epigraph) stands midway between Sanskrit *dharmāpām* and Pāli *dharmānam*, while *śāstā* stands in similar relation to Sanskrit *śāstā* and Pāli *śāstā*.

The text of all the three epigraphs is the same; but the second inscription begins with a symbol for *siddham* which is not traceable at the commencement of the two other records, while the first inscription ends with an additional reference to the person responsible for the construction and installation of the image on which it is engraved. The first sentence of the three inscriptions reads: *bhagavā āvusi pañichasamuppādam dhammam dēseti*, "Brethren, the Lord expounds the doctrine of the chain of causation." The word *āvusi* was often used as an address by the priests to Buddhist lay worshippers. Whether the reference to the preaching of the Lord, i.e., the Buddha, may suggest that the images on which these records were incised represented the Buddha in the preaching attitude or *vaśīkhyāna-mudrā* cannot be determined. The doctrine of *Pañichasamuppāda*, as is well known, is the formula embodying the Buddha's solution of the great problem of the origin of evil. It is one of the most fundamental and characteristic doctrines of his teachings.<sup>2</sup> It is said that "from error springs *karman*, from *karman* springs consciousness, from consciousness springs the organised being, from the organised being spring the six organs of sense, from the six organs of sense springs contact, from contact springs sensation, from sensation springs desire, from desire springs attachment, from attachment springs continued existence, from existence springs birth, from birth spring decay and death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despair." The origin of evil is here traced back to error or ignorance which is no doubt the ignorance of the truth, i.e., the four great truths of the Buddhists, viz., "suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering, the path leading to the cessation of suffering."<sup>3</sup>

The second sentence of our inscriptions is: *pañichasamuppādanāṃ cha dhammānaṃ yā nirōdhā*, "also the destruction of the conditions arising from preceding causes [is taught by the Lord]." This refers to the destruction of the five "elements or attributes of being" such as form, sensation, perception, discrimination and consciousness.<sup>4</sup> These two sentences appear to be represented in the first inscription as a verse. The metre may be regarded as an irregular form of *Aryā*.

The above is followed in the inscriptions by the well known Buddhist formula in the *Aryā* metre: *yā dhammā kīṭa-ppabhavā kīṭunā tēsam tathāgato aracha (or arada) | āvusi cha yā nirōdhā āvusi-nāni mahā-samāpā* | "The Lord spoke of the conditions which arise from a preceding cause as well as of their cause. The great teacher has also said about their destruction." But this formula practically repeats what is already said in the previous two sentences. The subject

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Madras Museum plates of Naeṇdradhavala edited above, p. 45 and plate.

<sup>2</sup> See Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, s. v.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, s. v. *ariga-sacca*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, s. v. *nirōdhā*, *kāmadā*, etc.



of the first two sentences is the lord's preaching about the chain of causes and the destruction of the conditions arising from causes, while the formula also speaks of the cause of the conditions arising from it and their destruction. The *nirōdhō* of the *hētu-prabhavā dhammō* is the same as the *nirōdhō* of the *pañicchassamuppānā dhammā*.

So far the three inscriptions offer practically the same text. But the first epigraph adds to the above text the following passage: *Sri-Pratinava-Śrādatapālasya*. There is little doubt that we have here a reference to the person who was responsible for the construction and installation of the image on which the inscription is engraved; but the expression *śrādatapāla* is rather unusual and may be a mistake for *śrāvītapāla*. The word *pratinava* means "fresh" or "new" and *śrāvīta* may have been intended to mean "religious instruction."

#### Inscription No. 1

##### TEXT\*

- 1 Bhagavā āvusō ppa(pa)tichchassamuppādam dhammaṃ dāseti | Ppa(pa)tichchasa-
- 2 muppamānāni cha dhammāni yō nirōdhō || yē dhammā hētu-prabhavā tēsaṃ hē-
- 3 tū tathāgatō evaṃcha || \*|| tēsaṃ cha yō nirōdhō ēvaṃ-vādi maha-āramapō ||
- 4 Śri-Pratinava-Śrāda(vi)tapālasya ||

##### TRANSLATION

Brethren, the Lord teaches the doctrine of origination as a necessary result from an antecedent cause. The cessation of the conditions having its origin in a preceding cause [is also taught by the Lord]. The sentient being (the Buddha) spoke of the cause of the conditions arising from a preceding cause. The great ascetic (the Buddha) also spoke about their destruction. [This image is the gift] of the illustrious Pratinava-Śrāda(vi)tapāla.

#### Inscription No. 2

##### TEXT\*

1. [Siddham ||] \* Bhagavā āvusō pañicchassamuppādam dhammam]
- dāseti || \*|| pañicchassamuppānāna[m] cha dhammā[naṃ] yō nirōdhō-
2. dhō || yē dhammā hētu-[pra]bhava[vā] tēsaṃ hētum tathā[gatō\*] evaṃcha ||
- [tēsaṃ cha yō] [nirōdhō evaṃ\*]-vādi maha-āramapō || o ||

#### Inscription No. 3

##### TEXT\*

1. Bhagavā āvusō pañicchassamuppāda[n\*] dhamma[n\*] dāseti || \*||
- Pañicchassamuppa[nā]na[n\*] cha dhammāna[n\*] yō nirōdhō |
- yē dhammā hētu-prabhavā [tēsaṃ] [hētum\*]
2. tathāgatō evaṃcha || tēsaṃ cha yō nirōdhō eva[n\*]-vādi maha-āramapō || o ||

#### B. A Buddhist Inscription from Maldah Museum

About the middle of April, 1900, the Government Epigraphist for India received for examination impressions of some inscriptions copied by the Eastern Circle of the Department of Archaeology. The inscriptions belong to the B. R. Sen Museum at Maldah in West Bengal. While examining the impressions under instructions from the Government Epigraphist for India, I found that one

\* From impressions.

\* From the photograph published in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXI, 1902, Part I, Plate IV, No. 1.

\* Expressed by a symbol.

\* From the photograph published in *J. A. S. B.*, loc. cit., No. 2.

A: No. 1: On a broken Buddhist image at Uren



B: A Buddhist inscription from Malda Museum







of them is written in the interesting Bhaikshuki or arrow-head script employed in certain Buddhist inscriptions from Uren which had been the subject of my study only three months earlier and have been dealt with in the first part of this paper. At my request, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, kindly permitted me to edit the inscription for this journal.

No information was available to me about the exact findspot of the inscription. It is reported to be engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Buddhist deity Avalokiteśvara-Lokanātha now preserved in the B. R. Sen Museum, Maldah, with the exhibit number M. M. R. 110. It is very probable that the image was collected from a village in the Maldah District. The inscription is written in four lines which are divided into two halves, each containing two lines. The upper half is subdivided into four parts, apparently due to exigencies of space on the pedestal of the image in question, while the lower half has three subdivisions. The letters are of the same small size as in the Uren inscriptions written in the same script.

As already observed, the characters belong to the class called the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head alphabet known to have been used by the Buddhist monks of the Magadha region in Eastern India in the age of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. Although al-Bīrūnī seems to confine the use of the Bhaikshuki script to the monks of Uddandapura, identified with modern Bihar in the Patna District, the discovery of the Kara inscription in the Allahabad District of the U. P. and that of the present one in the Maldah District of West Bengal appear to suggest a wider distribution. The letters employed in the inscription under discussion closely resemble those of the Uren inscriptions, although there are certain palaeographical peculiarities in the present record that are not noticed in the latter. We have here no confusion between the forms of *m* and *s*, the loop of the latter being put a little lower than that of the former. *Cā* has, however, two different forms, one of which having no appreciable distinction from *v* (cf. *ācāryya* in line 1; *amāsa* in line 3; *chā*, *amāsa* in line 4). There is no marked difference between the sign for medial *i* and medial *ī*. Medial *ś*, joined with the consonant by a vertical stroke, as in *maś* (line 2) and *reś* (line 4), is interesting. The different forms of *p*, already noticed by scholars,<sup>1</sup> are to be observed in "*pālita*" in line 2 and "*prabhasā*" in line 3, one of the forms differing very little from *d*. *B* and *v* are indicated by different signs. The initial vowels *a*, *ā* and *i* occurring in the inscription resemble the forms of these letters as found in the Uren inscriptions.

The language of the inscription is a mixture of Sanskrit and Pāli. Its orthography closely resembles that of the Uren inscriptions. It may be noted that *y* preceded by *r* has been duplicated.

The second part of the inscription consisting of lines 3-4 reproduces the celebrated Buddhist formula, *Yā dharmāḥ*, etc., also quoted in all the three Uren inscriptions. Like, however, the interesting additional passage referring to the monk who was responsible for the installation of the image in question in the first of the three Uren inscriptions, we have in the present record information regarding a Buddhist monk whose *dāya-dharmā* the image of Avalokiteśvara-Lokanātha bearing the epigraph was. This section says that the image was the meritorious gift of *Bhadanta* Buddhapālita. The word *bhadanta* (also *bhanta* and *bhaddanta*) is well-known from Pāli literature to have been used as an honorific epithet (cf. English *Reverend*, *Venerable*, etc.) or as an address in cases concerning Buddhist monks, although there is difference of opinion as regard to its derivation. I am inclined to trace it to Sanskrit *bhavant*; but some scholars think that it is derived from a word like *bhadra-ānta*, i. e., "one who is the foremost of the noble," while others suggest that its root lies in the expression *bhaddam tū* or *bhadrām tū* (literally, "let there be good to you") with which the monks greeted every one paying homage to them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bühler, Table No. VI, columns xvii-xx, line 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Volume I, pp. 80, note 1; 223, note 6. The early Prākṛit form of the word, *bhadanta*, is found in the Bairat inscription of Aśoka. The form *bhaddanta* seems to be influenced by the conception of its derivation from *bhadrānta*. The word may be compared with Sanskrit *atrabhant* and *atrabhant*.



An interesting fact about the monk Buddhapālita is recorded in line 1 which says that he was a *śrī-Bhakoḥkṣī-sāṅghīya-ācāryya*, i.e., a teacher belonging to the Bhakoḥkṣī *sāṅgha*. The word *sāṅgha* here appears to refer to a particular community of Buddhist monks styled Bhakoḥkṣī to which Buddhapālita belonged. Unfortunately I have not come across the name Bhakoḥkṣī.<sup>1</sup> It is not impossible to suggest that it was a local community of monks belonging to a monastery in the present Maldah region of West Bengal. Whether the Bhakoḥkṣī community of Buddhist monks had anything to do with the celebrated Mrigasthāpana monastery,<sup>2</sup> apparently situated in the same area or its neighbourhood, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

## TEXT

## Part I

- 1 [A] Śrī-Bhakṣ- [B] kṣī-sāṅghīya- [C] āc[ā]ryya- [D] bhadanta-  
3 [A] Buddhapā- [B] litasya dō- [C] ya-dhāṣ- [D] mō-yaṣ |

## Part II

- 3 [A] Yē dharmā hō- [B] tu-prahavā tēṣāṁ [h]ōtum Tathagatō a- [C] vacha |  
4 [A] tēṣāṁ cha yō [B] n[ī]rōdhō evaṁ-vādi mahā-ś[ī]lana- [C] ṇō ||

## TRANSLATION

## Part I

This (i.e., the image bearing the epigraph) is the religious gift of the Venerable Buddhapālita who is a teacher pertaining to the illustrious Bhakoḥkṣī community.<sup>3</sup>

## No. 39—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF ANANTASAKTIVARMAN; YEAR 28

## (1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

These copper plates were received for examination in 1934 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Mylapore, Madras, from the Government Museum, Madras, and noticed by him as C.P. No. 24 of 1934-5. The plates were sold to the Museum by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, Madras. The Superintendent for Epigraphy reports on them as follows: "No information is forthcoming regarding the place or history of their discovery. The plates which are rather thin, measure 6½" by 2½" and bear a ringhole of about ⅞" in diameter near the proper right margin. The ring and the seal that must have accompanied the grant are now missing. The plates have four faces of writing in all, the first and the third plates are slightly corroded, so much so that there are some holes in the body of these plates and their right bottom corners have been partly eaten away. . . . . the grant is itself a palimpsest written over a previous charter, the letters of which though completely effaced are partly and faintly visible in a few places. It must also be remarked at the

<sup>1</sup> The name Bhakoḥkṣī, which reminds us of that of the Pakokṣī monastery about 30 miles from Mandalay in Upper Burma, may be of foreign origin.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 69 f. For a Chinese monastery near it, see *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> From an impression.

<sup>4</sup> For the translation and explanation of Part II of the inscription, see above, p. 224.

same time that the cased writing does not appear to have been of a more archaic variety than the present inscription."<sup>1</sup>

I edit the record here with the kind permission of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The characters of the inscription belong to the southern class of alphabets. Some of them are written in a cursive style. The majority of the characters employed in the record, barring those in cursive style, can roughly be placed in the 5th century A. C. for the reason that while they appear more developed than those found in the Rāgōla plates of Śaktivarman<sup>2</sup> of the 4th century A. C., they are more or less of the same period of development as those of the Brihatprōshthā grant<sup>3</sup> and the Dhavalagōṭa plates of *Kaliṅgādhipati* Umavarman which are of the 5th century A. C.<sup>4</sup> They also closely resemble the alphabet of the Bobbili<sup>5</sup> and the Kōmurti<sup>6</sup> plates of *Kaliṅgādhipati* Chaṇḍavarman. All these charters have been placed approximately in the 4th-5th century A. C. Those letters in our grant which are cursive; such as *l*, *n*, *kṛi*, *jāḍ*, *jā*, *sa* and *pa*, show somewhat developed forms. This, in my opinion, may be due to the very cursive style of the writing.<sup>7</sup> The occurrence of both early and later forms of the same letters in one and the same record<sup>8</sup> or in charters of one and the same king<sup>9</sup> is not unusual, the best explanation for it being the tendency to cursive writing which the scribes developed. It should be remarked, however, that the way in which the letters *l*, *n* and *kṛi* of our inscription are written is for the first time met with among the early Kalinga grants in the Jirjingi plates of Indravarman<sup>10</sup> and the Gōḍāvari copper-plate grant of Prithivimāla,<sup>11</sup> both of which are placed in the sixth century A. C. The presence of such forms in our grant assignable to a date about half a century earlier need not be considered as anything irregular. Attention should be drawn, however, to the dissimilarity that exists in respect of the letters *t* and *n* between the script of our record and that of the newly discovered Andhavaram plates of Anantasaktivarman<sup>12</sup> who, as shown in the sequel, appears to be identical with the ruler who issued the present plates. Whereas in the Andhavaram plates *t* is angular (being two-pronged) and *n* is looped, in the present plates they are formed in the reverse way, *t* being looped and *n* without such a loop but having a curve at the left as found in the Siripuram plates of Anantavarman<sup>13</sup> of the 6th century A. C. This difference may not be considered as irregular in our grant since the looped *t* and the unlooped *n* occur in grants of the 5th century A. C., for example, in the Śālanakōṭa plates of Western Gaṅga Mādharavarman<sup>14</sup> and in the Śālanākāyana grants generally.<sup>15</sup> Further, the looped *t*, as found in our grant, and the unlooped *t* as in the Andhavaram plates occur in one

<sup>1</sup> *ARSIE*, 1934-5, part II, item 3.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 3 ff. and plate; Vol. XXV, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4 ff. and plate.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 122 and plate.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 23 ff. and plate.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 142 and plate.

<sup>7</sup> Some of them are formed peculiarly; the medial *ā* is attached to *jā* and *jāḍ* at the topmost prong of the consonant *j* which is unusual, since this vowel mark is usually attached to its middle prong.

<sup>8</sup> *Ahadanākāraṇa* Plates of E. Chālukya Viśṇuvardhana (V), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 188 and plate.

<sup>9</sup> The Kōmurti plates and the Rittigur plates issued by the same king Arthapati Bhātāraka and drafted by one and the same individual, however, differ in their characters indicating the former to be rather earlier. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 291 and plate.

<sup>11</sup> *JEBBAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff. and plate.

<sup>12</sup> C. P. No. 4 of 1931-32. Above, p. 177.

<sup>13</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, plate facing p. 61.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 228.

<sup>15</sup> Pedavōḷa plates of Nandivarman II, *JAHRS*, Vol. 1, plate facing p. 94; above, Vol. XXV, plate facing p. 46.



and the same inscription, viz., the Gurañā Brāhmī inscription of the 3rd-4th century A.C.<sup>1</sup> so that in so far as these two letters are concerned, the looped and unlooped forms are not of much consequence in the matter of palaeographical dating. In addition to the above peculiarities, our charter exhibits other features which are not seen in the Andhavaram plates, although in phraseology both grants are almost alike. One such feature of our grant is the mention of two *dātakas* in place of the *śāpī* and another is its faulty orthography as compared with the correct Sanskrit in which the Andhavaram charter is composed.

The orthography of the inscription, as already remarked, abounds in errors. Incorrect writing, for example, *pta* for *ipa* in line 1, *pāriśa* for *pāṭiśa* in line 3, *taṭṭiya* for *taṭṭirīya* in line 6, *bhaṇṭiya* for *bhaṇṭiya* in line 9, *kaṇḍāṇḍāṇḍa* for *kaṇḍāṇḍāṇḍa* in lines 17-18 may be ascribed to the ignorance of the scribe. An instance of incorrect syntax is found in line 7. Non-observance of *sandhi* is found in *Mahārāja Anantaśaktivarman* (line 3). The use of *h* for *v* is noticeable in *Barāka-mittarāyāṇ* (line 3) and *barāka* (line 14); and of *v* for *h* in *valāḍhikīṭa* for *balāḍhikīṭa* in line 18.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Except the imprecatory verses, the whole inscription is in prose. The phraseology of the inscription is almost similar to that obtaining in the Andhavaram plates of the same ruler, but contains some such phrases as are not found in the latter. For instance, the passage *dharmā-kṛama-vikṛāṇḍāṇḍa-māpatama-gōgāḍ-vedya mahimā-mūṣṇāntām* (lines 10-11) is not found in the Andhavaram plates but finds place in our grant as also in a few other charters of the period such as the Bṛihatpēṣāhā grant<sup>2</sup> and the Dhavalapōṭa plates<sup>3</sup> of Umavarmān and the Bobbīl plates of Chāḍavarman.<sup>4</sup> The date of the record is given at the end of the charter as year 28, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Phālguna. The numerals 29 and 8 occur in this connection.<sup>5</sup>

The plates are issued by *Mahārāja Anantaśaktivarman* from his capital *Śiṅghapura*. They record the royal gift of a village called *Sakunaka* situated in *Āvi-pāṭva* of (the district of) *Varāha-vartan*, as an *agrahāra*, to two Brāhmaṇa brothers, *Nāgaśarma* and *Durgasarma* of the *Kātyāyana-gōtra* and the *Taṭṭirīya-śākhā*. The king is described as *Kallūgāḍhipati*, as belonging to the *Māṭham-śākhā* and as one who obtained his body, kingdom and prosperity through the grace of his father, (who was) a great devotee of the *dēvī* (*paramadāivata-Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-graṇṭhā-dēvī-śākhā-śākhā*). To my knowledge, the form in which this epithet occurs, embodying, as it does, such elaborate expressions of deep devotion to one's father is found only in one other grant, viz., the Andhavaram plates cited above. In all other early charters where the king's devotion to his father (*Bappa*) is recorded, whether in Pallava, Śāṅkayana, or in the early Kallūga charters other than the two cited above, the terms are simpler like *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaṭṭa*, *Bappa-pāda-bhaṭṭa* or *pitrī-pāda-bhaṭṭa*, even the epithet *bhaṭṭāraka* sometimes being dropped.<sup>6</sup> The other epithet *paramadāivata* applied to *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka* in the present grant needs some comment: it is here applicable to *Bappa*, while in the Kōmārti plates of Chāḍavarman<sup>7</sup> this epithet applies to the issuer of the grant himself, i.e., Chāḍavarman. Usually, the grants that contain this epithet, as far as I have examined, prefix it in a compound either to *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka* or, as in some cases, to the name of the overlord as whose feudatory the issuer of the grant figures. Instances of the former are available in the Kallūga grants including the present charter and those

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 125 and plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 133 ff. and plate.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff. and plate.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 33 ff. and plate.

<sup>5</sup> The symbol read as 8 more probably stands for 6; see above, Vol. XXVII, p. 36—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 4 (Bṛihatpēṣāhā grant of Umavarmān).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 142.



of the latter in the Damodarpur plates<sup>1</sup> of the Gupta kings, the Patiakella<sup>2</sup> and the Soro plates of Śambhuyāsa.<sup>3</sup>

To assess the exact significance of *paramādāivata* and its variants *paramādāivatatāhā*, and *paramagurūtātādāivatatāhā*, one may cite, by way of comparison, similar epithets, viz., *paramabrahmayya*, *paramasugata*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, etc. In the last example, the import of the term is clear. It signifies paramountcy. The others have also been considered as indicative of paramount status.<sup>4</sup> The latter assumption, however, appears to be doubtful. For these terms which mean 'a great devotee of the gods,' 'a great devotee of gods and super-gods,' 'a great devotee of the Brāhmanas' and 'a great devotee of Sugata' should be taken to indicate only the religious devotion or persuasion of the ruler concerned and not as signifying any political paramountcy that he wielded. This will become clear on an examination of the instances where the epithets are used without the additional title of *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. In such cases, the particular person concerned was certainly not holding any paramount status. One such instance has been pointed out by Dr. Chhabra, namely that of Nāgabala and Bharatabala of the Bāmhāni plates.<sup>5</sup> They are both described as *paramagurūtātādāivatatāhā*, but not as *paramabhaṭṭāraka*; and the record gives other indications to prove that really they were not paramount. Another instance is provided by the Soro plates of Śambhuyāsa wherein his father (*bappa*) is called *paramādāivata* but not as *bhaṭṭāraka*. As Mr. N. G. Majumdar has remarked, Śambhuyāsa was only 'enjoying a sort of independent status.' In fact, even in the Patiakella plate of Śivarāja, wherein Śambhuyāsa also figures, the person referred to as *paramādāivatatāhā* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka* under whom Śivarāja ruled seems to be a third person different from both Śivarāja and Śambhuyāsa, as these epithets are not applicable to Śambhuyāsa as has been wrongly assumed;<sup>6</sup> for, he is introduced in the record with the simple title of *Paramamāhārāja* and as the ruler of Tōsalī. Evidently Śambhuyāsa was the immediate overlord of Śivarāja and both were apparently subordinates of yet another paramount ruler alluded to by the titles *paramādāivatatāhā* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka*. One curious feature about the occurrence of the title *paramādāivata*, 'the great devotee of the gods,' is that it is rarely found applied to the ruler actually issuing the grant, but that it is applied usually to his predecessors, father (*bappa*) or overlord, as the records cited above would show.

*Mahārāja Anantasaktivarma*, describing himself as Lord of Kaliṅga, issues the present grant from his capital, Śiṅghapura. The title *Kaliṅgādhipati* held by him is partly justified by the fact that his capital Śiṅghapura (Singhapura) was well known as one of the chief cities of Kaliṅga mentioned in quite a number of early Kaliṅga-grants and in early Buddhist literature.<sup>7</sup> Other cities in Kaliṅga which also served as capitals of kings describing themselves as lords of Kaliṅga were Piśāpura,<sup>8</sup> Śīrapalli,<sup>9</sup> Dēvapura,<sup>10</sup> Dantapura<sup>11</sup> and lastly Kaliṅganagara. Although these cities were far from one another (Piśāpura being the southernmost situated on the Gōdāvari, and Sinhapura being the northernmost in Chīrasolē tāluk), it would appear that the lordship over Kaliṅga could be claimed from any of these cities fixed as capitals. The village Sakunaka granted by Anantasaktivarma was situated in Varāhavartanī, a well-known territorial division of Kaliṅga.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 190.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 202 and Vol. XXVII, p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 130.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 202: See *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 287, text lines 2-4.

<sup>7</sup> E. C. Law: *Geography of Early Buddhism* (1932), pp. 7, 64.

<sup>8</sup> Rājaplates of Saktivarma, above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 B.

<sup>9</sup> Chīrasolē plates of Nanda-Pṛabhajjavarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 48 and plate.

<sup>10</sup> Śiṅghapura plates of Anantavarman, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 47 and plate.

<sup>11</sup> Jirjīngi plates of Indravarma, above, Vol. XXV, p. 261 and plate.

<sup>12</sup> See below, p. 224.



What is of more than passing interest in the record is the mention of the name of the king's family as *Māṭhara kula*. Besides Anantaśaktivarman of our grant, two others, viz., his namesake of the Andhavaram plates and *Kaliṅgādhīpati* Śaktivarman of the Rāṅgū plates claimed to belong to this family. The latter, in addition, styles himself *Vāśiṣṭhīputra*. Since *Māṭhara* was a *gōtra rishi*,<sup>1</sup> we have in the case of these chiefs an instance of a royal family named after a *gōtra rishi*.<sup>2</sup> That Śaktivarman of the Rāṅgū plates also bears the metronymic *Vāśiṣṭhīputra* reminds one of the Śātavāhana and Ikshāku practices in this regard,<sup>3</sup> although the mention of both father-kinship and mother-kinship by Śaktivarman is quite unique. It is interesting to find a reference to the *Vāśiṣṭha kula* as the family to which two other kings of Kālīṅga are stated to have belonged, viz., *Mahārāja* Guṇavarman and *Mahārāja* Prabhāṅgasvarman, the grandfather and father respectively of Anantavarman, lord of Kālīṅga, the author of the *Śrīṅavarapukōṭa*<sup>4</sup> and the *Siriputṭam* plates.<sup>5</sup> Śaktivarman of the Rāṅgū plates mentions his descent from both paternal (*Māṭhara*) and maternal (*Vāśiṣṭha*) *gōtras* and he also enjoins first upon his *gōtrajas* to protect his charity and next upon the other kings (*anyā rājāsas*).

In what lineal relationship our Anantaśaktivarman stood to the Śaktivarman of the Rāṅgū plates, both being of the same *Māṭhara* family, has already been discussed, and it has generally been assumed that, as the palaeography of the two grants differs by about a century, Śaktivarman was the grandfather. The possibility of an Anantavarman intervening between them as the father has been stressed, it being assumed that the father's name is perhaps indicated in the double form Ananta-Śaktivarman which is the appellation of the king of our grant, who was perhaps christened only as Śaktivarman after his grandfather.<sup>6</sup> That this genealogical construction is very possible is further substantiated by the evidence afforded by the Andhavaram plates of Anantaśaktivarman. On a comparison of the text, script and other particulars of this record with those of the present plates, it has been rightly surmised that the issuers of the two records are one and the same.<sup>7</sup> In the Andhavaram charter a passage occurs in the form of preamble to the donation made by the king. It relates that since the gift-village had already been granted by Āryaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda, he (Anantaśaktivarman) only regranted it to the same Brāhmaṇa families (*astī-svanīpa-gaṭh-śikha-dharmā-āvanāhāna-vijita-utvivāṣṭap air-Āryaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka-pādair- nānā-gōtra-churaṅghyā brūhmaṇābhyaḥ-pūruṣa-datta ity-asmābhū-apī*, etc.). Here the person referred to as *Āryaka-Śakti-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda* (with the honorific plural)<sup>8</sup> was doubtless an ancestor of Anantaśaktivarman. He was a king (*bhaṭṭāraka*) and was referred to by the respectful appella-

<sup>1</sup> In the *Gāthaprataraṇasūtrādhikāraṇḍa*, there is mention of *Māṭhara* as a *gōtra rishi*. Evidently *Māṭhara* and *Maṭhara* are identical, or the former was descended from the latter.

<sup>2</sup> The kings of the Ananta family (*Ananta-maharāja-mahā-asmādhīpati*) and the Śālikākyanas of the Telugu country may be considered as other such families.

<sup>3</sup> Among the Ikshākus there are metronymies *Vāśiṣṭhīputra* and *Māṭhārīputra*. Above, Vol. XX, pp. 16 E. See also *Early History of the Andhra country*, pp. 44 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> *ASIS*, 1934-5, part II, item 2.

<sup>7</sup> Above, p. 177.

<sup>8</sup> In a similar way, Viśakhavarman, a ruler of Kālīṅga in the 5th-6th century A. C., refers to his father (*ṣappu*). In the *Korochagūḍa* plates of this king, he is stated to have made the gift of a village to a number of Brāhmaṇas for the purpose of increasing the merit of his father who was in heaven (*asmāḥ-ṣappu-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānāḥ- sūratkāḥ-apracchyaṭānāḥ lāṅgāḥ-pūruṣa-ḍṣṭapādya*), above, Vol. XXI, p. 24, text lines 3-4.



tion of *Āryaka*. By his practice of *dharma* he had even conquered the celestial beings.<sup>1</sup> Although this term *āryaka* should generally be understood as one of respect, yet in some inscriptional cases there is reason to interpret it as grandfather, much in the same way as *bappa* meant father. Fleet was the first to think so.<sup>2</sup> Yet in the inscriptional instances,<sup>3</sup> which are not many, the manner in which it occurs leaves some ambiguity as to whether the term meant father, grandfather or simply a respectable person. In the Rithapur plates of Bhava[da\*]ttavarman<sup>4</sup> it is recorded that Arthapati Bhattāraka was favoured by *āryaka* (*āryaka-pāla-prasād-anugrihita*). The context here leaves it doubtful whether by *āryaka*, Arthapati's father is referred to, whether his grandfather is meant as Dr. Sircar has assumed,<sup>5</sup> or whether it alludes to some 'respectable people' as the editor of the plates Y. R. Gupte translates the term. Similarly in the Halsi plates of Kadamba Mrigala,<sup>6</sup> this king is stated to have built a temple of Jina 'through devotion for the king, his *āryaka*' (*se-āryakā nripatau bhaktiā*). Dr. Fleet, who has edited the record, translates *āryaka* by 'father, who was dead (sic)'. In a literary passage occurring in the *Chāturacasta*,<sup>7</sup> the word *āryaka* is used obviously in the sense of father. None-the-less, so far as inscriptions go and as Fleet has also pointed out, *āryaka* may be understood to stand for grandfather just as *bappa* meant father. A piece of inscriptional evidence, which may be pressed into service here to clinch the issue, is provided by a Nāgārjunikonda Prakrit inscription.<sup>8</sup> In this, the words *āyaka* and *ayikā* are used to describe the relatives of the donatrix who mentions, besides, her *pita*, *māta*, *mātula*, etc. Evidently *āyaka* and *ayikā* here meant grandfather and grandmother respectively. Its editor, Dr. Vogel, too, interprets the terms that way.<sup>9</sup> From the foregoing discussion, it may safely be assumed that Āryyaka-Saktibhattāraka of the Andhavaram plates was the grandfather of Anantasaktivarman and identical with *Kalināgādhipati* Saktivarman of the Rāgola plates. While the latter issues his charter from Pishapur, the grandson is found to have fixed his capital at Sushapura in the north. Since both were *Kalināgādhipatis*, the change of capital need not be considered as any extension of territory affected by the grandson over and above what the grandfather had already acquired. Moreover the object of Saktivarman's grant was Rākaluva in the Kalinga *raṣṭra*, the same as Rāgola

<sup>1</sup> The conception that the kings of the earth conquer those of the heaven by deeds of piety, if not by deeds of valour, is profusely illustrated in Gupta inscriptions, especially those occurring on their coins. Some of the legends on their coins read like—

*Aparivraṭṭa śīlīya bhaktiā ancharitār—divya jagati* (archer type of Chandragupta).

*Kaṭhita—amajīta ancharitār—divya jagati* (Chandragupta II).

*Gaṇa-amajīta ancharitār Kamāraguptā divya jagati* (Kamāragupta I).

The idea seems to be a very old one. Vālmiki put it in these words:

*Ājā tu dharmīṇa ā pālayitā*

*madamata-śaṇḍatkarāḥ prajānāḥ ||*

*arīṇa īritamāḥ śaṇḍānāḥ yathānāḥ ||*

*śaṇḍakṛtāḥ śaṇḍagana-patiḥ śaṇḍāḥ ||*

(Rāmāyaṇa, *Ayōdhyakāṇḍa*, canto 100, verse 70)

I am obliged to Dr. Chhabra for the above references. See his article on *Chandragupta prabhava* in *Aditya's eutropa mona* (A Unique Gold Coin of Chandragupta I) in the Hindi journal *Kaṭhāvatī*, Vol. II, pp. 113 ff. (For its version in English, see *JNSI*, Vol. XI, pp. 13 ff.) Also see *JRSB*, Letters III (1937), Num. Sup. XLVII, pp. 105-10; Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, etc., pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *C.I.J.*, Vol. III, p. 186 n.

<sup>3</sup> I am thankful to Dr. Chhabra for drawing my attention to the instances cited here.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, p. 102, text line 24.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 24, text line 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Gūḍa Manuscripts*, Vol. III, p. 2, p. 120.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XX, p. 22, Ins. F. line 2.

<sup>9</sup> I may add here that later, when this article was going through the press, I happened to come across the word *ayyaka* (Skt. *āryaka*) in certain Jataka stories (e.g. Nos. 222 and 242 of Faehoff's edition). Every where it stands for 'grandfather.'



near Sindhapura. Śaktivarman and his grandson Anantaśaktivarman of the Māthara family were thus presumably paramount rulers of Kalinga during the 4th-5th century A.C.

We have now to determine the political status and the approximate period of some other kings of Kalinga who, as can be judged from the palaeography of their charters, flourished in the 5th century. These were *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman of the Brihatprōāhthā grant, his imitator who issued the Dhavalapēṭa plates, and *Kalingādhipati* Chandavarman of the Bobbili and Kōmārti plates. It has been stated above that the characters of our great resemble Umavarman's grants. If we accept this proposition, the exact priority or posteriority of our Anantaśaktivarman to *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman should be determined. In regard to Umavarman of the two charters cited above, what Mr. R. K. Ghoshal has said<sup>1</sup> may be accepted, viz., that the kings of both the grants are identical, although the Dhavalapēṭa plates were not issued from Sindhapura and the king therein is not called *Kalingādhipati*, both details being present in the Brihatprōāhthā grant. And this Umavarman's proximity to Anantaśaktivarman in point of date is further attested to, not only by the palaeographical resemblance, but also by another crucial evidence, viz., that the composer of the Andhavarāṇ plates of Anantaśaktivarman, *Dapḍanīgaka Mātṭivara*, was also the composer of the Brihatprōāhthā grant wherein he is described as the son of Haridatta.<sup>2</sup> Yet this does not solve the question as to whether Umavarman preceded or succeeded the other Kalinga ruler. However, the following considerations tend to show that Umavarman should have come only after Anantaśaktivarman. While Anantaśaktivarman calls himself a *Kalingādhipati* in both his grants, dated 14th and 28th regnal years, Umavarman was not a *Kalingādhipati* when he issued the Dhavalapēṭa plates from Sunnaga but assumed that title and changed his capital to Sindhapura, too, when he made the grant of Brihatprōāhthā, in his 30th regnal year. Hence Umavarman was not a *Kalingādhipati* to start with, whereas Anantaśaktivarman was the lord of Kalinga from the very beginning of his career, having inherited the kingdom from his father, a fact which is made clear by his epithet *baṇḍa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-prasād-āṇḍa-sūra-rājya-vihāra*. This circumstance precludes the possibility of Umavarman having become *Kalingādhipati* or of his having fixed his capital at Sindhapura before Anantaśaktivarman's accession and of having caused a sort of interregnum in the Māthara lordship over Kalinga.<sup>3</sup> Until evidence is found to the contrary, it may, therefore, be assumed that Umavarman, who did not belong to the Māthara family, acquired the title *Kalingādhipati* and lordship over the Kalinga kingdom, as well as over the city of Sindhapura by conquest,<sup>4</sup> or otherwise, from Anantaśaktivarman after the latter had ruled it peacefully for a

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 124. There was another *Makārāja* Umavarman who issued the Tekkali plates (C. P. No. 13 of 1934-35), who belonged to the same century and was ruling over a part of Kalinga. Since the seal of his grant bears a different legend from the one on the two charters cited above, and as he was not a *Kalingādhipati* like Umavarman of the Brihatprōāhthā grant, he seems to be a different king.

<sup>2</sup> The composer of the present Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman was a different person, viz., *Talavara Arjunadatta*.

<sup>3</sup> There is some evidence which seems to show that Anantaśaktivarman was engaged in some military expedition in or about the 14th year of his reign as pointed out by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 179). This ruler issued his Andhavarāṇ plates in his 14th regnal year from a military camp at *Vijayapura* (*Kaṭṭapala-theṭṭāṇḍa-Vijayapurā*). Andṛeṭṭa, the gift-village mentioned in this record, is doubtless Andhavarāṇ which lies within a distance of only 10 miles from Sindhapura, modern Singapuram near Sētṭikūṭam. There is, therefore, some ground for the assumption that this military expedition might have resulted in the capture of Sindhapura by Anantaśaktivarman from some enemy. Or, in the alternative, Anantaśaktivarman might have been proceeding from Sindhapura, which was already his capital, against the same enemy. If this enemy was *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman who issued his Brihatprōāhthā grant from Sindhapura in his 30th regnal year, one may doubt if Anantaśaktivarman's Andhavarāṇ plates were issued subsequent to the Brihatprōāhthā grant of Umavarman's 30th regnal year. In such a case we have to postulate that an interregnum in the Māthara rule over Kalinga (from capital Sindhapura) was caused by *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 124. Mr. R. K. Ghoshal advances here the view that the Brihatprōāhthā grant seems to have been issued by Umavarman on the occasion of some notable military success achieved by him at the expense of some local ruler.



least 33 years. The view that *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman may not have been altogether unrelated to his political predecessors of the Māthara family is not improbable if we compare the seals of his grants with those issued by Śaktivarman and Anantasaktivarman. The legend on the seals of the Andhavarum plates of the latter and on those of Umavarman's two grants is in four lines, ending with the name of the king in the genitive case.<sup>1</sup> In the same form is found the legend on the seal of the Rāgōlu plates, too, which is, however, in two lines and ends with the king's name likewise in the genitive case.

This similarity in the seals of the above three kings is noteworthy since in regard to the seals of the other kings of Kalinga who immediately followed them, viz., Chaṇḍavarman and Nanda-Pṛhāṇjanavarman, and Umavarman of the Tekkali plates, the legend is different and it reads *pitṛibhaktāḥ*. These 'Pitribhaktā' kings, as they may be tentatively designated, were evidently of a different stock from the Mātharas and were again different from the family of Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōṣhthā grant. With the evidence now at our disposal, it is obviously incorrect to call all the kings of Kalinga from Śaktivarman down to Viśākṣavarman as of one and the same family, Māthara or Pitribhaktā.<sup>2</sup> *Kalingādhipati* Chaṇḍavarman of the Bobbili plates seems to have succeeded *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman not long after, since it is found that the composer of his record was Rudradatta, son of Mātṛivara. The latter, as pointed out above, had composed both Anantasaktivarman's Andhavarum plates and Umavarman's Bṛihatprōṣhthā grant.<sup>3</sup> In phraseology the grants of all the three rulers show affinity. Thus the passage *dharmma-kkrama-nikkamāṇām-anjātama-yōgā-ārōppa*, etc., is found in our grant as well as in the Bobbili plates of Chaṇḍavarman. *Śaṣṭriṇīśad-agrahāra-sāmānyam*, etc., is common to both the Bobbili plates and the Bṛihatprōṣhthā grant. In the scheme of early Kalinga chronology, the Mātharas preceded a certain *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman, of unknown dynasty, who was himself closely followed by the 'Pitribhaktā' kings led by Chaṇḍavarman.<sup>4</sup>

As already observed, the present record mentions two *dūtakas* in place of *ājñapti*. Evidently the task of the *dūtaka* and that of the *ājñapti* were similar, viz., that of executing the royal gift.<sup>5</sup> In the Andhavarum plates of the king no specific person is mentioned as the *ājñapti*, the task having been entrusted to the *mahādandanāyakas* as the record states. In the present grant, however, two *dūtakas* are mentioned, Śivabhōjaka and Vasudatta by name. Both are described as *kumārānātyas*. But Śivabhōjaka is given the additional epithets of *Mahāśālādhikṛita* and *Dandānātya*.<sup>6</sup> The latter was thus a more dignified official, being both a generalissimo and a judge. The grant is stated to have been written by *Dśāśakapatalādhikṛita* *Takura* Arjunadatta. An *anātya* Arjunadatta is stated to have written the Rāgōlu plates issued by Śaktivarman whom we have considered as the grandfather of Anantasaktivarman. It may not be improbable that

<sup>1</sup> The legend on the seal of the Andhavarum plates is highly damaged. But that it contained the name of the king in the genitive case and the whole legend was in four lines may be safely assumed.

<sup>2</sup> *Early History of Andhra* (1942), pp. 287-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Centre* (AES/E, 1924-5, part II, item 1, wherein Mr. C. R. K. Charles considers that there were two persons of the name of Mātṛivara, and that Mātṛivara son of Haridatta of Umavarman's Bṛihatprōṣhthā grant was a later descendant of Mātṛivara, father of Rudradatta of the Bobbili plates of Chaṇḍavarman. But there is really no need to postulate two Mātṛivaras as has been pointed out by B. K. Chakrabarti (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 133 f.n. 4).

<sup>4</sup> The scheme of chronology of these kings which is proposed in *Early History of Andhra*, pp. 287 ff., appears faulty and I am unable to accept it for various reasons.

<sup>5</sup> *Flot.*, CII., Vol. III, p. 100 n.

<sup>6</sup> [From the wording of the record, one may apply the titles *Mahāśālādhikṛita* and *Dandānātya* even to both Śivabhōjaka and Vasudatta. Yet, I am inclined to connect the first with the former and the second with the latter: *Kumārānātya* *Mahāśālādhikṛita* Śivabhōjaka and *Kumārānātya* *Dandānātya* Vasudatta. Besides, *Dandānātya*, in my opinion, is a military rank like *Mahāśālādhikṛita*, though inferior to it. *Dandānātya* may be equal to *śālāpati* and *Mahāśālādhikṛita* to *Mahāśālāpati*.—Ed.]



*Talavara* Arjunadatta of Anantafaktivarman's present grant was a grandson of *Amātya* Arjunadatta.<sup>1</sup> That a purely civil officer, *viz.*, *Dakṣiṇyopādāyaka*, that Arjunadatta of the present record was, had also the title *talavara*, which means 'a noble person,' is interesting. This office is mentioned in some Nāgarjunikonda Prakrit inscriptions and also in the Allura Brāhmi epigraph.<sup>2</sup>

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Singhapura, the capital of the king, occurs in many other records of the Kalinga kings and has already been located at Singuparam<sup>3</sup> near Chicacole (Śrīrājanam) in the present-day taluk and district of the same name. Sakupaka, the donated village, which is stated to be in *Āvi-pāriśva* (in the district) of Varāhavartantī, finds mention as Sakunagrāma in the Andhavarman plates of Gaṅga Anantavarman<sup>4</sup> as one of the villages situated on the boundary of a village (name not clear) in Varāhavartantī. Sakunagrāma is in this record described as touching other villages like Dīrghavāta and Sindhivāsi. The last two may be identified with Dīrghāl and Sindhuvāda in the same taluk. Sakunakagrāma of our grant must lie somewhere in the neighbourhood of these villages in the same taluk. I am unable to establish at present its exact identification with any modern village in this locality. But that the territorial division Varāhavartantī should be located in this and the adjacent taluk of Tekkali is more than certain; for, a number of villages mentioned as situated in this ancient division in some E. Gaṅga grants are all identifiable with their modern representatives in the Tekkali and Chicacole taluks. The following table illustrates this.

Name of the village as in the inscription.	Modern name.	Taluk.	Reference.
1 Rōṣapaki . . . . .	Rōṣapaki, hamlet of Singuparam.	Chicacole . . . . .	Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 62.
2 Navagrāma . . . . .	Narayan . . . . .	Tekkali . . . . .	Ibid, p. 67.
3 Siddhantakā . . . . .	Siddhantam . . . . .	Chicacole . . . . .	Above, Vol. XIII, p. 212 and Vol. III, p. 127.

In the late E. Gaṅga inscriptions, the territorial division Kōluvarṭantī is mentioned and Kṛalana Sastri considered the division as being the same as Varāhavartantī since *kōla* is a synonym of *varāha*.<sup>5</sup> Even Kennow located this division roughly along the course (varṭantī) of the Varāhanadi which rises in the Gōlkonḍa (Gōlungonḍa) Hills to the north of Narasipatnam and flows into the Bay of Bengal at Vaidā.<sup>6</sup> Mr. G. Ramadas states that it is probably the region between the Vaidādhārī and the Nāgavallī.<sup>7</sup> Both these locations are approximately correct, since the modern Chicacole and Tekkali taluks are situated in this area. The derivation of its name from *varāha* 'bear,' is interesting as there existed another territorial division called after *krśāṅga*, 'jackal,' *viz.*, the Kṛśāṅgavarṭantī.<sup>8</sup> Presumably the areas were so named owing to profusion of bears and jackals in them. I am unable to identify *Āvipāriśva* in which Sakupaka lay. If *pāriśva* is a mistake for *pārśva*, then the village or locality was called simply *Āvi*. The name, however, seems to be non-Sanskritic.

<sup>1</sup> *ARSI*, 1924-5, part II, item 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Above, Vol. XX, p. 7 n. and *ARSI*, 1924, part II, item 1.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XII, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> C. P. No. 6 of 1901-52.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 185, n. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 149.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 127.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 196 and n.

i.

2  
4

2 4

ii, a.

6  
8  
10

6 8 10

ii, b.

12  
14

12 14

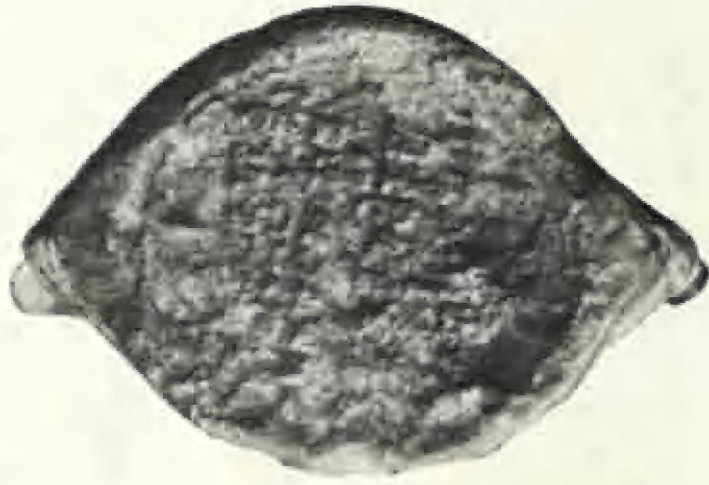
iii.

16  
18  
20

16 18 20



SEAL OF DHAVALAPETA PLATES OF  
MAHARAJA UMAYARMAN



From a Photograph

1722

SEAL OF ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF  
ANANTASAKTIVARMAN



From a Photograph

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Svasti [ | \*] Vijaya-Singhapurīpta (t-Pa)ramadaivata-Bappa-bhatīāraka-pāda-prasā-  
 2 d-āvāpta-darīra-rājya-vibhava<sup>2</sup> Māthara-kul-ālakā(āka)rikapa-Kalingādhipa-  
 3 ti-Śrīman-Mahārāja<sup>3</sup>-Anantakaktivarmā Ba(Va)śāhavarāṇyā Āvi-pārisvā-  
 4 Sakunaka-grāma(mā) sarvva-samavētān-ku(n-ku)ṁbhān(nah) samājñāpayati [ | \*] a-  
 5 sy-śāha-grāmā-mābhī 2(r-ā)ṁśa(nah) pany-ā(ay-ā)pur-yyāś-ābhividdhay<sup>4</sup> aṁśai

## Second Plate : First Side

- 6 Kātyāyana-sagotrāya Taittī(titī)ya-sabrahmachāri-brāhma-  
 7 na-Nāgalarimmaśē Durgalakarmmaśbhya<sup>5</sup> dvau bhātāran<sup>6</sup> ā-chandra-tāraka-  
 8 pratishṭham-ugraśāntaḥ kṛtv-ātishṭhāḥ [ | \*] tad-eva(rh\*) viditrā yu-  
 9 āmābhī-yyāś-āhita-maryya(ryā)kāy-āpāthāna(m\*) kartavyaḥ(vyam) [ | \*] bhaviya  
 (śya)ta-cha  
 10 rājā vijñāpayati dharmma-kārama-vikramāgām-ānyatama-śāgā-

## Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 d-avāpya mahīm-ānūśatām pravṛttakam-iman-dīna-dharmmam-anupa-  
 12 śyadbhī<sup>7</sup> śāhā-grahārā-mpāya(b) [ | \*] bhavati(ut)ch-ātra Vyāsa(g)ta(h\*) ślōka(h\*)  
 [ | \*] Ba-  
 13 imbi-bhānāhā dattā vasudhā vasudhādhipa(h\*) [ | \*] yaśa yaśa  
 14 yadā bhīmā-tasya tasya tadā phatam [ | \*] śhaś(hi)ha(śh)ra-śha-śhaśā-  
 15 śi-avarggā vasatī bhūnōdāḥ [ | \*] śhāhptā ch-ānumantā cha tasy-eva na-

## Third Plate

- 16 rakā vasatī [ | ] Pūrva-dattāśi dvijānabhyō yataś-śakha Yādhis(hira) [ | \*] mahi-  
 17 m-mahimātā(m) śetah(ha) dānāch-āhītyō-nupālānam-ātīm [ | \*] itī [ | \*] dūtan ku-  
 18 mārāmātāu(tyāo) mahāva(ba)llādhikṛta-dānānāpī-Śivabhōjaka-  
 19 Vāndatāu(tāu)<sup>8</sup> || Samvatsaram 20<sup>9</sup> 8<sup>9</sup> Phā(Phā)lga(na)-śukla-paksha-dāśa(myām h-)  
 20 khitam dātākānupālādhikṛta-(ta\*)lavar-Ārjunadattāna ||

## No. 40—NAGARI PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III ; SAKA 1151 AND 1152

## { 3 Plates }

D. C. SINGH, ODLACAMUND

In November 1949, I received a set of inscribed copper-plates for examination from Mr. P. Acharya of Baripada in the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa through Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator of the Orissa Provincial Museum, Bhubaneswar. The plates, which were thickly covered with verdigris, were properly cleaned and good impressions of their inscribed sides were prepared in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Odhiscamund. After having completed the

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.<sup>2</sup> Śandhi is not observed here.<sup>3</sup> Read Durgalakarmmaś bhīyā śāhāgrahārā-mpāyaśāhādhikṛta.<sup>4</sup> Śandhi is not observed here.<sup>5</sup> For interpretation, see above p. 222 and n. 6.<sup>6</sup> [See above, p. 228, n. 6.—Ed.]



examination of the inscription from both the original plates and the impressions, I personally carried the plates to Cuttack, where I had to attend the Indian History Congress in December 1949, and handed them over to Mr. Acharya. At Cuttack I came to learn that the plates belonged to Mr. Harekrishna Mahatab, then Chief Minister of Orissa. Considering the importance of the inscription I requested Mr. Mahatab in March 1950 to be so good as to permit me to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I also requested Mr. Mahatab to supply me with details of the discovery of the plates, which could be incorporated in my paper on the subject. In a letter, dated the 15th March, 1950, Mr. Mahatab kindly agreed to my editing the inscription and also furnished me with the following story of its discovery. "The set of plates," Mr. Mahatab wrote to me, "was recovered in a village called Nagari about eleven miles from the town of Cuttack. The villagers were sinking a well and the copper plates were found about six feet below the surface level. As soon as the villagers found the set out, somehow it struck them to present the plates to me. They could have easily disposed them off and got a good sum as the value of the copper; but instead they came all the way and presented the plates to me in my office. I offered to pay them Rs. 100 which too they declined and expressed the desire that the amount should be spent for some public work in their village. Recently I went to the village. Near about it there are traces of ancient structures. Probably it was at one time a prosperous town as the name Nagari of the village implies." I am very grateful to Mr. Mahatab for his kindness in allowing me to publish the Nagari plates. Thanks are also due to the villagers of Nagari whose good sense saved the plates from being lost to the students of Indian epigraphy and history.

The set consists of five plates each measuring 12·6 inches by 7·9 inches. They are held together by a ring to which a seal, resembling those attached to other imperial Ganga records, is soldered. The thickness of the ring is 7 inch and it passes through a ring-hole which is 1 inch in diameter. The seal, which is 3·5 inches in diameter, has the form of an expanded lotus or a radiating sun-dial and has in the centre an embossed figure of a seated bull, caparisoned and bedecked with ornaments, facing front and having raised neck and head. To the proper left of the bull are found the emblems of a conch, the crescent moon, a dagger pointed downwards and a damara. To the right of the bull are similarly found a *trishula* and an *antasa* or a *chamara*. In front of the bull there is an emblem possibly representing the solar orb. The plates have raised rims for the protection of the writing. The first plate is written on the inner side only, the rest being engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 156 lines of writing. The first side of the third plate has 17 lines, the first sides of the fourth and fifth plates 19 lines each and the second side of the fifth plate only 11 lines. All other inscribed sides have 18 lines each. The writing is well-preserved with the exception of a few slightly damaged passages on the second side of the last plate. The *aksharas* are deeply incised and measure about 4 inch in height. The plates alone weigh 596 *tolas* while the weight of the ring and the seal is 111 *tolas*.

The characters belong to the class usually termed proto-Bengali, although a more appropriate name of the script ought to be Gauṇī.<sup>1</sup> Many of the letters have developed Bengali forms of the thirteenth century; but there are a few traces of Oriya (cf. medial *i* sign in *khi* in line 4, *ri* in line 44 and *ai* in line 94) and Devanāgarī (cf. medial *ṣ* sign in *dhi* in line 41 and medial *u* sign in *bhu* in line 104) influence. An interesting fact about the palaeography of the inscription under discussion is that there are many cases in which different *aksharas* are indicated by the same or similar signs. Thus there is absolutely no appreciable difference between *ru* and *rua*, between *tu* (cf. also cases where it looks like *ty*) and *rua*, and between *du* and *dua* (cf. also *du* which has only line 95); but it is often unrecognisable from the sign for *hu* (cf. lines 11, 12, 18, 19, 69, 78, etc.).

<sup>1</sup> For the literary style, dialect and script of Gauṇī or Eastern India, see A. I. O. C. *Summary of Papers* Lucknow, 1951, p. 177.



Similar is the case with *ts* and *the* (cf. lines 54, 64, 66, 69, 71, 74, 114, 129, etc.). In some cases *n* is not distinguishable from *r* (cf. *yasy-āna* in line 109). The sign for medial *i* often does not rise much above the top medial of the consonants and somewhat resembles the *ā*-sign (cf. *kāli* in line 1). It is of course expected that *ḍ* should be indicated by the sign for *c*. Of initial vowels, the inscription under discussion employs *a* (lines 60, 66, 82, 95, 97, 121, 123, 134, 146), *i* (lines 25, 50, 89, 120), *e* (lines 9, 10, 36, 37, 47, 64, 67, 69, 87, 105, 123, 132, 133), *u* (line 122), *ri* (lines 144, 145), *ṣ* (lines 16, 56, 75, 81, 90, 103, 140, 141) and *ṣ* (line 1). Of final consonants there are *t* (line 15), *n* (lines 29, 62, 79, 85, 126, 130, 140, 145) and *m* (lines 4, 10, 11, 20, 27, 35, 41, 43, 45, 48, 53, 61, 67, 89, 111, 116, 146, 150, 151, 153). The half-nasal sign called *anuvāda* is employed in writing *Om* in line 1. Double dots as a mark of interpunctuation is usually joined at the bottom. In some cases the *anuvāda* looks like the superscript *r*.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Its composition is partly in prose and partly in verse. With the exception of only one, all the eighty verses of the introductory portion of the epigraph are found also in the copper-plate records of the successors of the king who issued the charter under discussion.

As regards orthography, attention may be drawn to the occasional reduplication of certain consonants in conjunction with *r*. A common mistake in the record is the confusion between *i* and *e*. Interesting is also the spelling of words like *śrīyāśai* (for *śrīyāśai*) in line 1, *payāśai* (for *payāśai*) in line 79, *śāśai* in lines 8 and 10 and *śāśai* in line 83 (for *śāśai*), *śāśai* (for *śāśai*) in line 142, *śāśai* (for *śāśai*) in line 132, etc. *ṣi* is once indicated by *ri* in line 144. In a large number of cases final *m* followed by a consonant has not been changed into *anuvāda*, while in a few it has been substituted by the *anuvāda* wrongly (cf. lines 102, 137). It has been usually joined with *r* in wrong *andhi* (lines 40, 48, 53, 150, 151, 152).

The inscription contains several dates on which different gifts of land were made by the king responsible for the charter, although the exact date when the charter was issued is not mentioned. Lines 122-23 refer to the *Mina-sankranti* on Saturday, Chaitra Sud 9, in the Śaka year counted by *chandra* (1), *śukla* (5) and *rudra* (11) which indicate, according to the well known principle *śuklānām vīmatō gatiḥ*, the Śaka year 1151. The date regularly corresponds to Saturday, the 23rd February, 1230 A.C. Line 126 speaks of a gift made on Thursday, Magha badi 6 in the next year (*abdi-antarō*), i.e., in Śaka 1152. This date corresponds to the 26th December, 1230 A.C. Lines 134-35 refer to a lunar eclipse on Thursday, Mārgaśīrṣa Śudi 15 in the same year (*śukla-ābdi*), i.e., in Śaka 1152. The date corresponds to the 21st November, 1230 A.C. Line 137 speaks of the *Makara-sankranti* no doubt in the same year falling on the 26th December, 1230 A.C. Line 142 refers to a solar eclipse on the *Kārtika-āśvini* apparently in the same year (i.e., Śaka 1152), although it has to be admitted that, according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the solar eclipse took place in Śaka 1152 not on the *Kārtika-āśvini* (Thursday, the 11th July, 1230 A.C.) but on the *Vṛśabha-āśvini* (Tuesday, the 14th May, 1230 A.C.). The last date is found in line 148 which speaks of the *Makar-āśvini* on Sunday apparently in the same Śaka year. This date corresponds to the 5th January, 1231 A.C. The actual date when the charter under discussion was issued must have come sometime after this date probably in the same year 1231 A.C.

The prose portion of the inscription in lines 122-49 records a number of grants of land made by the celebrated Gaṅga monarch Anangabhimā III (c. 1211-36 A.C.) in favour of certain Brāhmanas. As already indicated above, this part of the charter is preceded by no less than eighty verses (with a prose passage between verses 6 and 7), seventy-nine of which are found quoted with slight variations in some later records of the family. These verses describe the genealogy of the Imperial Gaṅga family up to the reigning monarch. The resemblance of our text to the closest



with the corresponding part of the copper-plate charters<sup>1</sup> of Narasimha II (circa 1278-1305 A.C.), great-grandson of Anāgabhīma III. Of the two Puri copper-plate grants<sup>2</sup> of Narasimha IV (circa 1379-1414 A.C.), the one styled B agrees more closely with our text than that styled A. It has to be noticed that the verses describing the activities of the successors of Anāgabhīma III up to Narasimha II are similarly found quoted in the records of Narasimha IV. In spite of the fact that we have as yet not secured copper-plate grants of all the imperial Gaṅga rulers, it is clear from the records at our disposal that each of these later Gaṅga monarchs quoted in their charters the introductory portion of the records of his predecessor and added to them some new verses describing his own activities. That this custom must have been introduced after the days of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.C.) is shown by the fact that the verses cannot be traced in the introduction of the charters issued by that monarch and his predecessors.<sup>3</sup> In the absence of any copper-plate grant of any of the Gaṅga monarchs ruling between Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and Anāgabhīma III, it is indeed difficult to determine as to who among them was actually responsible for the composition of the earlier part of the genealogy copied in later records. It may, however, be pointed out that, in the whole genealogy as found in so many records, only the description of Kāmārpa (circa 1147-56 A.C.), the immediate successor of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, gives astronomical details about the date of the king's accession. This fact singles him out amongst the successors of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga in the genealogy under discussion and may suggest that it was the poet at his court who composed the earlier part of the genealogy that was copied in the copper-plate grants of his successors.

The mythical genealogy from the moon to Kōlāhala-Anantavarman given in a prose passage between verses 6 and 7, in lines 12-16, of our record was drawn on the basis of the later records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. We know that the records of Vajrahaṣṭa III, grandfather of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, offer the following genealogy:—

In the Gaṅga family belonging to the Ātrīya gōtra:

1. Guṇamahārpa (i.e., Guṇārpa) who acquired the glory of *śāmrājya*.

2. Vajrahaṣṭa I who united the earth that had been divided into five kingdoms and ruled for 44 years.

3. Guṇajama I  
(3 years)

4. Kāmārpa I  
(35 years)

5. Vinayāditya  
(3 years)

6. Vajrahaṣṭa II Aniyānabhīma (Anāgabhīma I)  
(35 years)

7. Kāmārpa II who married the Vaidumha princess Vinayamahādevī  
( $\frac{1}{2}$  year)

8. Guṇajama II  
(3 years)

9. Madhukāmārpa  
(19 years)

10. Vajrahaṣṭa III  
(1038-65 A.D.)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXV, Part I, 1896, pp. 223 ff. Unfortunately the text published by N. N. Vase is not free from mistakes.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 130 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Of such records as the Kerali and Visangapatam plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. I, pp. 49-58, 112-24; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 161-76) and the Narasimha, Nallagum and Madras Museum plates of his grandfather Vajrahaṣṭa III (above, Vol. XI, pp. 117-68; Vol. IV, pp. 112-67; Vol. IX, pp. 94-98). Only verse 14 of our record appears to have been copied from Chōḍagaṅga's grants. Verse 15 is found not only in the charters of Chōḍagaṅga but also in those of his father and grandfather.

The same genealogy was copied in the earlier copper-plate grants of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga such as the Kormi and Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1003 (1061-82 A.C.).<sup>1</sup> There is nothing suspicious about this genealogy. But the Kormi plates of Śaka 1034 (1112-13 A.C.)<sup>2</sup> and the Vizagapatam plates of Śaka 1040 (1118-19 A.C.)<sup>3</sup> give a more elaborate genealogy, the beginning of which is practically the same as found in the later records of the family including the grant of Anangabhima III under discussion. This later genealogy traces the origin of the family to the god Viṣṇu through his navel-born son Brahman, his mind-born son Atri, his eye-born son Moon, his son Budha, Budha's descendants Purūravas, Āyus, Nahusha, Yayāti and Turvaṇu<sup>4</sup> and a host of apparently imaginary personages from Turvaṇu to Guṇārjuna who is the progenitor of the family according to the earlier account but is represented here as Guṇārjuna II and is assigned a reign-period of 27 years.<sup>5</sup> Names of a certain Kōlāhala, founder of Kōlāhalapura in the Gaṅgarāḍi viśaya in Mysore, and his ancestors, some of whom are said to have migrated to Kalinga, are cleverly inserted before the reference to Guṇārjuna. There is some confusion in the description of the sons of Guṇārjuna; but the two accounts, earlier and later, tally with each other from Vajrabasta II Aniyāṅkabhīma I, grandfather of the great Vajrabasta III (1038-68 A.C.). It is impossible to believe that Vajrabasta III made mistakes in recounting the names of his immediate predecessors and that his grandson Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga had more reliable information about them. It has to be noticed that even the name of the father of Vajrabasta III is wrongly given in the records of his grandson. I have therefore no doubt that whatever is new in the later genealogy and is conflicting with the earlier account is absolutely unreliable. It seems that Vajrabasta II Aniyāṅkabhīma I (also called Anantavarman like his grandson), who apparently was the issuer of the Mandana plates of Śaka 917 (995 A.C.) and the Ponduru plates of the Gaṅga year 500 (996-98 A.C.) and ruled in the period cires 982-1016 A.C.,<sup>6</sup> was the founder of the family's greatness and that there was little authentic information about his immediate predecessors up to Guṇārjuna, progenitor of the family, at the disposal of the court poets of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The genealogy from the god Viṣṇu to this Guṇārjuna was no doubt entirely fabricated. The fabrication was, however, dependent on several factors. In the first place, its basis was the Ātrīya gōtra and the status of the Brahmanas<sup>7</sup> claimed by the Gaṅga emperors. As the Pallavas belonging to the Bhāratyaḥja gōtra claimed to have descended from the sage Bhāradvāja, these Gaṅgas forged a genealogy tracing their descent from their gōtravāsi Atri. The second factor seems to be a desire to claim relationship with the Gaṅgas of Mysore, in whose tradition the city of Kōlāhalapura, mentioned in the genealogy under discussion, finds an important place. Another factor was apparently the desire to claim descent from the celebrated Chandra-vamśa or lunar dynasty of epic and Purāṇic fame and, unlike the case of the old Chandra-vamśa kings, from the god Viṣṇu himself. We know that the earlier Gaṅgas were all Śaivas, being staunch devotees of the god Śiva-Gōkarnāvara worshipped at the

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 46-48; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 101-65. One set of the Vizagapatam plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 172-78) tallies with these earlier records in respect of this and other early characteristic material before, although its date was read as Śaka 1037 (1115-36 A.C.). I have doubts that, in the date of this inscription, the word *kore* (2) was wrongly written or read as *cora* (5) and that the date should probably be Śaka 1027 (1105-26 A.C.) instead of Śaka 1037 (1115-36 A.C.).

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 113-24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 165-72.

<sup>4</sup> These names were taken from the epic and Purāṇic traditions.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ray, *Dynamic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 451-53; below p. 249, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> See *J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 219-21.

<sup>7</sup> According to the *Paṇḍita-Piṇḍa Śāstrī* by Shama-l Śrīṅ, which describes Śaṅkha Piṇḍa Śāstrī's war with Gaṅga Bhūta III (cires 1252-78 A.C.), the Rāṭas of Jājpur (i.e. the Gaṅga kings of Orissa) were Brahmanas (Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 497). That the claim for the Brahmanas status was not regarded seriously is suggested by the Kāṭastriya name-ending termian preferred by Bhūta II and Narasimha IV (*J. A. B. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, p. 91). The Śimavamśa also claimed the Ātrīya gōtra and descent from the Moon.



top of the Mahānūragiri in the Ganjam District. Like his predecessors, Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga is also called a *paramamāhātmya* (devout worshipper of Mahādeva or Śiva) in his earlier records, viz., the Korni and Vinagapatam plates of 1081-82 A.C. But the Korni plates of 1112-13 A.C. describe him both as a *paramamāhātmya* and as a *paramavaiṣṇava* (devout worshipper of Viṣṇu), while the Vinagapatam plates of 1118-19 A.C. omit the title *paramamāhātmya* altogether and represent Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga as a devotee of Viṣṇu alone. It is very interesting to note that these later records refer to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga's conquest of the Utkala country which must have indicated the dominions of the Sōmavāmśis including the Puri-Uttak region.<sup>1</sup> This event, which took place earlier than 1112-13 A.C., seems to have had something to do with the change of the king's religious faith from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism. As will be seen below, one of the achievements of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, as described in the introductory portion of later Gaṅga copper-plate charters, including the record under discussion, was the construction of the great temple of Paruṣhōttama-Jagannātha at Puri. In any case, the genealogy tracing Chōḍagaṅga's descent from Viṣṇu seems to be concocted after he had been initiated to the Vaiṣṇava faith.

The inscription begins with the usual symbol for *siddham* and with the *prapada* written as *ō*. Verse 1 is in adoration to the goddess of prosperity, while the following verse speaks of her husband, the god Viṣṇu. Verse 3 describes how the god Brahman sprang from the navel of Viṣṇu; how the sage Atri was produced by Brahman (from his mind) and how the Moon was born from Atri's eyes. Verse 4 describes the greatness of the Moon, progenitor of the Chandravamśas, and verses 5-6 with a prose passage refer to the glories of the Moon's descendants up to Kōḷhala who is said to have also been called Anantavarman. Verse 7 speaks of Gaṅgavādi; and Anantavarman (Kōḷhala) is said to have become the king of this land. It is further said that the descendants of this king became famous under the name of Gaṅga. Verse 8 says how Sarapura, the capital of Kōḷhala-Anantavarman's kingdom, came to be known as Kōḷhala (or more fully Kōḷhala-pura) and how a number of kings ruled there in succession. Verse 9 suggests that Kōḷhala-Anantavarman had several (probably six) sons of whom the eldest Mārasiṅha succeeded him, while the latter's younger brothers left the country with a view to conquering other territories. Verse 10 says how these wandering brothers, the fifth of whom was called Kāmārpa, reached Kalinga and fought with the people of that country. Verse 11 speaks of the conquest of the Kalinga country apparently by the Gaṅgavaya indicating Kāmārpa. Verse 12 says that Kāmārpa became a *varṇa-kartṛi*, 'the progenitor of a royal family' and that his descendants became kings of renown. Verse 13 introduces Vajrahasta III (1038-68 A.C.) as sprung from the above Kāmārpa (cf. *śloka* in line 26), although the real relationship is no doubt that Vajrahasta was a descendant and not a son of this Kāmārpa. As already indicated above, this part of the genealogy is based on that found in the later records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, although there is some modification and omission of details.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> See I.B.G., Vol. XXII, pp. 309-07.

<sup>2</sup> According to the later records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, Kōḷhala was succeeded by his son Virōchana, in whose reign, of 41 kings had ruled at Kōḷhala-pura, came Virōchana. This king had five sons, viz., Kāmārpa, Kāmārpa, Gaṅgārpa, Mārasiṅha, and Vajrahasta. We are told that Kāmārpa gave over the kingdom to his paternal uncle and set out on *dharmajaya* with his four brothers. He came to Mount Mahendra where he worshipped Gokarnavāman, through whose favour he received the bull crest and the insignia of sovereignty. He then took possession of the Kalinga country after defeating Bāḍḍitya and ruled from Jantāra for 34 years. His brother Anārpava succeeded him and ruled for 40 years, while the other brothers, viz., Gaṅgārpa, Mārasiṅha and Vajrahasta, were assigned respectively the Ambavādi *śikha*, Sōḷi maṇḍala and Kaptākavaritanti. Dānārpa's successors were: his son Kāmārpa (50 years), his son Gaṅgārpa (6 years), his son Vajrahasta (15 years), his youngest brother Kāmārpa (18 years), his son Gaṅgārpa (27 years), his son Jitākuta (15 years), his brother's son Kalyāṇakuta (12 years), his father's brother Gaṅgārpa (7 years), his younger brother Kāmārpa (23 years), his brother Vinayāditya (3 years), his son Vajrahasta (35 years), his son Kāmārpa (4 years), his brother Gaṅgārpa (13 years), his step-brother Maṇḍukāmārpa (18 years), his son Vajrahasta (1038-68 A.C.). Cf. this with the genealogy found in earlier records and quoted above.



freedom with which the later poet handled the genealogy found in the later records of Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga, as indicated by the present case, is possibly another argument in favour of its fabricated nature. As we have suggested above, much of this account is fabricated, and the genealogy found in the records of the time of Vajrahasta III (1038-68 A.C.) and of the earlier years of Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga is much more reliable.

Verses 14-15 describe the greatness of Vajrahasta who is called 'lord of Trikaliṅga'. Verse 16 speaks of Vajrahasta's queen Naigamā and his son Rājārāja I born of her. Verses 17-18 deal with Rājārāja and his chief queen (*agm-mahishi*) Rājaseundarī.<sup>1</sup> The following 15 verses (verses 19-33) describe the achievements of [Anantavarman] Chōdagaṅga, son of Rājārāja and Rājaseundarī. Verse 20 deals with his learning in various subjects, while the next verse refers to his great prowess. Verse 23 says that Chōdagaṅga levied tribute from the whole land between the Gaṅgā (Bhāgīrathī) and the Gantama-Gaṅgā (Uḍḍāvarī). Verses 23-24 again refer to Chōdagaṅga's prowess. According to verse 25, Trilochana-vibha was bound in agreement with the Gaṅga (i.e., Chōdagaṅga) saying that no hero could venture to conquer him. Trilochana may of course indicate the god Śiva; but the reference may also be to an enemy captured in battle by the Gaṅga king. Verse 26 speaks of Gaṅgavarā's (i.e., Chōdagaṅga's) victory over the king of Utkala, which led to his obtaining *śaravā*, i.e., new territories no doubt in the Utkala country. We have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> discussed the history of the Śānavadhīs who were ruling in Utkala comprising the Puri-Cuttack region about this time. The Utkala king defeated by Chōdagaṅga was possibly a successor of the Śānavadhī ruler Uḍḍyānakṣarin (circa 1090-85 A.C.). According to verse 27, Chōdagaṅga built a temple for the great god Puruṣhōttama, as the earlier kings were afraid to take up this great task, while the next verse seems to suggest that the temple was built on the sea-shore. It is rightly believed by scholars<sup>3</sup> that these two verses refer to the erection of the great temple of Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha at Puri on the shores of the Bay of Bengal by king Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga. As we have seen above, this Gaṅga king, like his predecessors, was at first a Śaiva, but later became a Vaiṣṇava, and that the annexation of the Puri region to his empire may have had some thing to do with this change in his religious faith. The language of verse 27 seems to suggest that the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha had been in worship at Puri for many years before the conquest of that region by Chōdagaṅga, but that the Śaivite Śānavadhīs, who were supplanted from Utkala by the Gaṅgas, had neglected the erection of a temple for the Vaiṣṇavite deity. (It seems that like Mūlakṣī at Madura, Rājī-Vēṅkaṭavarā at Tirupati, Vindhyaśaṁī near Mirzapur, Kāmākhyā near Ganhati and many other gods and goddesses worshipped in different parts of India, Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri was originally worshipped by the local aboriginal people but was later on gradually accommodated in the orthodox Brahmanical pantheon.<sup>4</sup>) The identification of this deity with the Brahmanical god Viṣṇu is, however, apparently earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century when Chōdagaṅga conquered the Utkala country. Verse 29 refers to the hunting excursions of Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga and the next verse to his victory over the king of Mandāra in a battle that took place on the banks of the Gaṅga. The walls and gates of Aramyā, the capital city of the Mandāra king who fled from it, are said to have been destroyed

<sup>1</sup> She was a Chōla or Chōḍa princess. Her father was king Rājendra Chōḍa (Mandcheray, *Let. No.* 1100). Her son's name Chōdagaṅga points to the latter's claim to both Chōḍa and Gaṅga blood. Chōdagaṅga is sometimes called Virarājendra-Chōdagaṅga (Bhatia Rao, *History of Kalinga*, p. 126) apparently after his maternal grandfather. Thus Rājaseundarī's father was actually Virarājendra Chōḍa (circa 1083-50 A.C.).

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, pp. 76-82; Vol. XXII, pp. 366-67.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXVII, 1906, pp. 526-31.

<sup>4</sup> The *Utkala-khand* (skandha VII-VIII) section of the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Vishnu-khand, section II) clearly says that Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri was originally worshipped by the aboriginal *Sāras* people in secret in an inaccessible forest on the Nīlakhala and that the priest of King Indrayumna of Arantī, who popularised the god, received information regarding the deity and his worship from a *Sāras* named Vihavasa.



by the Kalinga forces. Mandāra has been identified by scholars with Garh Mandaran and Anmayā with Anambag both in the Hoogly District of West Bengal.<sup>1</sup> Verse 31 speaks of the heaps of gold that the Gaṅga king used to grant to the people in distress and of the burning of the capitals of his enemies. Verse 32 says that Chōḍagaṅga reigned for 70 years. We know that Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga was crowned in the Śaka year 999 (17th February 1078 A.C.),<sup>2</sup> although he may have actually occupied the throne sometime earlier after his father's death, and, as we shall presently see, his immediate successor was crowned in Śaka 1069 (1147-48 A.C.). Thus Chōḍagaṅga actually ruled for 70 years between Śaka 999 and 1069 (1078-1147 A.C.). Verse 33 refers to Chōḍagaṅga's queen Kāstūrikāmōdini and the next three verses to his son Kāmārṇava *alias* Kumāra from that queen. Verse 37 says that Kāmārṇava's coronation took place in the Śaka year measured by the Nandas (9), the seasons (5), the sky (zero) and *chitra* which is a mistake for *cāndan* meaning the moon (1). According to the dictum quoted before, this date comes to Śaka 1069. It has to be pointed out that the same verse, as quoted in the later records of the family, reads *ekā* (4) instead of *nāma* (9). Consequently, it was so long believed by scholars that the coronation of Kāmārṇava took place in Śaka 1064 possibly as a regent and that his extremely old father may have arranged then to transfer the active duties of kingship to him.<sup>3</sup> Since the record under discussion is the earliest document containing the verse giving the date of Kāmārṇava's coronation, it appears that the original reading was *nanda* which was later made *ekā* by an error of one of the copyists. The suggestion is again supported by the fact that the latest recorded date found in the epigraphs of Chōḍagaṅga's time is Śaka 1069 and that the earliest record of his successor Kāmārṇava is dated in Śaka 1070.<sup>4</sup> Verse 41 refers to a ceremony of the Hiraṇyagarbha *mahādāna* performed by king Kāmārṇava and verse 43 says that he ruled for ten years, i.e., during Śaka 1069-78 (1147-1156 A.C.).

Verses 44-45 speak of Indirī who was the daughter of a king of the solar dynasty and was another queen of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. Indirī's father, mentioned as a king, cannot be satisfactorily identified. Verse 46 introduces the king of kings Rāghava who was the son of Chōḍagaṅga by Indirī. King Rāghava's glory is described in verses 47-52. His claim of the status of a Brāhmaṇa is probably suggested by his comparison with Parāśurāma in verse 49. Verse 53 says that Rāghava ruled for fifteen years, i.e., during Śaka 1078-1092 (1156-1170 A.C.).

Verse 53 introduces king Rājaraja II, another son of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga by the queen Chandralākhā. The next five verses describe the glory of king Rājaraja II who is said in verse 58 to have ruled for twenty-five years. This has to be regarded as the number of *Aśka* years which, deducting according to rule the first, sixth, sixteenth and twentieth years, would be equal to twenty-one actual years.<sup>5</sup> Consequently the king actually ruled in Śaka 1092-1112 (1170-90 A.C.). The following five verses (verses 59-63) deal with Rājaraja's younger brother and successor Anīyaśūkabhīma (Anāśkabhīma or Anāśgabhīma II) who is said, in verse 63, to have reigned for ten years, which, regarded as *Aśka* years, would be equal to eight ordinary years. This king therefore ruled in Śaka 1112-19 (1190-97 A.C.). Verse 64 introduces Vāghallādāyī, chief queen of Anāśgabhīma II, and the next verse king Rājaraja III who was the son of Anāśgabhīma II

<sup>1</sup> Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 360; *History of Bengal*, Dhaka University, Vol. I, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Bhattacharya, *List*, No. 1009.

<sup>3</sup> Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 467-68, 472.

<sup>5</sup> The use of the *Aśka* reckoning is known from the time of Chōḍagaṅga; but, in mentioning the number of years in a reign in the introductory part of the genealogy in later imperial Gaṅga records, it is introduced here for the first time. According to the rules, established by M. Chakravarti (*J. A. S. B.*, 1903, p. 100), (1) 1 and all figures ending in 0 and 5 (except 10) should be omitted from the actual years to get the number of *Aśka* years; (2) the last *Aśka* year of one king and the first of his successor fell in the same year; and (3) the year begins on Bhādrapada full 12.



and Vāghallādēvi. Verses 65-70 describe the glory of king Rājārāja III who is said to have ruled for seventeen years apparently of the *Aśka* reckoning, corresponding to fourteen actual years. Thus the king ruled in Śaka 1120-33 (1198-1211 A.C.).

Verse 71 speaks of Malinagadēvi who was descended from the Chālukya dynasty and was the queen of Rājārāja III. The name of this queen is found as Sadgūṇadēvi in the grant (B) of Narasimha IV no doubt due to an error of one of the copyists. The reading *Madhavadēvi* in the record of Narasimha II preferred by N. N. Vaid, however, is quite clearly *Malinagadēvi* as in our epigraph. It is only natural to expect that the queen's name has been correctly spelt in the present charter issued by her son. Verses 72-80 describe king Anangabhīma III, who issued the charter under discussion, as the son of Rājārāja III from Malinagadēvi. Verse 77 of our record, which seems to have been dropped from later copies, seems to refer to the ceremony of the Hiraṇya-garbha *mahādāna* performed by the king. Verse 79 refers to his celebration of the Tūlīpurnīma *mahādāna*. This verse also refers to the numerous gifts of land made by the king in favour of the Brāhmaṇas. The claim is supported not only by the present charter, but also by the description of the king as found in the Oriya chronicle called *Māhāt̃ Pūṛjī*.<sup>1</sup> Later copper-plate records of the family add one verse to this description of Anangabhīma III, saying that he ruled for thirty-four years, which regarded as *Aśka* years would be equal to 28 actual years. He thus ruled in Śaka 1133-60 (1211-38 A.C.).<sup>2</sup>

The above introductory section of the inscription in verse is followed by a prose portion giving details of the several grants of land made by the illustrious Anāṅkabhīma-clānta-dēva, i.e., king Anangabhīma III, in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas. The king is called *Rājata* (from Sanskrit *Rājaputra* in the sense of a prince, nobleman or horseman) also in some other records and the title is also known to have been used by some, if not all, of his successors.

We have elsewhere<sup>3</sup> shown that the title indicated a subordinate ruler and that Gaṅga Anangabhīma III and some or more probably all of his successors adopted it because, as rulers of the Gaṅga empire, they considered themselves mere deputies of the god Paruṣhōttama-Jagamūtha of Puri, whom they regarded as the real lord of the dominions. It has been shown definitely that, like the present Mahārājas of Puri, at least Anangabhīma III and his great-great-grandson Bhānu II (circa 1305-1327 A.C.) considered themselves servants of the god,<sup>4</sup> but that, as the title *Rājata* or *Rājata* is known to have been assumed by some other later rulers of the imperial Gaṅga family, it is very probable that all the later imperial Gaṅga monarchs claimed the same relation with the god Paruṣhōttama-Jagamūtha of Puri to whom the empire must have been formally dedicated. Whether the ruler responsible for such dedication was Anangabhīma III himself cannot be definitely determined until further evidence is forthcoming. It should, however, be noticed that he is the earliest imperial Gaṅga monarch who is so far known to have assumed the subordinate title *Rājata* and claimed theoretically at least to have been a feudatory of the god Paruṣhōttama-Jagamūtha.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

<sup>2</sup> M. Ghakravarti informed (*op. cit.*, p. 117) that the death of Anangabhīma III and the accession of his son Narasimha IV took place in Śaka 1166. But that the events may have occurred some time later is suggested by the Lingaraj temple inscription of Narasimha I dated in Śaka 1163 and in his fifth *Aśka* (or fourth actual) regnal year. See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. III, pp. 121-23. The point, however, cannot be settled finally unless further evidence is forthcoming. It is possible that in some inscriptions the *Aśka* years of a reign were confused with the actual regnal years of the ruler in question.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. I, pp. 251-53.

<sup>4</sup> In inscriptions, the emperor of Anangabhīma III is mentioned as *Paruṣhōttama-clāntarāja* (the dominion of Paruṣhōttama); while Bhānu II is represented as a feudatory of Paruṣhōttama or Jagamūtha (called *clāntadāyaka* in our case). See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII, p. 21.



The details of the grants of Anāgabhīma III recorded in the present charter throw some additional light on the religious activities of this Gāṅga monarch. There are altogether seven grants detailed in the charter, of which three are mentioned together, and they may be analysed as follows.

1. On the occasion of the *Mina-saṅkrānti* on Saturday, Chaitra-badi 3, in Śaka 1151 (i.e., on the 23rd February, 1230 A.C.), king Anāgabhīma III, while he was apparently taking a sacred bath in the waters of the Mahānadi between the temples of the gods Chitrāśvama and Viśvāśvara at the **Abhinava-Vārāṇasi** *kaṭaka* (city or camp or residence at 'New Banāras') granted twenty *vīṭis* of land at **Pārapagrāma** in the **Sāilā** *visaya* to a Brāhmana named Saṅkaraḥaṇḍaśarma. The grant is said to have been made in connection with a number of gifts of land made by the king on the occasion of a *dāsa-sarga* performed by him according to the recommendations of the *Mahābhārata*. The donee Saṅkaraḥaṇḍaśarma was a student of the Kāya branch of the Yajurvēda and belonged to the Gṛhita-kauśika *gāṇa*. The grant was made a permanently revenue-free gift for the *priti* or favour of the god Parashūtiama.

According to Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, a *vīṭi* of land in Orissa is equal to twenty *śūnas*. A *śūna* seems to be otherwise called *bighā* and is said to be equal to twenty-five *gajās* at Cuttack.<sup>1</sup> A *gajā* (measuring "121 square yards or the fortieth part of an acre" in some places) is regarded as sixteen *bighas*, while a *bigha* is said to be one-twentieth of a *bighā*. This seems to show that a *vīṭi* is sometimes regarded as equal to 12½ acres of land. But there seems to be varying areas of the *vīṭi* prevalent in different parts of the country and there may have also been difference between the areas of a *vīṭi* of the present day and that recognised by the Gāṅga kings of Orissa in the thirteenth century A.C. This is possibly suggested by the fact that the *Pravāṇa Abhiśāhita*, an Oriya dictionary published in 1942, regards a *śūna* as equal to one acre of land and a *vīṭi* as equal to 20 acres.

2. On Thursday, Māgha-badi 6, in the following Śaka year, meaning Śaka 1152 (i.e., on the occasion of the *Makara-saṅkrānti* on the 26th December 1230 A.C.) the king, while he was taking a sacred bath in the same river (Mahānadi), granted a township covering thirty *vīṭis* of land to the same Brāhmana Saṅkaraḥaṇḍaśarma. This grant was made in connection with a number of others made during the month by the king according to the recommendations of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. Of the thirty *vīṭis* of land granted, twenty *vīṭis* of corn land lay in the above-mentioned **Pārapagrāma**, while ten *vīṭis* of homestead land were in **Jayanagaragrāma**. Both the villages were situated in the same **Sāilā** *visaya* probably in the vicinity of each other. The township contained four houses resembling royal residences and endowed with walls, *mukha-maṇḍapam* and *sandhya-maṇḍapam*, and also thirty other houses inhabited by a number of citizens. The inhabitants of the township included a number of merchants such as a perfumer, a worker or dealer in conch-shells, a splitter of wood (*pātākāra*), a goldsmith and a bracer or a worker in bullmetal. Their names were Vāpuḥ, Nāciyapa, Dānādāra, Mādihava, Chitra, Sōma, Vāha, Kōṭava, Mahādēva, Naraṇihha and Siva. There were the sellers of betel (*mābūṭika*) named Mahānāda, Sōmā and Iraṅga, the florist named Mamā, the maker of or dealer in sugar (*gajika*) named Mahādēva, the milkmen named Dāra and Gabhi, the weavers named Nāga and Jagḍi, the oilmen named Gaṇḍ and Sūryā, the potters named Arjuna and Viśā, and the fishermen (*Kaṇivāṭa*) named Rājū, Vāśi and Padma. There were also a barber, some craftsmen and a washerman. This interesting list of the people of different trades inhabiting an Oriya township of the thirteenth century throws considerable light on the Orissan social life in that age. The grant of the township was made a permanently revenue-free gift for obtaining the favour of Lord Parashūtiama.

<sup>1</sup> Thus 1 *Pai* or *Vāṭikā* was equal to 20 *śūnas* and 1 *śūna* to 25 *gajās* in the age of the imperial Gāṅgas, known from the Alampur plates of Narasimha II to be equal in a future issue of this journal.



3(a). In the same year, meaning Śaka 1152, while the king was taking a bath in the Mahānall on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Thursday, Mārgaśrīṣṭa sudi 15 (i.e., on the 21st November 1230 A.C.), he granted eighteen *viśā* of land in the said *Parāṇagrāma* to a Brāhmaṇa named *Dikṣita* Rudrapāyīśvarman. The grant was made in connection with other grants of land made by the king according to the recommendations of Brihaspati. The donor Rudrapāyīśvarman belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*.

The area of 18 *viśā* of land is referred to here as a *gō-charman*. Originally *gō-charman* may have indicated that area of land which could be covered by the hides of cows slaughtered in a sacrifice and which was granted to the priests as sacrificial fee. But the expression is differently interpreted by later authorities. According to Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>1</sup> it indicated a piece of land large enough to be encompassed by straps of leather from a single cow's hide. The *Parāśara-saṁhita*<sup>2</sup> and *Bṛihaspati-saṁhita*<sup>3</sup> appear to suggest that the *gō-charman* was that area of land where one thousand cows could freely graze in the company of a hundred bulls. According to the *Viśāk-saṁhitā*,<sup>4</sup> the area of land, sufficient to maintain a person for a whole year with its produce, was called a *gō-charman*. There is a more specific determination of the area of the *gō-charman* in the *Saṁhitā*s of Śāṅkara<sup>5</sup> and Bṛihaspati,<sup>6</sup> according to which it was ten times a *niśartana* which was the area of 300×300 square cubits (about 4½ acres). Unfortunately the area of the *niśartana* also is not the same with different writers. Even according to a variant reading<sup>7</sup> of Bṛihaspati's text referred to above, the *niśartana*, regarded as one-tenth of the *gō-charman*, was the area of 210×210 square cubits (about 2½ acres). Bhāskaraṇḍhārya's *Līlāvatī*<sup>8</sup> speaks of the *niśartana* as 200×200 square cubits in area (about 2 acres). Elsewhere<sup>9</sup> we have pointed out that the *niśartana* is 240×240 square cubits (about 3 acres) according to the *Kaṭiāṇya-Arthaśāstra* (II, 20), but only 120×120 square cubits (about ¾ acre) according to its commentator. All these differences were mainly due to the varying length of the cubit and the measuring rod, of which there were no recognised standards.<sup>10</sup> But the very basis of the measurement of the *gō-charman* was in many parts of the country apparently vague and uncertain. Since 18 *viśā* of land is quite a large area, the *gō-charman*, mentioned in our record as an equivalent to that area, seems to be that recognised by such authorities as Parāśara referred to above. It may be pointed out that Bṛihaspati, who supports Parāśara in one passage, is actually mentioned in our record in this connection.

<sup>1</sup> Vāṅavahīd ed., I, 30, 23 : *Vadhet āta-tastatā charma-rajā . . . śāṅka gō-charmanā kṛtāya rajjā śhrīrāta-takṛt-gō-charma-mātrā*.

<sup>2</sup> Calcutta ed., XII, 43 : *gaurāḥ śāṅka s-śāṅka kṛtāya gaurā śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ | śhrīrāta dāta-gaurāḥ gō-charma-parīkṣitāḥ ||*

<sup>3</sup> Vāṅavahīd ed., verse 9 : *śā-śhrīrāta gō-charmanā te gaurā śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ | śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ dāta-gaurāḥ gō-charma-parīkṣitāḥ ||*

<sup>4</sup> Vāṅavahīd ed., V, 179 : *śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ gaurā-śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ | gō-charma-mātrā śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ ||*

<sup>5</sup> Vāṅavahīd ed., (Parāśara-saṁhita) : *śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ | śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ ||*

<sup>6</sup> Loc. cit., verse 8 : *śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ | śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ ||*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Vāṅavahīd's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, I, 110 : *śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ*. See also *Saṁhitāpāṇini-parīkṣitā*, p. 100. The *Prāśastika-sūtra*, Vasumatī ed., p. 106, ascribes the verse to the *Śāṅkara-saṁhita*.

<sup>8</sup> Calcutta ed., I, 8 : *śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ | śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ śhrīrāta-gaurāḥ ||*

<sup>9</sup> Successors of the Śāṅkara, p. 230 note.

<sup>10</sup> See my paper on the *Kaṭiāṇya*, etc., in the *Śāṅkara-saṁhita*, Part II, pp. 943-48.







It is not known why the grants made in favour of different deities were entered into a single record, especially when the lands were situated in two separate *vishayas*. The above details of the seven grants, three of which are mentioned together, are followed by the unreciprocal and benedictory verses, eight in number (verses 81-88). The record ends with verse 89 which says that Nappana composed the *śloka*s of the *prastāvi*. As indicated above, this man appears to have copied the verses relating to the predecessors of Anangabhīma III from an earlier record and composed only the verses describing the reign of Anangabhīma III himself.

The details of the seven grants show that six of them were made when the king was staying at Abhinava-Vārāṇasī or Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, which is no other than the present Cuttack (*Kaṭaka*), chief city of Orissa. As the contraction of the name *Satya* was both *Satya* and *Bhīmā*, so was the contraction of *Purushōttama-puri* both *Purushōttama* and *Puri* and of *Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka* both *Vārāṇasī* and *Kaṭaka* (Cuttack). One of the grants was made when the king was at *Purushōttama-kaṭaka* or *Puri* on the shores of the southern ocean, i.e. the Indian Ocean. Very interesting is the reference to the king making a grant while standing before the god *Purushōttama* at *Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka*, i.e., modern Cuttack, on the 5th January 1231 A.C. and to the installation of the said *Purushōttama* apparently during the Śaka year 1152 (1230-31 A.C.) by king Anangabhīma III. We know that the temple of the god *Purushōttama-Jagannātha* of *Puri* was constructed by Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga and the god was being worshipped there for a long time before the days of Anangabhīma III. There is thus no question of Anangabhīma III installing the god *Purushōttama* at *Puri*. The god *Purushōttama* installed by Anangabhīma III must therefore be the god of the same name at *Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka* or Cuttack before whom the king was standing to make a grant of land on the 5th January 1231 A.C. There is little doubt that the temple for this deity at Cuttack was completed and its installation took place in Śaka 1152 (1230-31) shortly before the 5th January, 1231 A.C. We know that the *Mādali Pīṭhī* or the chronicle of the *Purushōttama-Jagannātha* temple at *Puri* attributes the construction of the *Puri* temple to Anangabhīma III and not to its actual founder Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. This confusion may be due to the fact that Anangabhīma III, as is now known, actually built a temple for a god of the same name at Cuttack. That Anangabhīma III is represented as the most important Gaṅga monarch in the same chronicle may be due to the fact that it was this king who dedicated the empire to the god and became famous as the most ardent royal devotee of *Purushōttama-Jagannātha*. The idea underlying the installation of a substitute of the god *Purushōttama-Jagannātha* of *Puri* at Cuttack is apparently the same that inspired Śivāji to install a substitute of his patron deity, the goddess *Bhavānt* of *Tuljapur* near *Osmanabad* in the present *Hyderabad State*, in his newly built fort at *Pratāpgarh* near *Javli*.<sup>1</sup> Apparently the Gaṅga king wanted to live constantly in the company of his patron-deity at his residence at Cuttack. It is to be noticed that, during the time of Anangabhīma III or sometime before his accession, the Gaṅga monarchs, who, had been originally ruling from *Kaṭaganagara* (modern *Mukhaingam* in the *Chinacole District*), transferred their headquarters to Cuttack.

An interesting reference to the god *Jagannātha* (i.e., *Purushōttama-Jagannātha*) worshipped by the kings of *Jāpnagar* (i.e., the imperial Gaṅga rulers of Orissa) in their fort at *Banāraś* (i.e., *Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka* or the present Cuttack) is found in the *Ta'rikh-i-Firās Shāhi* by *Shams-i-Shirāzī*.<sup>2</sup> According to this work, *Sulṭān Firās Shāh* of *Delhi* led an expedition against the kingdom of

<sup>1</sup> J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> See Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, pp. 342-43. There is another account of the *Jāpnagar* expedition of *Sulṭān Firās* in the *Shirāzī-Firās Shāhi* (cf. J. N. Sarkar, L., Vol. VIII, 1942, pp. 57-77). The author of this work, although he does not explicitly mention *Puri*, seems to have confused the *Jagannātha* of Cuttack with his namesake at *Puri*.



Jājñagar about 1360 A.C. when it was under the rule of the Gaṅga king Bhānu III (circa 1352-78 A.C.). The Sultān is said to have occupied Benāraś (Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka) when the Gaṅga king fled from the city. In connection with this expedition, the *Ta'rikh-i-Firūz Shāhī* says: "It is reported that inside the Rāj's fort (i.e., the Gaṅga king's fort at Benāraś or Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka), there was a stone idol which the infidels called Jagannāth and to which they paid their devotions. Sultān Firūz in emulation of Mahmūd-i-Sabuktigin, having rooted up the idol, carried it away to Delhi, where he subsequently placed it in an ignominious position."<sup>1</sup> From this account we come to know the fate of the god Puruṣōttama-Jagannātha installed by Anāṅgabḥīma III at Cuttack and worshipped there for about 130 years from 1230 to 1360 A.C.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the city of Kolāhala in Gaṅgarājā is usually identified with modern Kolar in East Mysore. Gaṅgarājā was the name of the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Mysore. In a wide sense Kālīṅga was the whole of the coast land between the Vastaraṇī and the Gūḍāvarī, while in a narrower sense it indicated roughly the present Puri, Ganjam and Chivacole Districts. In the present record, however, the name Kālīṅga seems to be applied to the original Gaṅga kingdom round the capital city of Kālīṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam) in the Chivacole District, as the Puri region in the dominions of the Śūnavarṇas seems to be referred to as lying within the Utkala country. There is difference of opinion as regards the location of the country called Trikaṅga of which some kings are said to have been the overlords. Some writers are inclined to take it to mean the three parts (northern, central and southern) of the Kālīṅga country, while others prefer to take it as indicating three contiguous territories in the Kālīṅga region such as Kālīṅga, Utkala and South Kōśala. A third group of writers suggests that Trikaṅga was the name of the tract of rather jungly land lying between Kālīṅga and South Kōśala.<sup>2</sup> The location of Utkala and Maṇḍāra has already been discussed. Originally Utkala was the coast country lying between the river Kapīśā (modern Kāśāī) running through the Midnapur District and the Kālīṅga country in the Puri-Ganjam region. But the present inscription, as already indicated above, appears to locate the Puri temple in Utkala, probably intended to signify the dominions of the Śūnavarṇas in lower Orissa, which were conquered by Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The extension of a country no doubt varied in accordance with the expansion of the dominions of its rulers. The location of Abhinava-Vārāṇasī, Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka or Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka, which was the place of residence of the Gaṅga kings after they had removed their headquarters from Kālīṅganagara and which is no other than the modern Cuttack, has been already discussed. It has also been noticed that the Southern Ocean is referred to in the record as *dakṣiṇa-tīrtha-rāja*, i.e., the best of the Tīrthas in the south, the word *tīrtha* here meaning either "a sacred place of pilgrimage" or "waters." That Puruṣōttama-kṣētra on the shores of this southern *tīrtha-rāja*, mentioned in the inscription, is no other than modern Puri has likewise been pointed out above.

The different pieces of land granted by King Anāṅgabḥīma III as recorded in the charter were situated in Pūrapurgrāma and Jayanagaragrāma in the Śūlō *vishaya* (district) and Vilāmapuragrāma in the Kṣhīrjālā *vishaya*. The Śūlō *vishaya*, also known from other later Gaṅga records, is no doubt the present Śūlō Pargana in the Cuttack District, and the township, covering thirty *śūlās* of land and situated in Pūrapurgrāma and Jayanagaragrāma, may actually be represented by the present village of Naguri, literally meaning "a township," which is about eleven miles from Cuttack and is the endspot of the charter under discussion.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Indian Inscriptions*, p. 459, note 8.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[*Meters* :—Verses 1-3, 5-6, 9-11, 15, 20, 24-31, 33, 40, 41, 48, 50, 54, 56-58, 60-61, 64, 67, 73, 74, 76, 78 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 4, 21, 37, 42, 53, 66 *Śraṅgharā* ; verses 7, 23, 49, 65 *Mālinī* ; verses 8, 13, 34, 38, 39, 44-46, 51, 59, 68, 75, 79-80, 88 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 12, 16, 18, 19, 22, 32, 36, 43, 52, 55, 62, 63, 69-71, 77, 81-87, 89 *Anuśtubh* ; verses 14, 17, 35, 72 *Upajāti* ; verse 47 *Indravajrā*.]

## First Plate

- 1 [Siddham][<sup>2</sup> Ō ][<sup>3</sup>\*] Lakṣmī-pāda-sarōruha-dvayam-adah kṛtyānsi(yātsi) dāśah(sha)śita-  
valḥ praśaphūrjjan-nakha-raṁśi-kāsara-saṅgam-bhāvan-nakh-āl-dalana(lam) |
- 2 viśpaśtam-pratīvimvi(mbi)ta[h\*] praṇamanāḥ kṛt-āparādh-ōdbhavaḥ Kṛṣṇo yan-nakha-  
dīptishu bhramaratān-da(n-cha)ttā sa Lakṣmī-priyaḥ || [1\*]
- 3 Kṣhīr-āyāhō(bdhō)-mmathitāt-sār-āura-gaṇaḥ prādī(du)rbhavantī Ramā Śambhu-  
Brahma-Purandara-prabhītishu prakhyāta-kṛttishv-āpi | pūyatev-Amra(mbu)ja-  
nābham-ī-
- 4 sam-avṛṇōl-lōka-tray-āhlādinam bhṛṅg-ālḥ sahakāram-iti hi vanā phullā-nya-sākhiny-  
api || [2\*] Tan-nābhī-sarasruk-ōdbhava-Vi-
- 5 dhēr-Atriv-va(n-bha)bhūv-āmata-Chandra-ehandrikayā prakāśi(śi)ra-jagat-sambhū-  
tavān-nṛtrataḥ | trailōkya-grāma-ākaśakṣha-timira-grāsitva-sāmye-
- 6 pi yō lakṣma-vyāji dadhat-tamaḥ pratīvapuh āyy-ā(ryy-ā)dhikō nirṇadaḥ || [3\*] Śrīdōvi-  
śōdārtvād-ampita-su(sa)khatayā kalpa-vṛkṣa-ānujatev-
- 7 (-lōka-ānandaḥ vūbāt timira-viśa-haraḥ sarva-dai(dā)v-āikabhōgyaḥ | tat-tat-sah  
sargga-lābhā[<sup>4</sup>\*] tad-anugata-guṇakṛt<sup>5</sup> ev-āṅga-nishṭha-da-
- 8 dhānaḥ svasy-aitan-nirmalatvaṁ jagati vijayatē darśayan-nūnam-indaḥ || [4\*] Vāśā-  
(Vamāś) tasya nṛp-āvarāḥ samabha(va\*)n-tō(nis-tō)-
- 9 dhān-guṇāch-ehha(i-ehha)mlasah prōtpha(tphu)llā iva yat-puṇya-pathagā- tatr-āpi nō  
sammatāḥ | tat-tat-kāvya-patha-krītā-
- 10 e-tri-bhuvanē mūrtin-dadhānā iva bhṛīmānt-iva sa-chōtanāḥ śruti-grihē viśramya viśramya  
cha || [5\*] Pratyēkun(kam) śaśi-vanā(vamā)-
- 11 bhūpati-bhuja-vyāpāra-saṅkīrtanam(nam) karttūn-kah khamatō kalitau va(ba)hu-mukhō  
yatr-Ārjunaśy-aiva hi | dōrddhaḥ-ārjita-kṛt(riti)-varṇana-
- 12 paran-tad-bhāratam-prābhavat-tasmād-āhvaya-mātram-ādi-nṛpati-śrōṇi[h\*] kramā-ī(i-ī)-  
khyatō || [6\*] tathā hi Chandr-ā-Vu(d-Bu)dhah | Va(Bu)dhāt-Puru(rū)ravāḥ<sup>6</sup> || [7\*]
- 13 tasmād-Āyuh<sup>7</sup> | tatō Nagbu(hu)dhah | tatō Yayātiḥ | tatas-Turvvaśuh | tatō Gāṅgōyaḥ |  
[tatō\*] Virōchanah | tat-sataḥ Samvō(Samvō)dyah | tatō

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates and their impressions prepared at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Dacca, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read *gama* for the sake of the metre.

<sup>4</sup> Some other later Gaṅga records make Parikṣas the son of Anala and grandson of Bodhis, although the relationship indicated by our record is supported by ancient Indian literature.

<sup>5</sup> Some records wrongly read Vāya in place of Āyuh.



- 14 Bhāṣyaṇ | tatō Dattasūnab | tata{b\*} Saunyah | tatō=avadattab | tataḥ Saunāṅgaḥ |  
tasmāc-Yvi(d-Vi)chitrāṅgadab\* | tat-sūnab |<sup>1</sup> Sāradhvaḥab\* |  
15 tatō Dharmasūnab | tataḥ Parthab | tatō Jayasūnab | tat-sūnā-pi Jayasūnab\* | tatō Vri-  
chadhvaḥab | tataḥ Śaktiḥ | tataḥ Pra-  
16 gaṭab\* | tataḥ Kōlāhalab | sa śv-Ānantavarm-ābhavat | Dhana-kamaka-sampiddhō  
Gaṅgavāḍiḥ prasiddhah sakala-vishaya-bhūpaṭaḥ)ḥ sva-  
17 ruggi-vagg-ō(rug-ō)ḥbhōga(gya)ḥ | tai-adhipatir-ath-ādyō-nantavarmanō nripēndrah samā-  
bhavat-ati ru(rū)ḥhā Gaṅga-nāmnā tad-ādyāḥ || [7\*] Kōlāha-  
18 lab samara-mūddhni(riddhni) tatō nripāṇām bhūtō yataḥ Sarapuraḥ-cha tadīyam-ata |  
Kōlāhal-āhvayam-ābhūt-sura-sadma-tulyam-tas[m]i-

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 19 a-kramāṅga\* paṭibhir-vva(r-bha)ḥbhūir-vvu(r-bha)bhāvē || [8\*] Rājyānti-bhṛti Māmsintha-<sup>2</sup>  
nripatan jējyē)abthē kin-atr-āmahē dōr-dāṇḍ-ārjita-bhūtal-ōttlūta-Ramā-ka-  
20 rtha-grāh-ānandinab || ( ) kiō-cha-āmākam-iyam bhuy-āi-latikā saṁvāḥatātām(tāḥ)  
vairmām(nām) kaṇṭh-ārayam-iyāḥ-cha kiētē-latikā dyān-nah samā-  
21 sōhata || [9\*] Bhūṇyadhīr-vvijigrahayā kṣhiti-talām(tē) kv-āpi dvishad-vanditāḥ kv-āpi  
dyāhi-kula-pramādhī(thi)bhīr- api prāptāḥ Kālīṅgāḥ kila || ( ) taiḥ  
22 Kāmāṅgava-paṭchamair-nṛpa-varair-vyudhībh-ā-Kālīṅgāḥ samar\* prāptam drashṭum-  
iv-ārpavāḍ-udagamat-kārtm-āvatārō Harīḥ || [10\*] Kṛi(Kū)ṛma-svāmīnī sā-  
23 kahigi trī-nayanā tasmāc-Mahēndrah-gatō Gōkaruṇō-pi mahōdadhīu viyati vā āryyē tath-  
āndāt-āpi | Kālīṅgīm-bhuvam-āharad-bhuja-vu(ha)llāḥ-a-  
24 ay-ōpahhuktāḥ-ahvam<sup>3</sup> Lakṣmī-ohi(fī-oh-ē)ty-ō(ty-ā)tha kā sta(stu)tir-vvada tahē-  
(tō) Gaṅg-ānvayas-āhavō || [11\*] Tatr-ānd-vadita-karit-ānu Kāmāṅgava-mahipa-  
tiḥ | yas-ai-  
25 tē putra-pōṭpanitr-ādyā rājānāḥ khyāta-vikramāḥ || [12\*] Śāstr-ārtha-nishṭhita-matir-  
dvishad-anta-kṛi sarva-ārthi-vargga-paritōḥaṇa-hetu-varggaḥ | ā-  
26 chāva(ratō)-pi muni-pūṅgava-mārgga-chārī tasmāc-abhūn-nṛpa-varō bhuv Vajrahastab |  
[13\*] Na nāmatāḥ kōvalam-ārthatō-pi sa vajra-hasta-  
27 =Trikaṅga-nāthab | kō Vajrahastāḥ-sparah prithivīyām(prithivīyāḥ) vajram-patad-  
vāyayitum(tam) samarthab || [14\*]<sup>4</sup> Vyāptō Gaṅga-kul-ō-  
28 ttamaya yataḥ dik-chakravālō śasi(śi)-prōyō-āmalinēna yasya bhuvann-prahlāda-  
sompādīnā | sindūrair-ati-

\* Some inscriptions read Chitrāṅgada instead of Vchitrāṅgada.

\* The *śanda* is superfluous.

\* The first syllable of this name is often found to be *ā*, *ānd* or *ā*. Śradhveja is a famous name in the epics and the Purāṇas.

\* The name has been read in one record as Mādhāt.

\* In some records Jayasūnā's son is called Vijayanta.

\* Read *Pragādhā* and note how the word is written in line 76 below. In line 87 the word has been written as in the present case. In some records *Pragādhā* is mentioned as the father of Sakti.

\* An extra book of *ā* wrongly placed at the right of the superscript *a* has made *a-ā* look like *āra*.

\* In some inscriptions the name has been read as Nārasintha.

\* A sign of superscript *r* had been inserted above *a* and then erased.

\* Read *śradhā*.

\* Verse 14 is found in some records of Ānantavarman Chālogunga while the following verse is found in the records of Vajrahasta III, his son Rājārjya I and the latter's son Chālogunga.



[illegible][illegible]



[illegible]

56  
 58  
 60  
 62  
 64  
 66  
 68  
 70

56  
 58  
 60  
 62  
 64  
 66  
 68  
 70



- 29 sâdra-paśca-patalah kumbha-athah-pattakāśv-ālimpanti pūnah pūnah-cha haritām-  
ādhōraśā vāraśā || [15\*] Mahishī
- 30 Naḍgunā tasya Pārvaṭ-īva Pinākinah | tēnāt-tayām-abbhūd-vitrō Rājārājō mahipatiḥ |  
[16\*] Sa rāja-rājō dvijarāja-kāntir- bhūja-
- 31 āga-rāj-ānana-varṇaya-kirtitḥ | | \* | ātimattay-ādhaḥkṛta-rājārājah\* | sya-vikrama-nyak-  
kṛta-dāvarājah || [17\*] Tasy-āgra-mahishī rājō nāmā
- 32 yā Rājasa(m)nilarī | Lakṣmīr-Naḍīyagasy-ēva Chandraśy-ēva cha Rōhīṇī || [18\*] Tatas-  
tayām-abbhūd-dēvas-Chōḍagaṅgō narīśvaraḥ | | ) kabōḥ-
- 33 bhṛd-garva-vichehḥityaṇ(tta) ite-īdrāt-kulīśā yathā || [19\*] Dhātṛ tasya Samavati  
samabhavan-nūnan-na chōt-pitarān-tat-sūraśva(sva)tan-ā-
- 34 ryya-vā(bā)haka-tanaḥ | āt-Chōḍagaṅgah payah | tādṛg-vāda-matīḥ kathān-āpūṇatī  
āstirēpu(śu) tādṛk-va(k-ka)tham-tādṛk-kārya-kṛtīḥ katham-paripatī[h\*] ālpāśu
- 35 tādṛk-va(k-ka)tham(tham) || [20\*] Kabōḥm(n) dīpālā-sē(sē)hām-ayam-akṛta pada-  
dvand[v]jam-ētasya vairi-kalmābhīch-ebhūd-āriy-āptam(n) stutir-iti kiyatī Chōḍagaṅ-  
g-śvara-
- 36 sya | n[ā]nam-pūṇaśv sūbhātātḥ para-nṛpa-dhavalā-chehḥatra-va(ba)ddhy-āpaharttā  
mān-ity-aṅgasya vṛiddhī[n\*] tyajati yata īva trasta-chittāḥ pravṛitē || [21\*] Gṛīhṇāsi

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 37 ama-karam-bhūmēr-gGaṅgā-Gautamagaṅgayōḥ | madhyē paśyatu vīrōbhū praudhaḥ  
praudha-atiśā(śrīyā) īva || [22\*] Pratibhaya-kara-śastra-vyūha-
- 38 ta-sv-āṅga-nīyya(ryya)d-rudhīram-avani-nishthan-nō bhavēd-yaṇ-tad-ēva(yat-tad-āira) |  
nīpa-kara-dhṛita-śastra-chehḥiṇṇa bhinn-āṅgam-ētān-akṛta dharaṇī-āryyā(ryā)-
- 39 n-dvandva-yuddhēśu Gaṅgah || [23\*] Yat-tājah-paribhūta-śatra-nagara-prōdbhūta-dhūm-  
ōḍgamair-lhūyah KhūḥJava-dāha-sāhki-manasō dēvāḥ kaha-
- 40 sam-bhā(m-bhī)ṇavah | svar-pūṣṭr-nīlād-ai-dhārayā rīpa-gaṇād-vṛittāntam-ākaraṇya cha  
praudhin-tasya nṛvanti Gaṅga-nṛpatēr-bhūtim-vi(tn) vi)hāya dhruvam
- 41 || [24\*] Krōdh-ōdyad-dvīpa-mōḥa-vṛindini madah(da)-mrō(śrō)taevatī-durgamē chaūchat-  
khaṇḍa-taḍit-prabhāvatī nadan-nārācha-vajr-ōdayē | ma(ya)t-sainyē jalad-āga-
- 42 ma-pratimāhan-jēttu(tn)m-pravartitā kah sūrō-p-tī vadama-Trilōchana-vibhū-vva(r-bha)-  
dihō-munā sāgarō || [25\*] Nirmamthy-Ōtkala-rāja-sindhu'm-apatan-Ga-
- 43 ṅg-śvaraḥ pāptavān-śkah kṛti-sūbhākaram-pṛithutamā-śa(maḥ)lakṣmīn-dhārayā  
samam | mādyad-danti-sahasram-āva-niyutam(baḥ) cha' ratnāry-samakhyān
- 44 vā tat-sindhōḥ kīn-mam-prakaratham-athavā vra(bṛ)ṇma-tad-nmātham || [26\*] Pāden  
yasya dhar-āntarikṣam-akḥalan-nābhī-cha sarvā diśah śrūtrē nētra-
- 45 yugam(gaṇ) tav-tadu-yugalam-mūddh-ā(rddh-ā)pi vā dyaus-asau | prāsādam-Purushōma-  
masya nṛpatīḥ sō nāma kartum kṣamas-tasy-ā-
- 46 ty-ādya-nṛpār-upākṣitam-ayāḥ-ehakrō-tha Gaṅg-śvara(h) || [27\*] Lakṣmī-janma-  
grāham-payōnidhir-asau sambhāvitasya sthītīr-nō
- 47 dhāmni śvam(ba)tasya pu(pā)lyata īti kṣhīr-āvddhī(bdhi)-vāsā[d\*] dhruvam | nṛvṛṇṇaḥ  
Purnachōttamah pramūḍitas-tad-dhāma-lābhād-Ram-āpy-ētad-bhūrti-gṛ-

\* A visarga had been here incised and afterwards erased.

\* Omit cha for the sake of the metre.



- 48 ham(ham) varam-pāṭi-grihāt-prāpya pramōd-āsvitā || [28\*] Tvaṁ-kūrmā-śdhipa nīchala  
tvam=api bhōḥ(bhō) vyālōmra dhairyyam=va(ryam va)ha tvam prithvi sthuratām-bhaja  
49 tvam-adhunā vra(bra)hmajña gādham-bhava | śri-Gaṅg-śdhipa=va(ba)kṣha-nīcha-vimrad-  
ghāṇā jagat-vyāpinō diś-nāgēcha bhayāch-chalatsa jagati ka-  
50 mpōnda(ta) vā ya(ya)t-kramāta(māt) || [29\*] **Āramyā-nagarāt**-Kaliṅga-va(ha)le-  
pratyagra-bhagn-āvṛti-prākār-āyata-tōraṇa-prabhritayōrā<sup>1</sup>-Gaṅgā-ta(aethāt-tataḥ | Pā-  
51 rth-ātnair-yyodhi jajja(rjja)rikṛita-namaś-Rādhyā-gātr-ākṛitī(r\*)-**Mmandār-śdri**-patir-  
ggatō rapa-bhuvō Gaṅg-śavar-ānndrataḥ || [30\*] Vra(Bra)hmājñād-va(ba)hir-nyaya ki-  
52 tti(rti)-yasaś līptan-na vā bhāvinō dattas-ch-ārthi-gaṇāya hōma-nichayah saṅkalpinō(nō)  
vā va(ba)hu | nirddagdh-āri-pa(pa)ras-cha bhāvita-navas-tasya pra-  
53 tāpāir-ṇṇa(r-ṇṇa) vā kim-vā(kim vā) nō kṛitavān-aman stuti-padam(dam) śri-Chōḍagaṅg-śeva-  
rah || [31\*] Varpā(rhā)ṇām(ṇām) saptatim-vi(tim vijrah kshōḇi-sambhōgam-ācharat | di-  
54 ś-nāyākāt-pra(n=pra)tihārān-vidhāy-āṇam sarvataḥ || [32\*] Kip-prā(m=prā)ptā mahishī  
tapōbhīr-atulaiḥ śri-Chōḍagaṅgānā sū dēvai stutya-gaṇai-rvi(r-vi)bhū-

*Third Plate : First Side*

- 55 pi(āb)ja-vapuh Kaśī(stū)rikāmōdinī | n-ś-Vishṇuh prithivīpatih pradhavat-īty-asmine(amin)  
Harau vā bhuvō raksh-ārthan-dhṛita-janmani svayam-  
56 au Lakṣmī(h\*) prasūt-āthavā || [33\*] Tasyān-tatō-jani jagat-tritay-aika-vīrah **Kāmārṇava**-  
vas-tri-jagat-ēka-vadānya śahab | sūryam pratāpa vibhava(vē)-  
57 ta jagat-prasiddhakīrtih(rityā) **śāśāka**m-adharikṛitavān-vismūdhya || [34\*] Gaṅg-śa-  
śnūr-vvivu(hu)dh-kārayasya drīpya(d\*)-dvishad-vuṇḍa-vihhēdi-śaktōḥ [ | \*]  
58 **Kāmārṇavasy-āya** Kumārkatvati nā nāmataḥ ka(kē)valam-arhatō-pi || [35\*] Prāpy-  
odayasḥ **śāśāka**(śāka)ya vaddha(rddha)tān-nāma vāridhāḥ | vaddhatō kīrti-cha-  
59 nūr-yas chitraś-Kāmārṇav-ō(v-ō)dayē || [36\*] **Nand-ārta-chyō(vyō)ma-chitra-**  
**pramita-Śaka-samā-vyāpta-kālē** din-śāś chāpa-sihē-nya-grah-augḥ va(ba)lavati  
ri-  
60 pushm prakāshayān prāptavatan | amin-mūrdh-ābhishikṭō nṛpavata-tanayē sarnha(rva)-  
lōk-aika-nāthō śrinat-Kāmārṇava(rṇav-ē)ś jagat-abhavad-  
61 dan-tat-tad-ānanda-pūrṇama(rṇam) || [37\*] Kshīr-ārṇavād-ajasi chandra-kal-ēti vārttā  
Kāmārṇavāt-tu sakal-ēndu-divākar-ābham | kīrti-pratāpa-  
62 mithunam sabaohāri lōkē śishyaty-akō para-nṛpān-amrāga-śūnyān || [38\*] Yasy-āśi-nirdda-  
lita-vairi-karindra-ku-  
63 mha-nirmukta-muktika-phalāy-asig-akshītāni | Kāmārṇavasya nṛpa-mūhati-bōtv-  
akāb(b) sandhyā-prabh-āpta-bha-gaṇā  
64 ira bhānti yuddhē || [39\*] Drīpyad-vairi-chamūr-mamayō kavalitā n-arvam-may-āsvālit-  
īty-anyānyau-kalash tu nirṇaya-vi-  
65 dhau khaḍga-pratāp-śekhayaḥ | mādhyasthaṁ-gamit-ōva nirmūlatarā kīrtir-yyadiyā  
vra(bra)vīny-ālōchy-śha mahadbhir-īty-upagatā

<sup>1</sup> Read *prabhritatō Gaṅgā*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *chandra* in place of *chitra*. Other records read *Vāśi-rta-ryama-chandra* instead of *Nanda-rta-ryama-chitra*.

<sup>3</sup> T is written here as in modern Oriya.

- 66 dhāta(h\*) *ant* v-ādarāt || [40\*] Arākāhī<sup>1</sup>-sa himayagarbham- apam<sup>2</sup> lōkam-mahēśah  
pur-ūty-arthō-yam vivadanti yē cha. vadana-vrātas-tadyō-dhu-
- 67 nā | ruddhō yat-tu himayagarbham-akarōt-Kāmārṇav-śas-tatah sampama(m\*) janitah  
jagad-yata cha pratyakṣatah prajinām || [41\*] Sa-
- 68 pt-āmbhōdihā-vahanti kṣitir-atitaralā nāga-kīrtan-śavarāpāh sāhāyām<sup>3</sup> vācchhat-tyan-  
tad-āpi pumat-ayan-kulpitas-tatm bhārah | dhā-
- 69 tā Kāmārṇav-ākhyah sa ta nija-tulanā(m\*) nirjayat-svarṇa-bhārair-bhūyō bhūyas-ta-  
(=to)lāyām sthita iti dharmār-bhāra-vā(hā)hūyam-ā-
- 70 ptama(ptam) || [42\*] Hṛishatṣṭa-pushpa-jan-ākīrtanah vidvaj-jana-manōrama(m\*) | dat-āvdī-  
(bā)lm-akarōt-rājya-Kāmārṇava-mahīparih || [43\*] Śrī-Chōdagaṅga-śripat-
- 71 r-mahāśū(dh) tatō-nyā tasy-āndirā ravi-kul-śābhava-rāja-putri | y-ādy-āpi dhātur-apam-  
ājanī sandarbhām a-tyantī sodhādhā-

*Third Plate : Second Side*

- 72 vadantā svayam-ēva jātā || [44\*] Yād-ru(d-rā)pa-śle-gati-varṇanayā prasiddhā dṛiṣṭānta-  
bhū(r\*)-ggirant-ēty-ativāda-lōkah | n-āsty-ēva chagda-ruchi-kāma-
- 73 harō yad-stra tān-Indirām-udavahat-dhūvi Chōdagaṅga || [45\*] Tasyān-tatah samajani  
kṣitinātha-nāthah śrī-Rāghavaḥ para-dhanēvava(ru)-darpa-
- 74 mariddi(yat-patya-va(ba)ndham-vidhī-śvavaga-prahītāh sarvō apā(h\*) sva-bhēdi kāmpan-  
avāpnavantah || [46\*] Śrī-Rāghavō rājani chitram-ētat-tājō-rih-
- 75 mah kṣitipāla-varṇah | tat-pāda-svā-kṛta-dāha-siddhir-mitrābhavaty-ēva samasta śahah  
|| [47\*] Praṇḍ-śrī-prakati-prakāra-rihita-prēcha-
- 76 vdyam-antarbhava(d\*) dōr-dhan-āpamiti-pragalbha-vishaya-prāghātavān-Arjunah |  
sampraty-āhā(ha)va-raṅga-māgata-ripu-ārōḥ-śimb-kanduka-kṛ-
- 77 j-āda(sa)kta-bhūjah śarāsana-bhṛtām chur-āpamā Rāghavaḥ || [48\*] Jagati Parasurāmah  
prāduraś(d\*) dvitīyah kimo ripu-kula-hantā
- 78 av-ājūy-āchchhama-lōkah | kṣiti-vitaraga-diksh-śakti-kastah pratāpāt-āpi dāsa-tata-vā-  
(bā)har-yyasya satru-vvi(r-vvi)śāl || [49\*] Bhōlam bhōla-
- 79 m-arāti-kūjara-ghaṭāh kṣhōḍhka-pudiktāh) rāṇō pāyad pāyam-aṅgik-pāyāni(yāthai)  
va(ba)hūdhā śrī-Rāghav-śah khaṇāt | ā-
- 80 lāram subhram-ir-ōdvaman-vijayatē kṛtti-pratānam-parah chandram chandrikayā pra-  
pūrpūtatayā satīśvyamān-ākṛtima(tim) || [50\*] Da-
- 81 rggēshu dāva-dahanah kṣitibhṛtas(tau) vajra(m\*) mādyat-karṇend-ghaṇanā cha śrōṣa  
śahah | vidvōhī-bhūmipatayō ni-
- 82 vasanti yatra śrī-Rāghavaḥ kṣitipatir-vvitata-pratāpah || [51\*] Śrī-Rāghava-dharādellāh  
kṣhōḍhātha-śrōṣanāh | akarōt-rājyam-avdā(bā)jā-
- 83 m-uddhāmō dāsa-pēcha-cha || [52\*] Tasya śrī-Chōdagaṅga-kṣiti-valaya-patēr-vraṇa(e-  
vraṇa)-santāna-valī-kanda-śrī-Chandralōkha-śpha(śpha)tam-Aditir-iva prīyad
- 84 Kasya(tya)paaya | tasyām-uddhāma-dhāma-kahayita-dinamāyī-yya(r-jā)jāvān-Rājarājō  
rājanya-kṣhōda-kell-talakita-mahima-vyāpta-dīva(ko)kra-

<sup>1</sup> Read *apant* 1062. The superscript looks like the superscript *r* in this case. Some versions read *apant* 1062. *pur-āp-āpant* (or, *āpant*) *pradant*.

<sup>2</sup> *Jpa* was at first written in the place of *ypa*.



- 85 *vālah* || [53\*] *Tasmin āṅ-vijaya-prayāga-rudh(s)kō sāmamāha-kumbhach-chamū-sutikshuṅga-*  
*kelūti-chakra-pānu-patala-prāghhāravaty-amva(mba)rē* | *bhū-sūtrapa(qa)-*
- 86 *ra-gbhṛṇṣ-vaśāḍ-dinamagōr-uchchah p[la]tāṁ sapta(pā)bhūḥ svabhṛyastah<sup>1</sup> aṁs-sindhu-*  
*rēga dharaṇi-pattō rad-śōghaṭṭanam* || [54\*] *Chūḍagaḍga-narēndrasya sūna-*
- 87 *r-uddāna-vikramah* | *Rājārāja iti khyātas-Trikaliṅga-mahipatiḥ* || [55\*] *Vivash krōḍayati*  
*pragalia(bha)-yasaḥ(s) prāḥyasaḥ-triaki<sup>2</sup> yad-yad-yāḥri-*
- 88 *g-abhūta(d-a)bhūta-sodṛisam antah samākarmayātām* | *dhātṛ pīthatē liḡgati svar-ava-*  
*(cha)lah prāśādati tvad-yaśō diś-nūthāḥ pratimanti yaśya pari-*
- 89 *taḥ amśva(śrīyaḥ)-pada[m] śrīḡgati* || [56\*] *Ānamāḥ vidadhātē chētas bhu(bha)vat-kirttir-*  
*gyuṇa-grāhṇaḥ sūtē dōhām-arthnam(nah) vumanaḥ(a) śrī-Rājārāja dhraṇam* || [\*]

*Fourth Plate : First Side*

- 90 *a-śyash karṇa-paṭham samētya hrīdayē kalyāvatē vairiṇah sv-ātm-śchohh-ānvidhāyinaḥ-*  
*na hi nija bhāva(h)\* kvachid-āpīyatē* || [57\*] *Ētaśyām-bhūvi paścha-viśa(vin)ti-sa-*
- 91 *māḥ kahnāpāle-lakṣmīdhavaḥ kṛtvā jīvara-chāpa-chaḥchala-bhujā-dambhōlir-urvi-*  
*patiḥ* | *rājyam prājya-yaśas-mahāra kirāṇa-śrēṇi-ragū(sā)d-ānanāḍ-utgaśchohha-*
- 92 *t-purabhūta-gita-charita-kī-Rājārājā nripah* || [58\*] *Tasy-ānjo nripati-rāja-paḍ-bhishiktaḥ*  
*a-ḷkti-priyah parimit-āḍṇipa-praśastih* | *prithvipatiḥ ka-*
- 93 *li-mal-ōjjhita-dhama(mma)-suddhaḥ kāryya-kṛmanah prabhur-asāv-Aniyarūkhabhīmah* ||  
[59\*] *Vir-ādhihāṭhita-saḡga(r-ā)\*dri-sikharē saṅkha-śva(śva)ṇ-āśāsitō kunt-ōdbhi(ma)-*  
*madō(hō)-*
- 94 *bha-kumbha-vigalan-mukt-āvali-puṅjitē* | *karahōd-ugra-nija-pratāpa-dahanē khaḡga-śruchā*  
*vidvishām tāḡṇām-ānana-paṇḡajām nripatir-ggaty-ānayad-yaḥ śriya-*
- 95 *ma(m)* || [60\*] *Kahle-ādhyō(bdhō)r-ampita(tā)t-aur-āura-bhūja-vyāpāra-vīśabhbhūtāch-*  
*chandray-ārḍham-abhāt-tad-apy-ādhiyayāv-āḡnam-ākaḥ kila* | *chaśchad-vā(bā)-*  
*ha-va(ta)ḡṇa saḡgara-bhūvi*
- 96 *tvat-khaḡga-dhār-jalā-jātas tv-ashtadigāvarāt-pri(n-pri)tho-yaśas-chandraḥ samālīn-gati*  
|| [61\*] *Yat-prayāpa-saṇḍibhūta-rajaś-sūpūritō-mva(mba)jē* | *abhū(d\*)-divradatāśya*  
*dhū-*
- 97 *li-mada-ohitā tanuḥ* || [62\*] *Dada varahēṇi vīrō-sau nūjjit-ārṣṭi-mahālah* || [\*] *Anatūkhbhīma-*  
*bhūpālō dhavitṛṇṣ samapālayat<sup>3</sup>* || [63\*] *Praṇḡḥ-ānergga-vikra-*
- 98 *mah kula-grīham yō dāṇja-nīti-śriyah asty-śchāra-vichāra-chāra-charitaḥ puny-aika-pāc-*  
*yaḡah* || (I) *tasy-āśāḍ-Aniyarūka-*
- 99 *bhṇa-nripatīr-adh-ā(rddh-ā)ḡga-lakṣmīḥ svaya(h)\* sūchasy-Atāyāna patṭa-mahishī*  
*Vāghalladēvi bhūvi* || [64\*] *Tulita-pitri-guṇ-sughah sūna-*
- 100 *r-āśī-amushyā nimālayita-tōḡḡ yaśvan-āvāpta-rājyah* || (i) *pragata-nripati-chūḡḡ-ratna-*  
*rōchih-pīśāḡḡkṛita-charaṇa-m-*
- 101 *śōḡ Rājārājō nripalah* || [65\*] *Yasy-ōdyad-vāji-vṇda-prakhara-khara-put-āghāta<sup>4</sup>-nīrdnā-*  
*(rddā)rit-ōrvī-sambhūtam-īdhūribhāsvat-kura-nikara-mahah eyūta-sāndra-pa-*

<sup>1</sup> The *amśva* here looks like a superscript *r*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kah* was originally inscribed in place of *h*.

<sup>3</sup> *Rā* had been at first omitted and afterwards somehow indicated.

<sup>4</sup> The *dhāḡga* mark is placed below *pa*.

<sup>5</sup> The *ā*-sign of *pat* had been at first omitted and was later indicated by a short stroke.



iv, a.

[illegible]



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- 102 yāpō(ṣam) | viśṭīṣṣaṣṭh kṛṣṇa-tāl-āhatībhīr-avīrat-ānattā-śeṣa-gajānām-aśṭāśāśā<sup>1</sup>  
 diggajānām mukha-pāṣa-talanām-ādadhā dhūli-jāluṣ(āsa) || [66\*] Yamina(amin) śāśati  
 103 āśit-āmarā-gaṇaiḥ saṇyaka(myak) samudr-ānva(mba)rō[m\*] prithvīm pāṭhiva-puṅgavō  
 naya-guṇaiḥ śrī-Rājarājō nripō | chakras Mādhuva ōva taikshayam=ulkaṁ kau-  
 104 kshēyakō chintanam āśit-ābhyāsa-vidhan vidhan cha pāṣāṣā kālō kāl(ā)h āśiyatē || [67\*]  
 Yat-kṛtti-dagdha-jahadhīr-bhuvan-āntarālam samplāya lā(ā)rataram-n-  
 105 tchēhha(chēhha)lītal sa bhāti | tāra-gaṇāḥ sphū(sphu)ṭa-ruchō gaganō samantāt-  
 sūkshma-āśisūkshma-tarālā iva vipreṣanti || [68\*] Tyāgō sa(śau)ṣṭyō cha mīyē cha  
 106 Kṛṣṇ-Ārijuna-Yudhishṭhiraiḥ | | \* | sudṛśō-yam-mahāvīrō Rājarājō nārādhīpāḥ || [69\*]  
 Rājarājō nara-patir-ddasa capta cha vatsarāna(rān) | ) bhuvī rājya-śrī-  
 107 yama(yam) bhuktivā svā-rājyāya prastasthivāna(vān) || [70\*] Udhūkyā-kulā-sambhūtā vōlā  
 saundaryya-vāridbhōḥ | | \* | nāmā Mahāpadāy-śrī mahishī tasya bhūpatīḥ || [71\*]  
 108 Tasyām-abhūd-adbhuta-vīkrama-ā(ā)trīḥ śrīm(ā)n-ayan bhūbhīr-**Anaḥkabhīmaḥ** |  
 virājatō kṛtti-sudhā-tarāṅga(ā)\*-dhantīḥ [dī\*]g-bhūtiḥ yat-prastati(b\*) || [72\*]

## Fourth Plate; Second Side

- 109 Yasy-ānarggala-dūr-vilāsa-lahari-līvagya-vairi-vraja-ākṛa(kṛa)ndat-paura-vadhū-vilōchana-  
 payah-pūrnir-dīharā danturāma\* | kiṇ-cha tyāga-tarāṅga-  
 110 bhaṅgi-ki(ka)ṇaiḥ pāthō-dhīyā n-ōmavād-vrīḍā-vakṛita-kandharah sa bhagavān-manyō  
 purūṣō munīḥ || [73\*] Kas-tvam-bhōḥ kalir-sānu(um) kin-nu  
 111 vīmanāḥ kamaī nivēdy-ātmānāḥ sūk-āmbhōdhit-apāharāmi kalayā ki(ru\*) veta nō mān  
 Harim | yady-ōvaḥ-kalay-āmadā-  
 112 na\*-samay-ōkshōpāya Gaṅg-ānvayō jātah śrīmad-Anaḥkabhīma-nripatīḥ aḥ-py-arthabhūtō<sup>2</sup>  
 mama || [74\*] Dhyān-ānva(ba)ndha-nivīḍa-prasara-  
 113 pramōda(m\*) mādhvika-mugdha-nusṛṇaḥ hṛday-ānvināma(nāma) | dēvāḥ parāga-pura-  
 śahā paciraliḥya yasya rōlanva(mba)-dānva(mba)ca-kālēm(lām) ka-  
 114 layāñchakāra || [75\*] Lakshmi-rakshaṇa-sauvidatī(lā)-padavī(m\*) pratyarthi-prithvi-  
 bhōjām-prāṇ-ākaraḥaṇa-rāju-valbhava-tūlām-ullāsam-āma-  
 115 ṇḍayana(yan) | saṅgrāma-śhala-kōli-tāṇḍava-kālā-pāṇḍityam-āmanḍayan yā-āya(m\*)  
 jagat-adbh(u)ṭa-śika-vīrasat-kṛīḍā-nataḥ  
 116 śūyakaḥ || [76\*] Himayagarbha mō parvram(rvash) kurusk-śrī-śrī-śrīyayā | himayagar-  
 bhō bhūtvā yāḥ kalmām-īmām-pari(rya)pālaya-  
 117 ta(t) || [77\*] Yasy-ānarggala-vīkrama-ārjita-yataḥ-kshīr-ōla-dān-ōmmūbhūḥ dā(bhū-dā)tārah  
 kīlā kāmā-gō-prabhu(bhī)ṭayah\*  
 118 prōtācitā dūratāḥ || ( ) kiṇ-oh-āyaḥ-cha himayagarbha-kalant-vaidagdhyaṁ-ākara(n)-  
 ayal-lajjā-lōla-chaturmu-

<sup>1</sup> The sanskrit here looks like a superscript *r* sign.<sup>2</sup> This seems to be the correct form of the name that has been read wrongly in one record as Maṅkhopadēvi and actually reads Paṇḍupadēvi in another. Cf. *prabhū* in line 28 and *Fāh*'s in line 132.<sup>3</sup> Read *śāśatō*.<sup>4</sup> Read *prastasthivā*.<sup>5</sup> Better read *śāśatō*.<sup>6</sup> An additional medial *s* sign is found with *ad*.<sup>7</sup> This word is not found in some later records giving the genealogy of the Gaṅgās.<sup>8</sup> Note the same form of *śha* in line 104.



- 119 kb-ākali-yugālō manyō mahān padmahāh || [78\*] Yēn-ābhishēka-samayāh kalita-trayēṣa  
nīta-talāparaha-dāna-ka-
- 120 l-ānuva(ba)ndhah | lavdh-ā(bh-ā)h nāh kalitir-amaṣhya mudō tath-ābhūd-yādrig-vi-  
(g-dvi)jāti-jana-sāna-dāna-kētib || [79\*] Ākarṣatō hrida-
- 121 yam-ēpa-vilōchanānām-ādhan(vajr)ā cha paritah pratipārlhuvānām | arth-āvaya-pragayinō  
kṛtinām Anāgabhīma-pra-
- 122 aiddhīr-ammā vidūth(dhō) nripīna || [80\*] Sō-yam śtimad-Anāgabhīma-rāutta-  
dēvaḥ Śākāvdō(bdō) chandr-āshu-rudra-gaṇitō Chaitra-śukla-navamyān
- 123 Sauri-vārō mīna-sa(m\*)krāntyām Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-katakō Chitrēśvara-  
Viśvēśvarayōr-mumadhīc Mahānadyām Sāilō-vishayō P[ā]ṇa-
- 124 grāmō dānasāgara-bhūmi-dān-āvartta(rttā) Mahābhūrat-ōktām pūyām mrida-rasām  
vināśī-vāṭi-parimitām bhūmim Ghṛitakaulika-gōtrā-
- 125 ya Yajurvād-āntargṇta-Kāva-ākh-ādhyāyī-pagḍita-Saṅkarahānūndakarmmaṇō Vra-  
(Brā)hmanāya bhagavataḥ śrī-Purushōttamasya prītayō
- 126 dhārō-pūrvvakam-ā-chandr-ārkkam-upabhōgāy-ākarkṇīya prādāt | punar-avd-ā(bd-ā)-  
ntarō Māgha-kṛishṇa-śhaśṭhyām Guru-vārō tasyān-madyān-tamīna-ēva vi-

*Fifth Plate : First Side*

- 127 ahyō tasmīn nāna-dān-āvarttō Vāmāna-purāṇ-ōktā(m\*) prākāra-mukhamandapa-madhyu-  
manḍapa-śhita-nripatigṛha-talya-grīha-cha-
- 128 tashṭaya-nānō-purajana-samśta-trināśī(śrī)-grīha-nirmmitam triṇāśī-vāṭi-parimita-  
bhūmikan-nagarin-tasmāi pagḍita-Saṅkarahapō-
- 129 nandakarmmaṇō Vra(Brā)hmanāya bhagavataḥ śrī-Purushōttamasya prītayō dhārō-pūrvva-  
kam-ā-chandr-ārkkam-upabhōgāy-ākarkṇī-
- 130 tyā prādāt | tasya cha Jayanagarāmā śhaś-vāṭi-parimitā vāsta-bhūmib | Pūrapagrāmō  
vināśī-vāṭi-parimitā tasya-
- 131 bhūmib | tasya pum-jana-jāti-nāmānī || tatra vaṇijah gāndhika-āśūhika-pātakāra-svarṇa-  
kām-kāśyikāḥ Vāpuli-Nārayaṇa-Dāmodara-Mādha(va) -(Chī)-
- 132 tra-Sōma-Vālu-Kēśava-Mahādēva-Naradāṅga(ba)-Śevu-nāmānah || tāmivō(mā)likāḥ Mahā-  
nāda-Sōmā-I(m-ā)rapḍa-nāmānah | mālīkō Manū-nāmā | gōḍḍī-
- 133 kō Mahādēva-nāmā | gōpālau Dhru-Gaḥṭī-nāmānau | Satuvāyan Nāgu-Jagāi-nāmānau |  
talīkan Gaṇō-Sunyā-nāmānau | Kuṇḍhukā-
- 134 saḥ Arjjana-Viśū-nāmānau | Kaivarttāḥ Bāju-Viśū-Padma-nāmānah | nāpūtah śīpīnō  
vajrakā-cha || tathā tasmīn-ēv-āvdō(bdō) ta-
- 135 yām Mahānadyām Mārggaśīrsha-pauruṇamāsyām Guru-vārō chandr-ōparāgō  
tasmīn Pūrapagrāmā lōhita-dān-āvarttō Vra(Brā)hmapaty-a-
- 136 kṛāḍa\* | gōcharmma-mātrām-śhṭāśha-vāṭi-parimitām-bhūmim Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāya  
Dikshita-Rudrapāṇīakarmmaṇō Vra(Brā)hmapā-

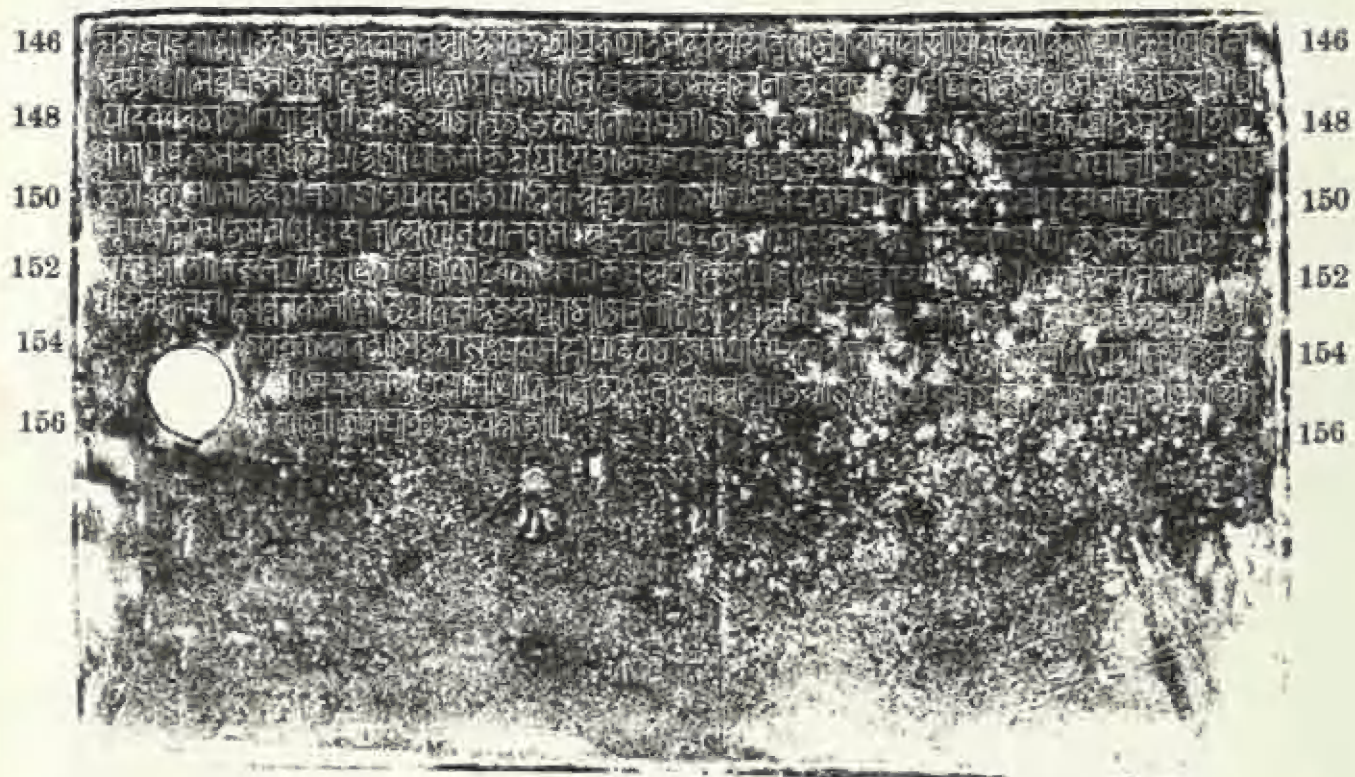
\* The names from the beginning up to line 125 are found quoted in the later charters of the family often with slight variations.

\* This may also be read as *ka* ; since, however, the word is from Sanskrit *kāya-patra* and Prakrit *kā-ḍha*, *ka* seems to be intended.





e, d.



Seal



(From a photograph)

- 137 ya tathā Makara-saṁkrāntyām (ntyām) Āditya-puṣṭi-śaktiṁ pañcha-vāṭi-parimitām-  
bhūmim Bīṣṭhitara-sagōṭrāy<sup>1</sup>-āhit-āgni-Sōmapālaka-  
138 ramaṣṭhē Vṛā(Bṛā)hmaṣāya<sup>2</sup> tathā śrī-Purushōttamadevasya pratishṭhā-samayē  
Kāśya(āya)pa-sagōṭrāy-āchāryya-Chandrikamaśarmmaṣṭhē Vṛā(Bṛā)hmaṣāya  
139 chadvi-vāṭi-parimitām-bhūmim bhagavataḥ śrī-Purushōttamasya prīṭayē dhārā-pūrvakam  
-ā-chandr-ārkaṁ-upabhōgāy-ākṛitkritya  
140 prādāt || ētē Kāśya-śākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ || Pu(Pū)ṣṭagrāmē militvā ētāḥ pañcha-śaśṭhi-  
(shṭi)ṭi-vvātyaḥ || paśchim-ōttara-pūrva-pradēśēḥ pūrva-siddha-  
141 grāma-śm-āvachchhinā(nā)ḥ | dakṣiṇē yāvan-Nalitam || ētan-madhyē Pūtimāsha-gōtra-  
śāśn-ādihikāri-Gaṇḍādhara-āryya<sup>3</sup> bhū-vāṭyī(ṭy-ē)kā grāha-vāṭi  
142 cha || tāmvra(mra)-śilpinō Mā(Ma)hānāḍasy-aitadām<sup>4</sup> || śrī-Purushōttama-keḥōtrē  
dakṣiṇatṛi(ṭi)ṛtharāja-tatē Karṇakṭak-āmāvāsyāyām sūryy-ōparāgē  
143 tasmin-Pūṣṭagrāmē Kātyāyana-gōṭrāy-āchāryy-āgnichit-Kāyadharmaṣṭhē Vṛā(Bṛā)-  
hmaṣāya Yajurvēd-āntargata-Kāśya-śākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ nā-  
144 nā-gōtra-Bugv<sup>5</sup>-vād-ēdy-ādhyāyī-ṭṛika-Dhṛitkar-Ānanta-Viśvāvara-Yajña-Siddhā-Saṁ-  
kara-Mādhyava-Prithi(thvī)dhara-sahitāya hiraṇyagarbha-mahādā-  
145 n-āngatvēna pañcha-vāṭi-parimitām-bhūmim dhārā-pūrvakam-ā-chandr-ārkaṁ-upabhō-  
gāy-ākṛitkritya prādāt || tat-āchāryyaaya tatrē vāṭyab || ri-

## Fifth Plate; Second Side

- 146 svijām(jām) dvā vāṭyau | tathā Abhinava-Vārāṇasyām bhagavataḥ śrī-Purushōttama-  
devasya sannidhau Makar-āmāvāsyāyām Ravi-vārē Kuddindā-vishayē Vilā-  
147 sapuragrāmē dāna-sāgarē Viśvadharm-ōktā(ṭi)<sup>6</sup> yava-gōdhūm-śakha-santatām-aṣṭa-  
mān-ātṛikṭa-(ekatu)ṭi-vvāṭi-parimitām-bhūmim Bhāradvāja-sagōṭrā-  
148 ya Dēvadharadarmmaṣṭhē Brāhmaṣāya Yajñ-Śāśn-āntargata-Kāśya-Kautūma-śākḥ-aika-  
dēś-ādhyāyī(nā) bhaga(vata)ḥ śrī-Purushōttamasya prīṭayē  
149 dhārā-pūrvakam-ā-chandr-ārkaṁ-upabhōgāy-ākṛitkritya prādāt(dāt) || Śhal-dāna-phala-  
siddhy-artham-tad-vakṣāḥ-phala-siddhayaḥ || (ma\*)d-dharmmaḥ paripālyō-yam-bhūpait-  
ā-cha-  
150 mra-tarakam || [81\*] Mā bhūd-a-phala-śakṭā tē para-datt-ēdā pāṛthiva | eva-dattād-  
adhikam-puṇyam-para-datt-ānupālā(nē || 82 || Sva\*)dattām-para-dattām-vā(ttām vā)  
yallā(nā)ḥ-rakṣa Yudhi-  
151 abh(i)ṭra | mahīm-matimatām vrechtha dānāt-ārē(ch-chhrē)yo-anupālanam || [83\*] Sva-  
dattām-para-dattām-vā(ttām vā) yō harēta vasundha(rām) | sa viśvāyām krimi-  
bhūtvā pīṭibhīḥ  
152 saha pachyatē || [84\*] Nirjālō prāntarē dēśē śuṣhka-kōṣara-vācinah | kriṣha-sarpā hi pāya-  
ntē yō haranti vasu(nḍharām) || [85\*] Gām-ākām svaryam-ōkam-vā(kam vā)  
[bhūmēr-a]-

<sup>1</sup> Read *apṭrāy*.<sup>2</sup> It is *hwa* in this case has the usual loop of a.<sup>3</sup> *Acchāryya* may have been intended.<sup>4</sup> The word *aitadā* from *śal* is interesting. The passage no doubt means that, like the *śal* *śālīkṛin*, the copper-smith, who engraved the plates, also received two *vāṭis* or *śālikās* of land including one *śāl* of homeown land.<sup>5</sup> Read *\*pūṣṭa-ryōd-ēdy-ādhyāyī-ṭṛik*.



- 153 py-arddham-aṅgalam | haraṇ-narakam-āpnōti yāvend-ābhūta-sa(r̥\*)[p]lavam || [86\*] Śat-  
ruṇ-āpi kṛtō dharmmaḥ pā[la]n[ī]yō manishūbhāḥ | śatru-eva-hi śatru[h\*] syād-dharmmaḥ  
154 śatru-mna kaśyachit || [87\*] Mad-varṇajāḥ para-mahīpati-varṇajāḥ vā pāpād-apēta-ma-  
[naḥ] [bhūvi] bhāvi-bhūpāḥ | yā pālayanti mama  
155 [dha]mmam-ida(ma)n samastan-tēhām-mayā virachitō-ñjalir-śaha mūddhni(rddhai) ||  
[88\*] Tasy-ājñayā yathā-jñānam Gaṅg-ānvaya-gaṇān-prati | prakāśi-ra-  
156 [cha]nā-śiśkā(n\*) Nappanah<sup>1</sup> kṛtavān-kṛti || [89\*]

### No. 41—RUSSELLKONDA PLATES OF NETTABHANJA ; REGNAL YEAR 26

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the beginning of May 1950, a copper-plate inscription was kindly sent to me for examination by Śrīyukta Chintāmaṇi Āchārya, M.A., LL.B., Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University. The inscription was discovered at a place<sup>2</sup> near Russellkonda in the Ganjam District, Orissa, and reached the hands of Mr. Ananta Rath, B.A., Headmaster of the Russellkonda High School. Mr. Rath lost no time in presenting the record to the University which has recently made arrangements for collecting materials for the reconstruction of the early history of Orissa under the guidance of its learned Vice-Chancellor. I am extremely thankful to Śrīyukta Āchārya for his kindness in allowing me to publish the document. The Headmaster of the Russellkonda High School should also be congratulated for the interest he has taken in bringing the inscription to the notice of students interested in the past history of Orissa.

The set consists of **three plates**, rather thin, each measuring about 9·2" in length and about 3·4" in height. They are strung together on a copper ring about 3" in thickness and about 3·7" in diameter. The ring passes through a hole, nearly 5" in diameter, about the middle of the left end of the plates, leaving a margin of about 4". The two ends of the ring are secured in a small oval seal (about 1" in length) which is of copper. No trace of any emblem or legend can now be found on the surface of the seal. The plates are not in a very good state of preservation and show signs of corrosion and also of the peeling off of a layer of metal here and there. But fortunately the preservation of the writing is on the whole satisfactory. The inscription is written on both sides of all the three plates. All the inscribed faces of the plates are serially numbered in the left margin towards the top, although the figure 6 on the second side of the third plate cannot be seen clearly owing to the peeling off of the metal from the area in question. There are altogether 40 lines of writing. Both the sides of the first plate and the reverse of the second plate have each 6 lines engraved on them, while the first sides of the second and third plates have each 7 lines. The second side of the third plate has as many as 8 lines. The weight of the three plates is 55 tolas, while the ring together with the seal weighs 15 tolas.

The characters belong to the Kalinga script influenced by the northern alphabet. They may be compared with the script employed in the early charters of the Śaṭodbhava and Bhanu-Kara dynasties, such as the Ganjam plates<sup>3</sup> (dated in the Gupta year 300–619 A. C.), the Nulpur plate<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name may also be read *Nappana* or *Nayana*.

<sup>2</sup> About the end of November 1950, I visited Russellkonda and learnt on enquiry that the plates had been received from Śri Raghunātha Bāta of Bāpatamba about four miles from the town. They were preserved in Raghunātha's family as an heirloom for a long time.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 f., with plates.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 3-5, with plates.



of Subhākara I and the Dhanli cave inscription<sup>1</sup> of Śāntikara I (supposed to be dated in the Harsha year 93-699 A. C.). It is interesting to note that some characteristics of the alphabet of the inscription under review are found in the 8th century records of king Mōruvarman of Chamṇa.<sup>2</sup> The inscription may roughly be assigned to the eighth century A. C.<sup>3</sup> The characters employed in the charter appear to be rather cursive and very often the same letter has been written in several varying forms. *Ṣ* is usually of the form found in the word *ṣaṣṭi* in line 1; but it is written differently in words like *śaṣṭi* (line 2) and has a third form in words like *śaṣṭa-śa* (line 3). In a few cases, *ṣ* is written exactly like *ṣ* (cf. the first *ṣ* in *śaṣṭa* in line 11). *Ṣ* is sometimes undistinguishable from *ś* (cf. *śiva*, *śaṣṭi* in line 3; *prastavaṣa* in line 6) and often from *ṣ* (cf. *śaṣṭi* in line 3; *ṣaṣṭi* in line 4). *N* is again written in several forms (cf. *śaṣṭi* in line 4; *śaṣṭi* in line 3, *śaṣṭi* in line 7; *śaṣṭi* in line 14), and one of these is the same as that of *ṣ*. *Bh* is usually without the loop (cf. *prastavaṣa śaṣṭi* in line 9); but often it has a looped form resembling that of *n* (cf. *śaṣṭi* in line 3; *śaṣṭi* in line 7). Sometimes *t* has the same form as *g* (cf. *śaṣṭi* in lines 9-10). *D* has usually a hanging tail; but in a few cases it is without that (cf. *śaṣṭi* in line 3). Medial *u* is usually a straight downward stroke below a consonant (cf. *śaṣṭi* in line 3, *śaṣṭi* in line 6, *śaṣṭi* in line 7), although sometimes it is a curve (cf. cases of *au*, *bhū*, etc.) or its end has a short upward curve towards the left. The forms of the medial vowels in *ru* (line 11), *rū* (line 8) and *pū* (line 15) are interesting. Medial *ī* is in some cases indicated by slight prolongation of the top *mātrā* towards the left and is almost undistinguishable (cf. *śaṣṭi* in lines 11, 12). Medial *ī* is usually short and does not very often come below the line of the top *mātrā*. Only in a few cases it is found to be lengthened (cf. *śaṣṭi* in line 32). *R* is indicated by the sign for *ṣ*. The half *t* is used in a large number of cases (cf. lines 3-8, 15, 32, 33, 35, etc.). It is without the covering curve in lines 4, 16 and 39. Of initial vowels, the inscription employs *a* (lines 11, 12, 22, 25, 26), *ā* (lines 13, 24, 29, 37), *i* (lines 13-15, 37), *u* (line 40), *ū* (line 34) and *e* (lines 21, 37). Of numerical figures, we have those from 1 to 6 used in numbering the inscribed faces of the plates. Some of them are also used in specifying the shares of the donees. It is interesting to note that the figures for 2 and 3 are written in the old fashion.<sup>4</sup> The figures for 4 and 5 are also of the old type. Interpunctuation marks are indicated often by a slightly curved stroke. There is a similar mark at the end of some lines (cf. lines 4, 10, 13, 19, 20) apparently used as a hyphen is done in English and a *dayda* in certain later inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> The sign of the *anugraha* and that of a half *viagra* appear to be wrongly employed in lines 11 and 21 respectively.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It has an introductory verse in adoration to the god Śiva and only three imprecatory verses about the end; the rest of the record is written in prose. Among the peculiarities of orthography, the negligence in observing the rules of *śaṣṭi* is often noticed. Wrong spelling in words like *Nagasha* (line 16) and wrong *śaṣṭi* in expressions like *śaṣṭi* (line 2) are also conspicuous.

The charter is dated in the 26th regnal year of the king who was responsible for its issue, without reference to any era or to astronomical details about the date. There is thus no clue to determine the year and the exact date of the grant. As already indicated above, palaeographical consideration would suggest a date about the 8th century A. C. or a little later.

The record belongs to the Śaiva king Nēṭṭabhanja of the Drumarājakula. It was issued from the victorious *śaṣṭi* of the king at Vārāṅgā and records the grant of the village of

<sup>1</sup> *Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 324, with plate.

<sup>2</sup> Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamṇa State*, Part I, Plates XI-XII; Ghose, *The Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), 1918, p. 67, Plate XXII.

<sup>3</sup> As the Kalinga script was an artificial alphabet, the date may also be slightly later.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *JASB*, 1896, Part I, Plates VIII and X, left margin.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Madras Museum plates of the time of Narāyaṇaśaṣṭi (above pp. 44 ff.).



**Chandātūṅgam** in the **Kāmvārāla** *śaḥaya* in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas. The epigraphic text, as already indicated above, begins with a verse in adoration to the god Śaṅkara, i.e., Śiva. This is followed by a description of the *skandāśoṭra* situated at Vārāṅgā (lines 2-8). It is said to have been endowed with gardens, groves and bowers which were attached to certain temples. The expression *śaṇḍa-maṇḍapa* may also mean shades for the bull attached to the temples of Śiva.<sup>1</sup> The population of the locality is described as fully contented and the place as free from quarrels, thieves, famines and diseases. The place is further said to be beautified by trees grown in deep glens watered by many springs and producing flowers and fruits of various kinds in great abundance. This description of Vārāṅgā seems to suggest that it was not merely a camp but was actually the capital of Nṛttabhaṇja whether permanent or temporary.<sup>2</sup> The description of the *skandāśoṭra* is followed by another of the king (lines 8-17) who is compared to the mighty epic kings like Rāghu, Nahusha and Mānūdhṛtyi but is not endowed with any specific royal epithet. The king is said to have been a *paramabrāhmaṇa* (very friendly to Brāhmaṇas) and *paramamūḍhārā* (devout worshipper of Mūḍhārā, i.e., Śiva). One of the interesting epithets of the king says that Nṛttabhaṇja was born in the family of Drumarāja, while another seems to suggest that he was the inheritor of the fortune of ninety-nine past generations of kings. It seems that Drumarāja was the progenitor of the old royal family to which Nṛttabhaṇja belonged. The king's order regarding the grant in question was issued to the royal officers, to the *adāikaraṇas* (administrative offices) of that time as well as of the future (lines 18-20) and to other dependants serving in the Kāmvārāla *śaḥaya*. The officials and subordinates included the *sāmanta*, *maḍāśavats*, *rājās*, *rājāsaka*, *rājaputra*, *antaranga*, *kaṇḍāśoṭra*, *aparika* and *śaṭṭapāṭaka*. They were told (lines 21-22) that the king had granted the village of Chandātūṅgam as a free gift and a revenue-free holding in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas belonging to the Kāṇṭhika *gṛha* and the Vājasaneyā *charaṇa*. The names of the Brāhmaṇas and the shares of the holding allotted to each one of them were also specified in the following order (lines 23-27): Vāṇḍoṇasvāmin 3 shares, Gōḷhasvāmin 1, Ādityadeva 1, Yajñāsvāmin 1, Chharampasvāmin 1, Śivasvāmin 1, a second Chharampasvāmin 1, Gōṇḍasvāmin 3, Kayāsvāmin 3, Kāṇṭhasvāmin 1, Bhōṇasvāmin 1, Jayasvāmin 1, a second Jayasvāmin 1, and Ravichōṇasvāmin 1. (Lines 28-32 suggest that the grant was actually made on behalf of the queens, *Kṣatridhīvi* and *Kaivartadēvi*, and the *rāja-putrī* (princess) Mēghavallīdēvi for the easy access of the three ladies to heaven.<sup>3</sup> The names of the two queens are interesting as they appear to refer to the particular communities to which they belonged. If the queens of Nṛttabhaṇja belonged to the Kṣatri and Kaivarta communities, we have here a glimpse of the working of the social order in ancient Orissa. After the usual entreaties to the future rulers for the preservation of the grant and imprecatory verses in lines 32-39, we have the date of the document in the 26th year of Nṛttabhaṇja's reign (line 39). The charter ends with the name of the writer and that of the engraver of the plate. The writer was Vandyā-Dēvabhadra and the engraver Dhāva-ḷḷagiba. The correct interpretation of the designation *ḷḷagiba*, which occurs in a large number of inscriptions, is difficult; but the expression Vandyā prefixed to the name of Dēvabhadra reminds one of the Vandy-ōpādhyāyas who are a section of the Kūḷina class among the Rājñiya Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. Although the origin of the Kūḷinas such as the Vandy-ōpādhyāya and Chaṭṭ-ōpādhyāya is referred to a late date, we know that the name Spīhach-Chaṭṭa is found in a Bengal inscription of the sixth century<sup>4</sup> and have elsewhere<sup>5</sup> suggested that the Brahmanical cognomen in question

<sup>1</sup> [The context does not justify such an inference. The expression *śaṇḍa-maṇḍapa-śaṭṭapāṭaka* simply means 'beautified by arbours and parks'; the word *śaṇḍa* meaning 'multitude'.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Successors of the Śāṅkharas*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible to think that the ladies were dead and the grant was made on the occasion of their *śrāddha* ceremony.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 331.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 493-99.



may not be so late as is usually believed. It seems probable that the epithet *vandya* applied in our record to the writer Dīvabhadra is not entirely unconnected with the origin of the cognomen Vandy-ōpādhyāya which became regular among a class of Bengali Brāhmanas at a later date. The tradition that these cognomens are all derived from the names of certain villages appears to be doubtful.

It is difficult to connect Nēttabhāṇja who issued the charter under discussion with any of the four branches of the well-known Bhāṇja family of ancient Orissa, although in the family of the earlier Bhāṇjas of Khinjalimāṇḍala we have actually a number of kings of the same name.<sup>1</sup> Our Nēttabhāṇja seems to be earlier than even the earliest known members of the different branches of the Bhāṇja family. The draft of the charter under review is again remarkably different from any known record of the Bhāṇja family. Unlike the Bhāṇja inscriptions, our record does not offer any story about the origin of the royal family, nor does it refer to the places known to have been the headquarters of particular branches of the Bhāṇja dynasty. On the other hand, it describes king Nēttabhāṇja as a scion of the family of Drumarāja and as representing the hundredth generation of an ancient royal family. It would thus appear that besides the king's name ending in the word *bhāṇja*, our record has little to connect king Nēttabhāṇja with the Bhāṇja family, several branches of which flourished at a later date in Orissa. It may, however, be pointed out that, although the meaning of the Prakritic name Nēttabhāṇja cannot be definitely determined, it was fairly popular in ancient Orissa as some of the Bhāṇja rulers are known to have assumed the same name. Whether the Bhāṇjas of Khinjalimāṇḍala, among whom we find several Nēttabhāṇjas, claimed any sort of relation with the earlier king named Nēttabhāṇja who issued the Russellkonda plates can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The rise of Nēttabhāṇja of our record, whose dominions included parts of the Ganjam District, seems to have synchronised with the decline of the Śailodbhava dynasty of Kōṅḡōḍa about the eastern part of the same district. It is possible to suggest that the family of Drumarāja originally enjoyed a feudatory status.

The palaeography and style of the record under review suggest that its issuer was no other than that of the Baudh plates edited rather carelessly in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVII, pp. 104 ff. This charter was issued by king Nēttabhāṇja when he was staying at Navāṅgulakapattana (i.e., modern Angul) in the fifteenth year of his reign. The correct reading of the concluding part of the inscription (lines 53-56) is: *Svayam rājā pradi-*  
*ṭṭvā 17-Nayana prabhātanam) utīrge[re] Vāḍurāhena[re] sāmāna tāma-pajukam-ati* |  
(||) *Samat 10 5 Kartti[ka] 10 3*. This identification would show that the dominions of Nēttabhāṇja included parts of the Cuttack-Bhankana areas in the north-east. It is interesting to note that, in the tenth century A.C., the earlier Bhāṇjas of Khinjalimāṇḍala ruled over the same region between the Ganjam and Baudh-Keonjhar areas of Orissa.

Vārāḍḍā, whence the charter under discussion was issued, seems to be the same as modern Bārāḍā or Bārūḍā seven miles from Russellkonda and two miles from Kuljagarh which was the capital of the Bhāṇja ruling family to which the post Upēndrabhāṇja belonged and is probably to be identified with Kolāḍa-kaṭaka capital of the later Bhāṇjas of Khinjal. I have not been able to identify the other geographical names mentioned in the inscription, viz., Chaṇḍūtongam and Kāmverāla.

#### TEXT\*

[Metres: verse 1. *Vaṁśasthavāḥ*; verses 2, 3. *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 4. *Puṣpīgītā*.]

<sup>1</sup> See Bhattacharya, *loc. cit.* p. 379.

\* From the original plates kindly lent by Śrīyukta Chintāmaṇi Śastrya, Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University, Cuttack.



*First Plate ; First Side*1<sup>i</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>1</sup> Svasti [ | \* ] Jāṭadharaḥ khaṇḍa-śaśāṅka-śākharah kapāla-mālā[lah] sita-bhaṣma-  
dhūsarah [ | \* ]  
2 sphuran-mahāpannaga-va(ba)ddha-kamkara(pa)ḥ sadā śivam-vō(vam vō) vidadhātu  
Śākharaḥ [ | 1 \* ]<sup>2</sup> Dvirada-vara-  
3 turaga-paḍāti-paḍ-śiddhita-va(ba)hala-dhavaḥ-dhūli-vitānīkṛitaḥ(ta)-nabhaḥ-talāt  
4 jāyalyamāna-vivāha-ruchira-praharaḥ-āvaraṇāt dēv-śyāna-va-  
5 na-śhaṇḍa-maṇḍap-ōpaśōbhītāt<sup>3</sup> hrishṭa-tuṣṭa-pramudita-jana-kōlāhalāt  
6 kali-kalaha-ḍimva(mba)-ḍanuma(ha)ta-taṣkara-durhrikha-rōg-āpagatāt prasa-vaḥ<sup>4</sup>

*First Plate ; Second Side*2<sup>i</sup>

- 7 jala-gambhīra-kandar-ān[ta]ra-vini[h \* ]erita-vichittira-pushpa-phala-pādap-ōpētāt  
8 śrīmad-Vārāḍḍā-vāṣita-vijaya-akandhāvārāt kula-rūpa-śrīta-guṇa-vi-  
9 stara-prabhāvaḥ sva-bhuja-va(ba)ḥ-parākrām-ākṛānta-sakal-ārāti-pakṣa-vikṣōbhī-  
10 t-āpratihata-prabhāva-pramrah Drumarāja-kula-sambhūtaḥ nava-navati-pu.<sup>5</sup>  
11 ruṣ-āntara-prachūṛā<sup>6</sup>-rājya-santatīḥ pradāna-śīra-<sup>7</sup>anūka.<sup>8</sup> kṛta-sahasra-gō-vadali.<sup>9</sup>  
12 dhana-pradāyī anūka-tāmra-paṭṭak-kūṭita-dvija-kara-samarpita-bhuvana-talaḥ pa<sup>10</sup>

*Second Plate ; First Side*3<sup>ii</sup>

- 13 para-lōka-saṁkrāṁita-dhana-[ni]bhayaḥ śākṣhā[d \* ]-dharma iva śākhārya iva śiṣya<sup>11</sup>  
14 kṛta-yuga iva vinaya iva pit-śva cha anukampamāna[h \* ] prajānām-upakāra-pa-  
15 vṛittah pārṣṇ-śendu-vat-saumya[h \* ] tōjaśvī śarad-arka-vat śigara iva gambhīra[h \* ] sthira-  
dharmā  
16 sumāru-vat Raghu-Naghu(hu)ṣha-Māndhātā(tri)-kalpaḥ parama-vra(bra)hmanya-parama-  
17 māhāvarō mātā-pitri-pād-ānandhyātah prakṛt-ābhidhānaḥ śrī-Nēṭṭabhaṣṭajadōvaḥ  
18 kuśali Kāmvrāṣa-viśahayō śrī-sāmanā-mahāsa(śā)manta-rāja-rājanaka-rājaputir-ānta-  
19 rāga-kumārāmāty-ōparika-tadāyuktaka-mva(va)rttamāna-bhaviṣyaḍ-adhikaraṇā<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This figure indicates the number of the inscribed face and stands in the left margin slightly towards the left below the symbol for *siddham* in line 1.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> [The Chitrali Deori stone inscription of Śaṅkaragana likewise begins with this very verse, though the reading there is slightly faulty. Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 171.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> [See footnote 1 on p. 250, above.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> There is a mark as that indicating stop at the end of the line. This was apparently used as a hyphen.

<sup>6</sup> This number of the inscribed face stands in the left margin slightly towards the left below line 8.

<sup>7</sup> The reading intended seems to be *prachūṛita*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *śīra* = *śīra*.

<sup>9</sup> The reading intended seems to be *śāśa* or *śāśvāśa*.

<sup>10</sup> This superfluous letter has a circular sign below it, which suggests that the engraver deleted it.

<sup>11</sup> This number of the inscribed face stands at the left margin slightly towards the left below line 13.

<sup>12</sup> There is a mark as that indicating stop at the end of the line. The reading intended seems to be *śiṣya* *śa*.

<sup>13</sup> There is a mark as that indicating stop at the end of the line.

i.a.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6

1 2 3 4 5 6

1 2 3 4 5 6

i.b.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

ii.a.

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20





## Second Plate; Second Side

4<sup>1</sup>

- 20 a-anyāthā-cha rāja-pād-ōpajivikān-yath-ārha[m\*] satkritya samā[ñā]payati vīdi-  
 21 tam-astu bhavatām(tām) ōtad-vishaya-samva(mba)dha(ddha)-Chañjūtuṅgan-nāma-  
 grāmaḥ<sup>2</sup> chatuḥ-  
 22 simā-parikṣiptaḥ kar-ādāna-varjitaḥ sarv-ōvā(bā)dha-parihṛitaḥ akarīkṛi-  
 23 tyā ma(a)ṇmābhūh Kauśika-gōttrāya Vājasanāya-charaṇāya Vāsudā-  
 24 vasvāminā 3 Gōlasvāminā 1 Ādityadēva(vāya) 1 Yajñāsavami(svāminā) 1 Chharampasvami-  
 (svāminā) 1  
 25 Śivas(v)āmi[nē\*] 1 apara-Chharampasvāmi[nē\*]<sup>3</sup> 1 Gōpēndrasvāmi[nē\*] 2 Kayārasvāmi[nē\*] 2

## Third Plate; First Side

5<sup>4</sup>

- 26 Kārāyāpasvāmi[nē\*] 1 Bhō(?)yisvāmi[nē\*] 1 Jayasvāmi[nē\*] 1 aparaḥ(ra)-Jayasvā-  
 27 mi[nē\*] 1 Ravichōpasvāmi[nē\*] 1 ōbhyaḥ dvij-ōtāmābhyaḥ nānā-gōttra-charaṇābhyaḥ  
 28 sālila-dhārā-purassarōṇa vidhinā | rājā Kshattridēvi Kaivarttadēvi  
 29 rāja-puttri(ttri) Mēghavallidēvi ābhyaḥ nripati-lavdha(bdha)-prasād-ānu-  
 30 jēbhyaḥ dēvyah<sup>5</sup> parālōka-gamana-pāthāya-sva-<sup>6</sup>svarga-gamana-ōpāna-  
 31 māl-ōdhigatayē pratipālitaḥ [|\*] tad-bhavaḥ(bhū) tāsam-akṣayaāya(ya) purā-ābhi-  
 32 vṛiddhi(ddhayaḥ) tāma-pattaka-darṣanāt yathā-kāla-phala[m\*] svākrity-ōpaḥ(pa)-<sup>7</sup>

## Third Plate; Second Side

[6]<sup>8</sup>

- 33 bh[u]ñjānābhyaḥ nripa-gauravāt dharm-ānurōdhā[cb]-<sup>9</sup> cha chandr-ārka-kṣiti-  
 34 samakālaṇh(laṇ) na kalāchid-vighātaḥ karaṇiya[ḥ] | ā(u)ktam cha dharmō(ma)-āśtrō [|\*] Mā  
 bhū-  
 35 d-a-phala-śānkā vaḥ para-datt-ōti pāṭhivāḥ [|\*] sva-dānāt phalam-ānantyaḥ pa-  
 36 ra-datt-ānpālānā [|2\*] Shashtim-va(śhitiḥ) vajra-saha-<sup>10</sup> sahasrāṇi sva[ṛ]gō mōdati bhū-  
 37 midāḥ [|\*] ākṣhēptā [ch-ā\*]numantā cha tāny-ōva narakō vāst [|3\*] lī kamala-dal-ā-  
 38 mvu(mba)-vinda(nū)-lōlām śriyam-anuchintya mantrāya-jīvitam cha [|\*] sakalam-ōdam-a-  
 [dā\*]hṛitam cha va(m)-  
 39 dhvā(ddhvā) na hi puruṣaḥ para-kīrtayō vilōpyā[ḥ\*] || [4\*] Samvat cha[ḥ](d)-vichātimē  
 rājyē likhita[m]  
 40 Vandya-Dēva(bha)drēṇa<sup>11</sup> [|\*] Utkṛita<sup>12</sup> D-āra-bhōgikāna[|\*]

<sup>1</sup> This number of the inscribed face stands in the left margin slightly towards the left below line 20.

<sup>2</sup> What looks like a half eicarge sign is found after ma.

<sup>3</sup> This name is again written below the line.

<sup>4</sup> This number of the inscribed face stands in the left margin slightly towards the left above line 21.

<sup>5</sup> The reading intended seems to be \*jābhyaḥ dēvibhyaḥ or better ānā nripati-lavdha-prasād-ānujēbhyaḥ rāja-putrībā cha ?.

<sup>6</sup> Pāthya-sea seems to have been used in the sense of 'money required for provisions for a journey'.

<sup>7</sup> There is a mark at the end of the line.

<sup>8</sup> This figure is faintly visible in the left margin near the beginning of line 34.

<sup>9</sup> 'Chāra' was originally engraved.

<sup>10</sup> These two characters are superfluous.

<sup>11</sup> Śā is written below the line. There is a space left between the reference to the writer and that to the engraver.

<sup>12</sup> Read sūlṛṣṇa.



## No. 42—JABALPUR PLATES OF MAHARAJA HASTIN; G. E. 170

(I Plate)

RAJ BALI PARDEY, BAWAN

The two copper plates, bearing a royal charter which is being published here, were found in a village between Rowa and Saina in the Vindhya Pradesh by a worker in R. M. S. and were handed over to Muni Kantisagar Ji, a distinguished Jain scholar who mostly resides at Jabalpur and is interested in archaeology. Their present whereabouts are not known. He took photographs of the plates and sent one set of them to Dr. A. S. Altekar,<sup>1</sup> who kindly forwarded it to me for editing and publishing the charter in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The copper plates, as already pointed out, are two in number and are inscribed on one side only. They measure 8" in length and 4½" in breadth. They weigh 1½ seers each. The edges are thicker than the main sheets on which the charter is inscribed. This device was made in order to protect the letters from the rubbing of plates. But this circumstance could not prevent at least some letters from being damaged, specially on the second plate. There is a hole in the middle of the upper side of both the plates, which obviously suggests that the plates were fastened together by a ring which passed through the hole and the ends of which were joined together by a seal bearing the emblem of the grantor. The ring and the seal have, however, not been recovered. But one can see at the bottom of the second plate that there is an imprint of an oval seal bearing the legend *Śrīmahārājastinaj*. No other published charter of Hastin bears a seal imprinted at this place. The present seal like the other seals of this ruler is oval in shape but its legend is rather short. On other seals the legend reads, *Śrīmahārājastinaj*.

The language of the charter is Sanskrit. There are some mistakes due to the scribe, e.g., *kul-ōpannina* for *kul-ōpannina* (line 3), *kāl-śatarishu* for *kāl-śatarishu* (line 17), and *anuvāda* for *anuvāda* (line 22).<sup>2</sup> The inscription is written in prose except the verses at the end quoted from the *Mahābhārata* (lines 19-22).

The characters belong to the eastern variety of the Gupta script and they differ from the nailheaded letters found in the Mahaganwan plates of Hastin.<sup>3</sup> There are only a few orthographical peculiarities to be noted. *Phālguna* is spelt, as in many other early inscriptions, with *ga* (line 2). The *anuvāda* in *Pañchamya* is retained and not converted into *m*, though it is followed by a vowel *a* (line 3). The *anuvāda* in *arjuna* is converted into *n* before *d* (line 3). *N* is used instead of *anuvāda* in the word *vanis* (line 6). A consonant following *r* is doubled as in *pūrnayān* (line 3).

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village with all its assets and its boundaries properly demarcated, to a number of Brāhmana grantees by Mahārāja Hastin in the year seventy increased by hundred (170) on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Phālguna.

After the syllable *am*, the charter opens with a salutation to Mahādeva, indicating the Śaivite faith of the Parivrajaka family of kings. The year seventy increased by hundred is referred to the Gupta Era as clearly suggested by the expression *Gupta-epi-pañcābhaktau*. The year fell within the Mahājyēṣṭha *anuvāda* of the twelve year cycle of Jupiter, which lasted from G. E. 166 to

<sup>1</sup> [The Muni sent one set of the photographs also to me in July 1940. Subsequently, he published a description of it in the Hindi monthly *Jāyōdava*, Kān., for November 1951, pp. 357-365, along with a tentative transcript of the inscription and a note by me.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [See below p. 268, n. 1.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> *Plat. C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 108 ff.



G. E. 178. The other known dates of Hastin range from the G. E. 156 to the G. E. 198.<sup>1</sup> The present inscription supplies only an intermediary date (the year 170 G. E.) during the rule of Hastin.

The genealogy<sup>2</sup> of the Parivrajaka kings as given in this inscription can be constructed as follows :

- (1) *Mahārāja Dēvāditya* (c. G.E. 96-116).
- (2) *Mahārāja Prabhāñjana* (c. G.E. 116-136).
- (3) *Mahārāja Dāmōdara* (c. G.E. 136-156).
- (4) *Mahārāja Hastin* (G.E. 156-198).

The first known date of Hastin is G.E. 156. He ruled for an unusually long time, and, therefore, the same number of reign years cannot be assigned to his predecessors. We may, however, tentatively assign to them twenty years each. Thus for *Mahārāja Dāmōdara* we get c. G.E. 136-156, for *Mahārāja Prabhāñjana* c. G.E. 116-136 and for *Mahārāja Dēvāditya* c. G.E. 96-116. In this way, the foundation of the dynasty can be traced back to c. G.E. 96-115 A.C., that is, the beginning of the reign of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I, who ascended the throne in about 413 A.C. The fourth king of the Parivrajaka dynasty started his reign in c. 475 A.C., when the Gupta empire was suffering from internal chaos and the threat of a foreign invasion, and he continued to rule at least up to c. 517 A.C. He saw the eclipse of the Gupta empire in Madhya Bharat by the Hūnas in c. 500 A.C. and its liberation by Bhānugupta Bālāditya in 510 A.C.<sup>3</sup> As indicated by the political titles of the Parivrajaka kings, *Mahārāja*, it is evident that they were feudatory chiefs owing allegiance to the Gupta emperors. Except Hastin no other member of the dynasty is credited in the inscription with any military achievements. Hastin is hailed as 'the victor in hundreds of battles' (*śaīka-samara-śata-vijayī*) (line 6). Perhaps he took an active part on the side of the Gupta emperor in the war of liberation against the Hūnas.

The list of the Brāhmana grantees is a long one and consists of the following persons : Kōdravāsarma, Nāgasarma, Mātṛihatta, Guṇagābhadravāmin, Dhanadatta, Kapilavāmin, Agnīśarma, Viśvudōva, Viśākhadōva, Gandasvāmin, Paritōshasarma, Kṛishṇasvāmin, Dēvasarma, [Rō]hasarma, Dēvasarma, Dēvādityadattasarma, Manōratha, Agnidatta, Rodradatta, Viśākhadatta, Viśvāsavāmin, Viśvudōva (III), Svātigaṇḍa and three more whose names are not legible in the inscription. The name of the village granted is also not legible. Its assets were as given below : *ghōṣha* (cattle-pound), *udyaṇa* (garden), *madhūka* (mahua trees), *paṭi* (hamlets), *cittikā* (roads). The following taxes accrued to it : *udraya* (land-tax) and *aparikara* (additional taxes); it was immune from police and military interference (*a-chāṭa-bhāṭa-pratōḍya*). The boundaries of the village are fully demarcated. The village was given away according to the rules and rites of an *agrahāra* by *Mahārāja Hastin* for the attainment of religious merits.

The charter was drafted by Sūryyadatta, who was the minister in charge of peace and war (foreign minister). Sūryyadatta was a son of *Bhōjika* (provincial governor) Ravidatta, a grandson of *Bhōjika* (provincial governor) Naradatta and a great-grandson of a *Amātya* Vakra. Sūryyadatta was the writer also of some other grants of *Mahārāja Hastin*. He drafted the Khoh inscription of Hastin, dated G.E. 156, but then he was not yet a minister in charge of peace and war. In the G.E. 163 he drafted another Khoh inscription of Hastin. In G.E. 163 he was already promoted to the post of a *Mahāsamādhisagrakīṭa* (foreign minister). It appears that in the G.E. 191 either Sūryyadatta was dead or he was not in charge of drafting the charters, as the Majhagawan charter of Hastin was drafted by his son Vibhudatta, who was yet a *Samādhisagrakīṭa*. The *Dātaka* or the representative of the king at the time of drafting the charter was Nāgasinha.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, C. I. I., Vol. III; above, Vol. XXI, pp. 124 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It is already known from other inscriptions of Hastin.

<sup>3</sup> Fleet, C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 22 ff.



## TEXT

## First Plate

- 1 ॐ नमो महादेवाय । स्वस्ति सप्तत्युतरेब्दशतैक(के) गुप्तनृप-
- 2 राज्यमुवतो महाज्येष्ठसाम्ब(संव)त्सरे फाल्गुण(न)मासशुक्लपक्ष-
- पञ्चम्यां
- 3 अस्यान्दिवसपूर्वायां नृपतिपरिवाजककुलोप(त्य)न्नेन महाराजदेवाडघप्रण-
- 4 प्ता(त्रा) महाराजप्रभञ्जननप्ता श्रीमहाराजवामोदरसुतेन गोसहस्रह-
- 5 स्त्यप्रवहिरण्यानैकभूमिप्रदेन गुरुपितृमातृपूजातत्परेणात्यन्तदेवशा-
- 6 द्वाणभक्तेन नैकसमरशतविजयिना स्ववन्शा(वंशा)मोदकरेण श्रीमहाराज-
- 7 हस्तिना स्वपुण्याप्यायनार्थं ब्राह्मणकोद्वशश्मन्-नागश्मन्-मातृदत्त-
- 8 गङ्गाभद्रस्वामि-धनदत्त-कपिलस्वामि-अग्निश्मन्-विष्णुदेव-विशालदेव-
- 9 गन्दस्वामि-वरितोषश्मन्-कृष्णस्वामि-देवश्मन्-[ रो ]हृश्मन्-देवश्मन्-
- 10 देवाडघदत्तश्मन्-मनोरथ-अग्निदत्त . . . ती . . . श्मन्-रुद्रदत्त-विशालदत्त
- 11 . . . भौनविष्णुस्वामिपुनरपि विष्णुदेव-स्वातिगङ्गवोषा(पो)द्यानमधूक-
- 12 गवा भगवक सपत्तिक वो(वी)यिकापत्तिकसमते(समेत)ताय-
- हारोत्सृष्टः सोद-
- 13 ॥ सोपरिकरः अचाटभटप्रावेद्यो चो[रवर्ज] समधूकः . . .

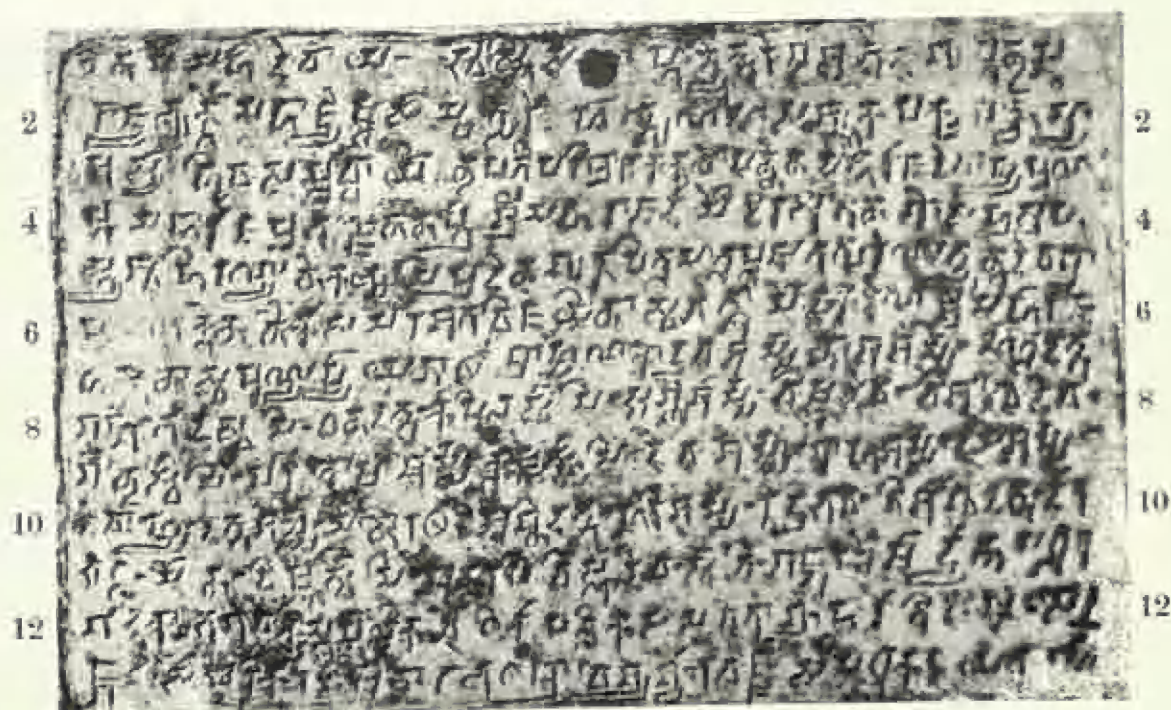
## Second Plate

- 14 पश्चिमदक्षिणेन मधूकपत्तिकासिंहासनकः उत्तरेण शालकी मान
- 15 पूर्व्वेण वृटाबाहिकाः किञ्चाटदेहिको च दक्षिणपूर्व्वेण आश्रगतमधूकग-
- 16 त्तिका संगममित्येवं न केनचिदस्मत्कुलोत्थेन मत्पादपिण्डोपजीविना च
- 17 को(का)लो(ला)न्तरेष्वपि व्याघातो न<sup>१</sup> कार्यः एवमाजान्ते योन्यथा
- कुर्यात् तमहं दे-
- 18 हान्तरगतोपि मह्तावदधानेन निर्हृये<sup>२</sup> । उक्तं च भगवता परमर्षिणा वेद-
- 19 व्यासेन व्यासेन [१<sup>\*</sup>] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नादक्ष युधिष्ठिर [१<sup>\*</sup>] महिम्महिमवां

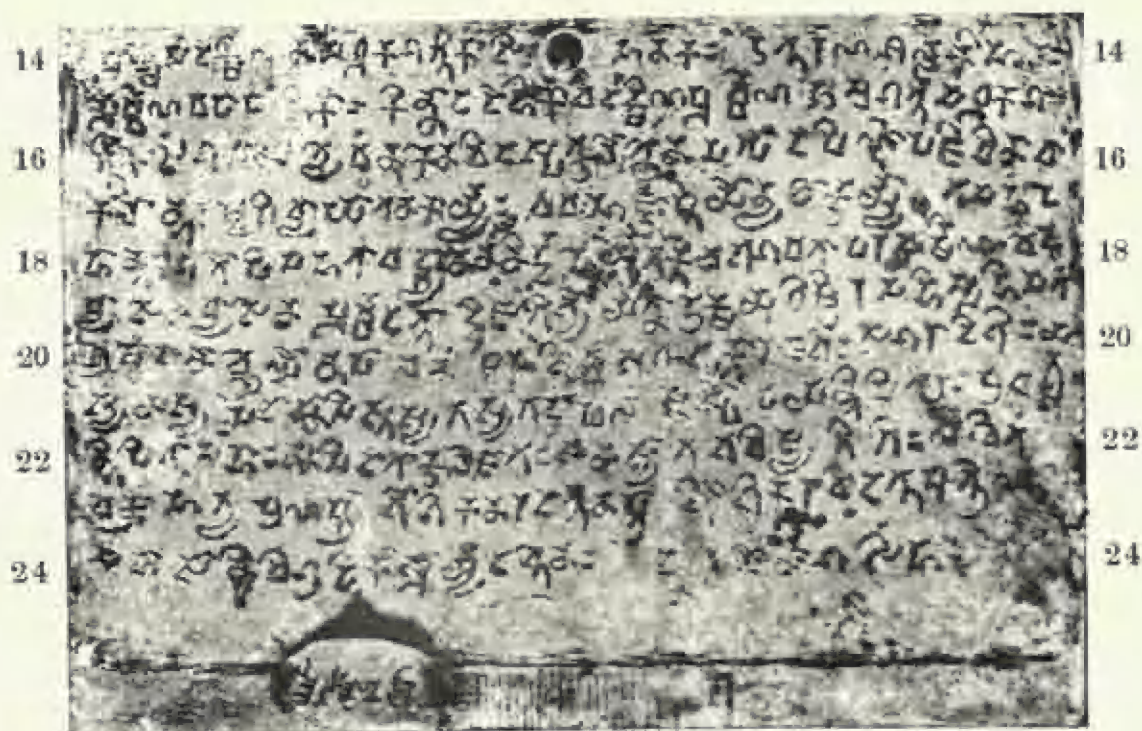
<sup>1</sup> [The reading of lines 12 and 13 seem to be as follows : 12 गत्तिकाभगवद्विष्णु(ण्)वत्तिकागोपिका-  
पत्तिक(का)समवेता(लो) महारोत्तिनृष्टः सोद- 13 ॥ सोपरिकरः अचाटभटप्रावेद्योचो[रवर्ज] समधूकः  
यथावाटा [ : ]—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> This is superfluous.

First Plate



Second Plate



(From Photographs)





- 20 श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोन(नु)पालनं(नम्) ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-  
दिभिः [1<sup>\*</sup>] य-
- 21 स्व यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा कलं (तम्) ॥ पास्कोटयन्ति पितरः  
प्रवर्गे(स्य)-
- 22 न्ति पितामहाः [1<sup>\*</sup>] भूमिदाता कुले जातः यवस्य्रात(सर्वस्नात):<sup>1</sup>  
भविष्यति(ती)ति ॥ लिखित
- 23 वक्त्रमात्यप्रणप्त्रा भोगिकनन्दतन्त्रा भोगिकरविदत्तपुत्रेण
- 24 महासान्धिविग्रहिकसूर्यदत्तेन [1<sup>\*</sup>] दूतको नागसिंहः

Seal<sup>2</sup>

श्रीहस्तिराजः(जस्य)

## No. 43—TWO TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PUNGANUR

(I Plate)

V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, MADRAS

The subjoined inscriptions A<sup>3</sup> and B<sup>4</sup> are found on both sides of two slabs found near the deserted Siva temple at Punganūr in the North Arcot District of the Madras State. Though the temple is now deserted without worship, its construction consisting of the central shrine with a *mahamandapa* is intact containing inscriptions of Rājārāja I<sup>5</sup> and Kulōtunga-Chōla III<sup>6</sup> indicating the patronage it received under the Chōla monarchs. An inscription<sup>7</sup> of Nripatunga-Vikramavarman in the village indicates that the locality, prior to the Chōlas, was under the rule of the Pallavas.

Both the inscriptions, A and B, are in a fair state of preservation, though the slab containing B is broken into two pieces.

The language of these records is Tamil prose which does not call for any special remark. Minor peculiarities in the script and language are noticed in foot-notes under the texts.

These epigraphs are important because (1) they are dated in Saka years without mentioning any overlord of the region; (2) they throw fresh light on the chronology of the rule of Pārthivēndra-varman which has not yet been satisfactorily settled, and (3) one of them, i.e., inscription B, mentions a chief of the Lāja family which wielded considerable influence in the region roughly comprising the present North Arcot District in the 9th and 10th centuries A. C.

<sup>1</sup> [The reading is as *sancārāta*(22).—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> This is upside down.

<sup>3</sup> No. 13 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1940-41.

<sup>4</sup> No. 14 " " " " for 1940-41.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 3, 9 and 11 " " " " for 1940-41.

<sup>6</sup> No. 7 " " " " for 1940-41.

<sup>7</sup> No. 12 " " " " for 1940-41.



Inscription A is dated Śaka year 888-966-67 A. C. and it states that *Iśvarapiśchchan*, a member of (the trading corporation called) *Tijai-yāpirat-taiñkurra-nagar* redeemed the lake at Puñganūr by payment of gold to the *Uraar* of the village.

Inscription B dated in Śaka year 9 (*sic.*) records that *Āṇaiyamman*, son of *Īṇḍarāyan* *Tattāṇan* assigned (the taxes) *kaṇṇalakkāṇam* (marriage fee), *irppadikkāḍi* and *pidū-nāḷi* derived from the village (for the upkeep) of the tank called 'Paramaṇḍalāditta-pērēri' which he had constructed at Puñganūr.

It will be evident at the outset that both A and B refer to the same lake at Puñganūr which was constructed by *Āṇaiyamman* and called 'Paramaṇḍalāditta-pērēri', evidently after his surname. Since A is definitely dated in Śaka 888 and as there is no difference in the palaeography of these records, we may surmise that the Śaka year 9 quoted in B is an engraver's mistake for Śaka 889, in preference to a possible reference to the 9th regnal year<sup>1</sup> of an unspecified king. If this supposition is correct, it may be maintained that in Śaka 888, this lake, which was originally dug by *Āṇaiyamman*, but which in the meanwhile was under encumbrances, was redeemed by *Iśvarapiśchchan* and that in the next year, the founder *Āṇaiyamman* himself retrieved the situation by endowing certain specified taxes for its upkeep.

As no overlord is mentioned in these records it would appear that no one was acknowledged as such in the region about this time. Inscriptions not mentioning any king are found in the North Arcot District, dated in Śaka 810,<sup>2</sup> 830,<sup>3</sup> 832,<sup>4</sup> 85\*,<sup>5</sup> 871,<sup>6</sup> 875,<sup>7</sup> 878,<sup>8</sup> 880,<sup>9</sup> 885,<sup>10</sup> 891,<sup>11</sup> and 893.<sup>12</sup> *i.e.*, from 888 to 970 A. C. This period was one of transition as it saw the end of Pallava rule, the intrusion and the temporary occupation of the region by Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III before the final conquest and consolidation of the Chōḷa power, replacing the Pallava domination. Time was therefore opportune for local chiefs like the *Iḍḍas* to assert their power. In inscription B, *Āṇaiyamman* is introduced without mentioning any overlord, but at Tiramālpuram in the same North Arcot District, this chief figures as a subordinate in the 12th and 13th years of the reign of *Pārthivēndravarmān*.<sup>13</sup>

The period of rule of *Pārthivēndravarmān* is not yet definitely settled, but the highest regnal year so far found for him in inscriptions is 13. On the basis of the similarity of titles such as *Parakōsarivarmān* and *Vira-Pṛōḍḍyaṅ-talai-koṇḍa*, etc., which both this ruler and the Chōḷa king *Āḍitya II* bore, he has been taken to be a contemporary of and even identical with the latter. But the late Mr. H. Krishna Sastriyar doubted if *Āḍitya II* and *Pārthivēndravarmān* could be assigned to the same period, as records of neither of them supply names which give a clue to their contemporaneity.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The words *śakāra-yāṇḍa* would make it clear that the regnal year of any particular king was not intended.

<sup>2</sup> *K. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 203, 211, 212 and 228 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

<sup>4</sup> No. 198 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

<sup>5</sup> No. 187 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

<sup>6</sup> *Abrev.*, Vol. VII, p. 191.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

<sup>8</sup> No. 173 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1923.

<sup>9</sup> No. 469 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1923.

<sup>10</sup> No. 470 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1923.

<sup>11</sup> Nos. 96 and 100 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1941-42.

<sup>12</sup> No. 244 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909.

<sup>13</sup> Nos. 323 and 307 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906. The regnal year 3 (No. 367 of 1908) seems to be a mistake for 13 in the *Annual Report*.

<sup>14</sup> *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1910, pt. II, para 17.

Since Āṇaiyamman figures in B of Śaka year [88]9 (967 A.C.) which does not mention the ruling king and also in records of the 12th and 13th regnal years of Pārthivēndravarmān, we have to take these regnal years as falling either before or after 967 A.C., and very probably after, because as stated above, there are inscriptions in this region dated in Śaka 875, 878, 880 and 885. Further, Vira-Pāṇḍya whose head is claimed to have been taken by Pārthivēndravarmān and Āḍitya II, ruled from 946-47 A.C.<sup>1</sup> to 967, A.C. corresponding to his latest known regnal year 15+5th year.<sup>2</sup> Vira-Pāṇḍya, therefore, must have been alive till 966-67 A.C. I have elsewhere<sup>3</sup> shown that the 2nd regnal year of Āḍitya II with whom Pārthivēndravarmān has been sought to be identified must be placed after 959 A.C. from an examination of two records in one<sup>4</sup> of which *Iraṅḡḷakkōṇ* alias *Pugaḷvipparagaṇḍan* figures in the Kali year 4060, i.e., 959 A.C. without mentioning any overlord, and in the other,<sup>5</sup> dated in the 2nd regnal year of Parakāsarivarmān 'who took the head of Vira-Pāṇḍya,' i.e., Āḍitya II. It will thus be seen that the accession date 956 A.C. given to Āḍitya II in *The Colas*<sup>6</sup> has to be modified and that the theory of the contemporaneity of Pārthivēndravarmān with Āḍitya II, which was doubted, gains in strength.

The family to which Āṇaiyamman mentioned above belonged is called Ilāḷa<sup>7</sup> and Virūṭa in inscriptions. Members of this family describe themselves as of the Solar race and claim descent from Sagara Virūṭa. In the 9th and 10th centuries A.C. we find this family wielding power in the region roughly comprising the present North Arcot District, having marriage alliances with the local chiefs of Paṅḡla-nāḍu, the Bāṇas or Vāpakōvaraiyars and the Chōḷa sovereigns. I have made an attempt to trace the history of this family in a paper entitled 'the Lāḷa Chiefs of the Tamil Country' published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*,<sup>8</sup> Seventh Session, Madras.

The genealogy of Āṇaiyamman is given as follows in an inscription from Tirumālparam,<sup>9</sup> North Arcot District.

Gugaratnasindhu of the Solar race (and) of the family of Sagara Virūṭa.

↓  
Aṇigōpa

↓  
Kampadigul

↓  
Taṭṭājar

↓  
Āṇaiyamman Paramaṇḍalādittan Virūṭarājan

Āṇaiyamman was a feudatory of Pārthivēndravarmān. He is said to have built of stone the central shrine of the Śiva temple at Śrīmālper and the enclosing *maṇḍapa*,<sup>10</sup> as also another *maṇḍapa* in the Viṣṇu temple of the village.<sup>11</sup> Further, he made a gift of land for providing water

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 37-8

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* my paper on 'the Lāḷas of the Tamil Country' published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Seventh Session, p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> No. 249 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. J.*, Vol. III, p. 375-6.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. I, p. 180.

<sup>7</sup> This has no connection with the country Lāḷa through which Mahāvīra is supposed to have travelled (*J.A.S.B.* New Series, Vol. IV (1908), pp. 285-86 and *J.A.H.R.S.* Vol. II, p. 91) or Rāḷha, i.e., West Bengal.

<sup>8</sup> Pp. 302 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1907*, para. 65.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> No. 323 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.



during summer and firewood during winter in the *manḍapa* at Gōvindaṭṭi,<sup>1</sup> besides making provision for feeding 13 Brāhmanas daily. The three taxes specified in B were evidently his levy, as the chief of the region, the proceeds of which he made over for the upkeep of the tank constructed by him and called after his surname Paramaṇḍalāḍittan.<sup>2</sup>

As stated in inscription A, Īṣvaraṇichchan belonged to *Tilai* or *Tilai-gīyirai-taiṇṇāru-nayar*, a trading corporation of South India whose activities extended even beyond the borders of India. An inscription in Tamil dated in Śaka 1010-1088 A.C. at Lobos Toewa, Baros, Sumatra,<sup>3</sup> mentions this body which is also known as *Nāṇḍāḍi*.<sup>4</sup> *Paḍinay-cūṇaguttār* or *Paḍinay-ūṇam*.<sup>5</sup> *Tilai-gīyirai-taiṇṇāru-nayar*. In an inscription<sup>6</sup> from Virūṇchipuram, North Arcot District, members of this body are mentioned as "merchants of the 18 countries trading in the four directions." The present inscription is one of the few early records mentioning this body.

From its appellation, this organisation may be taken as one containing 1,500<sup>7</sup> or 500 members, but an inscription from Kalāpakkam<sup>8</sup> (North Arcot District) favours the latter interpretation. This inscription records an endowment of land by the *Nāṇḍāḍi* for feeding people during the annual festival of the local temple in the *manḍapas* called *Nāṇḍāṇay-āḷai* and *aiṇṇāru-nay-āṇḍalam*. Generally in lithic records, this organisation is introduced with an elaborate string of *śīrṣas* and its members enjoyed a considerable measure of autonomy, owing no exclusive political allegiance to any king in particular.

Of the taxes specified in B, the meaning of *Paḍi-nāḷi*<sup>9</sup> is not clear. It also occurs in the form *Paḍi-nāḷi*<sup>10</sup> and *Paḍi*.<sup>11</sup> *Paḍi* means a door and the term may be interpreted to mean a levy of 1 *nāḷi* on each house. *Urpaḍen-ḷāḍi*<sup>12</sup> may be taken as a levy of 10 *ḷāḍi* of grain due to *Ur*, i.e., assembly or village. *Kaṇṇalakkūṇam* is a fee of one *kūṇam* (of gold) received on every marriage occasion.<sup>13</sup>

The territorial division, Paḍavūr-kōṭṭam, comprised portions of the modern *taluk*s of Arkonam, Walajapet, Vellore and Gudiyattam of the North Arcot District.

#### A. TEXT

##### Front Side

- 1 Śāktar<sup>14</sup>ai yāṇḍu \*88-
- 2 8-ṭṭāvadu Paḍavūr-kō-
- 3 ṭṭattu Puṇḍanār]

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 267 and 323 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 295; *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras*, 1892, para. 11.

<sup>4</sup> No. 82 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 192 and 402 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939-40. People of the 18 *seemai* and *Nāṇḍāḍi* are mentioned in No. 387 of 1906.

<sup>6</sup> No. 193 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939-40.

<sup>7</sup> A body called *Ayarthēṇṇāru* is noticed in a record of Māraṇḍāḷayan from Tirupattūr in the Ramnad District (Nos. 124 and 128 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906).

<sup>8</sup> No. 291 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1939.

<sup>9</sup> It is also mentioned in the Larger Leiden Grant (above, Vol. XXII, p. 234).

<sup>10</sup> Tanjānṇṭam Plates, *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 321, text 4. 32.

<sup>11</sup> Vallarṇḍāḷayan plates, *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, 300, text 1. 32.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Ur-kaṇḍāḷai* and *Ur-kaṇḍāḷu* in No. 113 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1896 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 970, text-line 43).

<sup>13</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, p. 263.

<sup>14</sup> The letter *ś* is engraved in Grantha.

<sup>15</sup> The letter *r* is engraved with a circle at the top.

<sup>16</sup> The sign for hundred after the first figure 8 is peculiar.

# TWO TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS FROM PUNGANUR

A

Front Side

2

4

6

8

10

12



2

4

6

8

10

12

Back Side

14

16

18

20



14

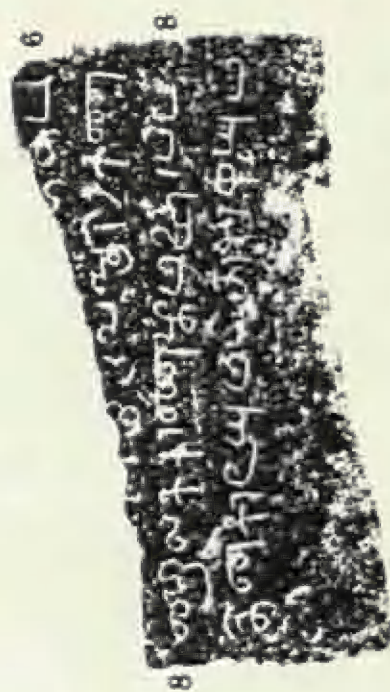
16

18

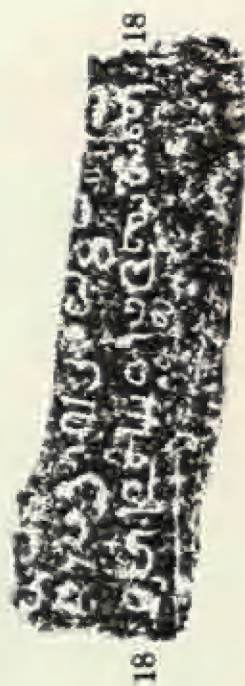
20



Front Side



Back Side



- 4 ũrkku Pon ku[du]tta
- 5 Ū[ra\*]var ũ[ri] viđuviechēn
- 6 Tigai-yāi(yi)ra [t\*]taiññārr'u-
- 7 nagara I'sva(va)ra'pichchap
- 8 . . ũdu anreñbān
- 9 Gaḡai-idaī Kumari-idaī
- 10 ēydañ pāva[ā\*] ko[vā [n\*] i-
- 11 tta[n\*]mam ira\*[kahi]ppāñ sri(āri)pā-<sup>4</sup>
- 12 dam en talai mēlla[le]na [l\*]

*Back Side*

- 13 ittañma[m\*] [idaī]
- 14 vilāṅgi anrā[-
- 15 kōvukku nīadām k[ā\*]l
- 16 pon dañḡipada o-
- 17 [ti] kuḡuttōm [Pa] n-
- 18 [ga]ḡār Ūrōm (Ūrōm) ira-
- 19 [kahi]pār āpādam en talai
- 20 [mē]-aṅa [l\*]

## B. TEXT

*Front Side*

- 1 [Sva\*]ati āri [ū] Śakara yā-
- 2 [o]ḡu 9 t-āradu nā-
- 3 ḡarāyaṅ Taṭṭāḡaṅ mā-
- 4 gaṅ Āṇāiyamīnaṅ-<sup>5</sup>
- 5 n Punganūr nāṅ ka-
- 6 ḡa Paramaṅ[ḡalā[dittap']-
- 7 pērārikku ivvūr ku-
- 8 ḡalakkāṇamun Ūrpa-
- 9 dīṅkāḡiyam pāḡkāḡiyam

*Back Side*

- 10 ivvūr-Paramaṅ[ḡalā]-
- 11 [dittap] pērārikku nī.<sup>6</sup>
- 12 pṇamāḡaṅch-cha [ydeṅ nā]-
- 13 ḡarāyaṅ Āṇāiyamīna-
- 14 pon [l\*] id-alippār [Gaḡ]-

<sup>1</sup> The letter ā is written abnormally.<sup>2</sup> Read *ḡaṅu*.<sup>3</sup> The letter r is engraved in Grantha.<sup>4</sup> Two letters are crased here. Probably the letters sri were originally engraved.<sup>5</sup> The letters va and vīpa are in Grantha.<sup>6</sup> The slab is broken here.<sup>7</sup> The slab is so split into two that the beginnings of lines 6 and 7 are on the top piece, while the ends of these lines are on the lower piece.<sup>8</sup> This portion may be filled up with the letters pṇa da.



- 15 gai-yidaik-Kumari-yiḍai  
 16 [a] yḍār ōyda pāvat-  
 17 tir paḍuvār i-dhanman<sup>1</sup> rakahi-<sup>2</sup>  
 18 pāt-aḍi yen nudi māḷa [i<sup>2</sup>]

## TRANSLATION

## A

(In the) Śaka year 888, Iśvarapichchan (a member of the trading corporation) Tigai-yāyira-  
 [i<sup>2</sup>]taiñḍārru-nagar, released the tank of the *Urucor* (by) giving gold to the assembly (*Ur*) of  
 Punganūr in Paḍuvār-kōṭṭam. He who says 'nay' to this shall incur the sins committed (by the  
 sinners) between the Gaṅgai and Kumari. The sacred feet of him who protects this charity shall be  
 on my head.

If this charity be violated, the *Urucor* of Punganūr agree to be liable for a penalty of a quarter  
 poṣ daily to the reigning king. The sacred feet of those (who) protect (this charity) shall be on my  
 head.

## B

(In the) Śaka year 9, I, Apaiyamman, son of Ilādarāyan Tattālan, made a gift of (the  
 taxes) Kaṇḍālak-kāpam, Uṇṇadān-kāḍi (and) Piḍā-nāḷi (derived from) this village (i.e., Punganūr)  
 to Paramaṇḍalādittap-pēreri (which) I constructed at Punganūr.

(I), Ilādarāyan Apaiyamman (assigned this) gift to Paramaṇḍalādittap-pēreri (of this)  
 village. Those (who) destroy this (charity) shall incur the sins committed by the sinners between  
 the Gaṅgai and Kumari. The feet of (those who) protect this charity shall be on my head.

## No. 44—TWO GRANTS OF BHANJA KINGS OF VANJULVAKA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND, AND P. ACHARYA, BHUBANESWAR

More than five years ago, two sets of copper-plate inscriptions were secured by Dr. Rādhā  
 Charaṇa Paṇḍā, a medical practitioner of Bāṇḍāon on the Bengal-Nāgpur Railway in the Puri  
 District of Orissa. Ultimately the inscriptions found their way to the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneswar,  
 where they are now lying. On examination it was found that both the charters belong to the  
 Bhāṇja rulers of Vanjūlvaka, a hitherto unidentified city in the present Ganjam region. One of  
 the grants was issued by Śilābhāṇja II who was so long known only from the records of his descen-  
 dants, while the other was issued by king Nēṭṭabhāṇja Tribhuvanakalāsa who is as yet unknown  
 from any other sources. No information was supplied to us in regard to the findspot of the records  
 and the story of their discovery.

## A.—Plates of Śilābhāṇja Tribhuvanakalāsa

The inscription is written on a set of three copper plates. The outer sides of the first and  
 third plates are blank. The plates measure each 6.6 inches by 2.9 inches. The central plate has

<sup>1</sup> The letters *dhanima* are engraved in Grantha.<sup>2</sup> Engraved in Grantha.

slightly raised rim and is a little thicker than the other two. The plates are not in a very satisfactory state of preservation. Small bits have broken away from the first and third plates together with a few letters at the end of the last line on Plate I and at the beginning of the last line on Plate III. The plates are strung together on a copper ring about 2.11 inches in diameter and .25 inch in thickness. The hole in the plates for the ring to pass through was apparently made after the plates had been engraved, as a few letters are found partially cut off by it. A circular brass seal (1.25 inches in diameter) is soldered on the joint of the ring. The upper part of the surface of the seal is occupied by the figure of a lion depicted as moving towards the left but having its face turned to the front. Its tail is curled above its back. As is well known, this was the emblem of the Bhaṇjas of Khinjalimandala ruling first from Dhritipura and then from Vaṇjulvaka. Below the lion emblem is the legend in two lines: (1) *Śrī-Śi[labha]*, (2) *Ājādēva*. The subscript of *ya* has been so lengthened towards the left that the second line of the legend looks like having two straight lines below it. The three plates together weigh 50 *tolas*, while the weight of the ring with the seal is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  *tolas*.

The characters employed in the inscription belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet of about the tenth century A. C. and closely resemble those found in the records of the Bhaṇjas of Khinjalimandala, issued from Dhritipura and Vaṇjulvaka, and other Orissan inscriptions of about the same period. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, although there are many errors of both language and orthography. In these respects, also, the record under discussion resembles many other inscriptions of about the same age found in Orissa. The palaeography and orthography of our inscription do not thus call for any special mention.

The charter is dated in the first regnal year of king Śilābhāṇjadēva who issued it. As will be shown below, this king flourished about the end of the tenth century A. C. The grant has therefore to be assigned to a date in the above period.

The charter begins as usual with the symbol for *aiddham* and the word *evanti*, which are followed by the well-known verses, *Jayati kusumadhīpa*, etc., and *Śah-āhē-iva*, etc., found in all the Bhaṇja records issued from the city of Vaṇjulvaka. A short prose passage following the second verse actually says that the grant under discussion was issued from the victorious Vaṇjulvaka. Then follows another well-known verse, *Asi jaya-śrī-nīlayaṭṭ*, etc., which is found, with slight variations, in most of the Vaṇjulvaka records to introduce the reigning Bhaṇja king under one of his secondary names. The secondary or coronation name of the donor of the grant, disclosed by the verse under notice, is Tribhuvanakalāśa which was so long unknown from the epigraphic records of the family. Lines 8-10 mention the king, who was in good health, as the *Parasumāhēvara* (devout worshipper of Mahāvara or Śiva) Śilābhāṇjadēva, described as the son of Disābhāṇjadēva and grandson of Raṇabhāṇjadēva who was an ornament of the Bhaṇja family. Lines 10-14 say how the king addressed the *rājan*, *rājanaka*, *rājaputra*, *vishayapati*, *dāndapāśika* and other officers that were or might in future be put in charge of administration in the Salvaja *vishaya* as well as the village-folk of the district headed by the Brāhmapas and Karapas. The mention of the Karapas together with the Brāhmapas at the head of the local population is very interesting as it speaks not only of their crystallization into a caste group, but also of their social position.<sup>1</sup> After declaring, in the style of the records of the Bhaṇjas of this particular branch, the all-round prosperity of the king to the addressees, the charter goes on to inform them (lines 14-23) that the village of Dāuladga in the above *vishaya*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. X, pp. 280-84. The Karapas appear to have been originally an East Indian tribe. They gradually merged themselves in the community of scribe-accountants possibly for their predilection for the profession in question.



(district) was granted as a permanent revenue-free holding in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Lumvā-dēva who belonged to the Kaundinya-gōtra and the Kaundinya, Vāsishṭha and Maitrāvaruṇa pravara as well as to the Vājasaneyā śāraṇa and the Kāpva śākhā (of the Yajurveda). The donee was the son of the *agnihōtrīn* Agudēva and grandson of the *agnihōtrīn* Gōlavāmin. The grant was made by the king for the increase of merit to his parents and himself. It was free from all obstacles and was endowed with the privilege indicated by *a-chōṣa-bhaṣa-pratīśa*.

The grant proper is followed in lines 22-25 by a verse containing the donor's request to his own descendants and others, who might be in charge of the district in future, for the protection of his donation. Then follow some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (lines 25-33) introduced by the passage *uktān-cha dharmā-līlāṣi*. The last three lines of the document (lines 33-35) give the names of the persons responsible for the preparation of the document and the execution of the grant. It is said that the order (for the issue of the charter) emanated from the king himself. The *dātaka* or executor of the grant was Bhajja Stambhadēva who is already known from the records of Nēttabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa I and Vidyādharaḥhaṇja Amōghakalāśa belonging to the same branch of the Bhaṇja family.<sup>1</sup> The writer of the document was the *Sandhivigrahin* (minister for war and peace) Māṇju, while the engraver of the plates was the *akṣhatīlaka* (the same as Telugu *agaṣṭi* meaning 'a goldsmith') Durgadēva. The same goldsmith is already known to have engraved some other charters<sup>2</sup> of the family issued by Nēttabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa I, Vidyādharaḥhaṇja Amōghakalāśa and Nēttabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa II. The document was *lācchhita*, i.e., registered with a seal, by Dēvarāja. The date of the record, viz. year 1 of the issuer's reign, comes at the end.

Śilābhaṇja Tribhuvanakalāśa, who issued the present charter belonged to the royal family known as the Bhaṇjas of Khinjalimaṇḍala owing to the claim of the earlier members of the family to have been rulers of Khinjalimaṇḍala or of Ubhaya-Khinjalimaṇḍala (i.e., both of the two Khinjalimaṇḍalas). As there was another later Bhaṇja line ruling from Kōlāśa and claiming to have ruled over Khinjali, they are more particularly called the earlier Bhaṇjas of Khinjalimaṇḍala. The charters of Bāpaka Śatrubhaṇja Gandhaṭa (son of Śilābhaṇja I Āṅgaddi, the progenitor of the line) and of his son Rāṇaka or Mahārāja Raṇabhaṇja were issued from Dhritipura. Most of these records have come from the old Sonpur, Baudh and Daspalla States of Orissa.<sup>3</sup> The town of Gandhaṭapāṭi, named after Śatrubhaṇja Gandhaṭa, is the modern Gandharāṭhi in the old Baudh State. The family was Vaishṇava down to the earlier years of the reign of Raṇabhaṇja who became a Śaiva in the later years of his reign. Raṇabhaṇja's descendants, however, are known to have issued their grants from Vaṇḍulvaka and the records have come from the Ganjam area (including the old Nayagarh State).<sup>4</sup> It is clear that after Raṇabhaṇja the Bhaṇjas of Khinjalimaṇḍala were driven from the region of Baudh and its neighbourhood by some undetermined circumstances to the Ganjam District. So long we knew of the following descendants of Raṇabhaṇja to have issued charters from Vaṇḍulvaka in the Ganjam area: (1) *Paramamāhēśvara Rājan* Nēttabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa, son of Raṇabhaṇja; (2) *Paramamāhēśvara Mahārāja* Vidyādharaḥhaṇja Amōghakalāśa son of Śilābhaṇja (II), grandson of Digbhaṇja and great-grandson of Raṇabhaṇja, and (3) *Parama-vaishṇava Mahārāja* Nēttabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa II, son of Vidyādharaḥhaṇja Amōghakalāśa.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bandarkar, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 1497, 1500, 1501.

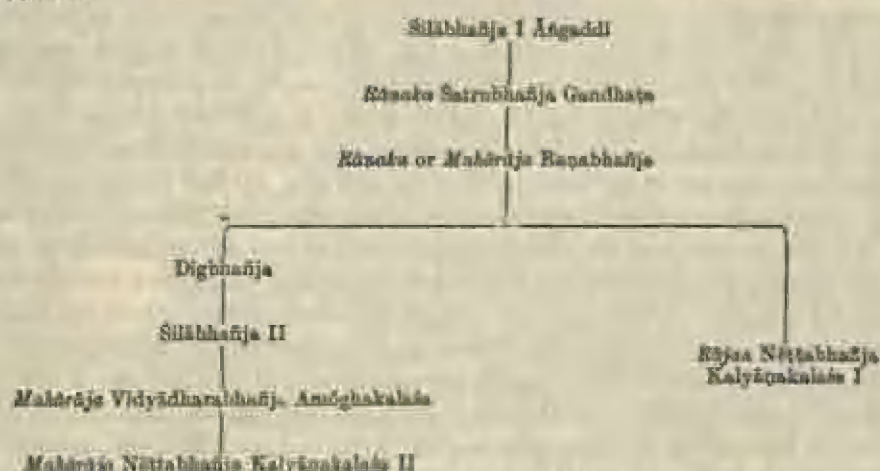
<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 1497, 1498, 1499, 1502. Read *Durgadēva* in place of *Dogadēva* in No. 1502. See also *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 258 ff.; above, Vol. XXIV, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Bandarkar, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1400-96, 2035.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1497-1502; above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 174 ff.; *J.K.H.R.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 258 ff.



Bhandarkar thus rightly drew up the following genealogy of the earlier Bhañjas of Khinjalimaṇḍala<sup>1</sup>:



The inscription under review was issued by Śilābhañja Tribhuvanakalāśa, son of Diśābhañja and grandson of Raṇabhañja. There is no doubt that he is to be identified with Śilābhañja II of the above list. The present charter is thus the only record of the king so far discovered. An interesting fact known from our record is that Raṇabhañja's son, Dighbañja, was also called Diśābhañja which is apparently a variant of the same name. Whether, however, he was an elder or a younger brother of Nṛṣiṅhañja Kalyāṇakalāśa and whether he actually ruled or not are facts that cannot be satisfactorily determined in the present state of our knowledge. The name Diśābhañja endowed with the title *Mahārāja* occurs in an inscription (painted on a rock) recently discovered at Sitabhinji in the old Keonjhar State.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that this Diśābhañja is identical with Dighbañja-Diśābhañja of the Khinjalimaṇḍala branch of the Bhañja family. If this suggestion is to be accepted, we have possibly to assume that Dighbañja-Diśābhañja actually ruled either before or after his brother Nṛṣiṅhañja Kalyāṇakalāśa. The discovery of his inscription in the old Keonjhar State may suggest that he ruled before the family was driven to the Ganjam region, that is to say, before Nṛṣiṅhañja Kalyāṇakalāśa. It may also lend some colour to the suggestion of those scholars who believe that the modern name *Keonjhar* is a corruption of the old *Khinjali*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 379. Another recent attempt to determine the genealogy of this family is that of Krishnamachari (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 17) whose views, however, are absolutely unwarranted.

<sup>2</sup> A photograph of this small record was shown to us by Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator of the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneswar, at Nagpur where we assembled to attend the Indian History Congress in December 1930. The characters of the inscription belong to the Kalinga script which is known from a number of copper-plate grants coming from the Ganjam area and assignable to dates between the eighth and eleventh centuries. See Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, pp. 69-70; cf. Table VII, Column XIX, Table VIII, Columns X-XII; Ojha, *Prākṛta-lipi-mālā*, 1918, pp. 92 ff., Plates LVII-LXIX. The inscription has been recently published with a Plate in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 191 ff. Its ascription to the fourth century A.C. (*Ibid.*, p. 192; cf. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIII, p. 69), on supposed palaeographical grounds, is entirely inadmissible. Other records of the same place, published with the above with inaccurate transcripts and assigned to the sixth century, are also not earlier than the tenth century.

<sup>3</sup> It appears that Khinjali was originally the name of a tract covering parts of the Baudh, Sonpur, Daspalla and Keonjhar regions, where these Bhañjas at first ruled, but that the name was applied to their new kingdom in the Ganjam area after the loss of their territories in Upper Orissa. Whether the Ganjam region formed a part of the dominions of the earlier rulers of the family and was one of the two Khinjalas mentioned in some records cannot be satisfactorily determined in the present state of our knowledge. This is however not altogether impossible in view of the fact that these Bhañjas may have claimed descent from Nṛṣiṅhañja of the Russelkonda plates edited above, pp. 356 ff.



As to the chronology of these rulers, we have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> seen that Raghavabhaṅja ruled about the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century, since he was a contemporary of the father and grandfather of the Kadamba chief Dharmakheṇi who is known from his records dated in the Śaka year 917 (995 A.C.) and the Gaṅga year 520 (1018-18 A.C.). It should also be noticed that the town of Gandhatapāṭi, founded by Śatrubhaṅja Gandhata, was apparently the headquarters of the Gandhatapāṭi *maṇḍala*, in which a village granted by the Sōmavarāṇśī king Mahāsivagupta Yayāti I (circa 970-1000 A.C.)<sup>2</sup> was situated.<sup>3</sup> This fact not only suggests that Śatrubhaṅja Gandhata flourished sometime before the end of the tenth century but also that it was the Sōmavarāṇśī (probably Mahāsivagupta Yayāti I himself) who drove out the Bhaṅjas from Upper Orissa to the Ganjam region. Another inscription of the same Sōmavarāṇśī king records a grant made in favour of an inhabitant of Śilābhaṅjapāṭi in the Oḍra *deśa*<sup>4</sup>, which seems to have been a town built by and named after Śilābhaṅja I Āṅgaddi. These facts are valuable for the chronology of both the Sōmavarāṇśī and the early Bhaṅjas of Khinjalimaṇḍala. Since *Bhaṭṭa* *Stambhadēva* and *Akhaśāhika* *Dargadēva* served no less than three of Raghavabhaṅja's descendants, viz. (1) Nēṭṭabhaṅja Kalyāṇakalāśa I, son of Raghavabhaṅja, (2) Śilābhaṅja II Tribhuvanakalāśa, grandson of Raghavabhaṅja, and (3) Vidyādharaṅja Amoghakalāśa, great-grandson of Raghavabhaṅja, while the goldsmith further served Nēṭṭabhaṅja Kalyāṇakalāśa II, son of Vidyādharaṅja, it seems that all the above rulers had short reigns. At least Digbhaṅja-Diśabhaṅja and his son Śilābhaṅja II Tribhuvanakalāśa, whose reigns are characterised by a paucity of records, appear to have had very short reigns. It is thus possible to assign the reign of Śilābhaṅja II Tribhuvanakalāśa, who issued the charter under discussion, to a period about the close of the tenth century A.C.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, Vañjulvaka, which was the capital of the later members of the royal family in question and apparently lay somewhere in the Ganjam region, has not been satisfactorily identified. We have not succeeded in identifying the village of Deśladda and the district of Śalvaḍa either.

#### TEXT\*

[Metre :—verse 1 *Mālinī*; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 3 *Āryā*; verse 4 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 5-8 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 9 *Puṣhpūṣpā*.]

#### First Plate

- 1 Siddham]† Svasti. [1\*] Jayati-Kuṣṇava(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikahōbha-dakṣhaṇa-ava-kīraṇa-pari-
- 2 vāhō(sh-au)[r]]jitya-jīraṇa-ṇdu-lēkhaṇi(khaṇi) tribhuvana-bhavan-āntar-dyōta-bhāṣat-
- pradīpatā kanaka-n[i].
- 3 kasha-gauram<sup>2</sup> vibhru-nātraṇa Hamaṇa [1\*] Śōk-āhār-ava y[ā] phapāḥ pravila(sa\*)jaty-ud-
- bhāṣvar-ṇdu-
- 4 tvishab]† prā[ī]yāchala-erīṅga-k[ō]ṭṭaya-iva tvaṅganti yē-tyunnatāḥ | nṛpī-ā[ī]tō(ṭō)-
- 5 pa-vigha[ṭṭi]ṭā-iva bhūjā rājanti yē sāmabhavā-tē sarv-āgha-vighātinaḥ
- 6 sura-sarit-tōy-ōrmmayāḥ pā[ntu] vāḥ [2\*] vijaya-Vañjulvakāt [ \*] Aśti-jaya-ārī-

<sup>1</sup> *J. Ind. Stud.*, Calcutta, 1949, pp. 127-29.

<sup>2</sup> *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 96 where the name has been read as *Ganda*.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 333.

<sup>5</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

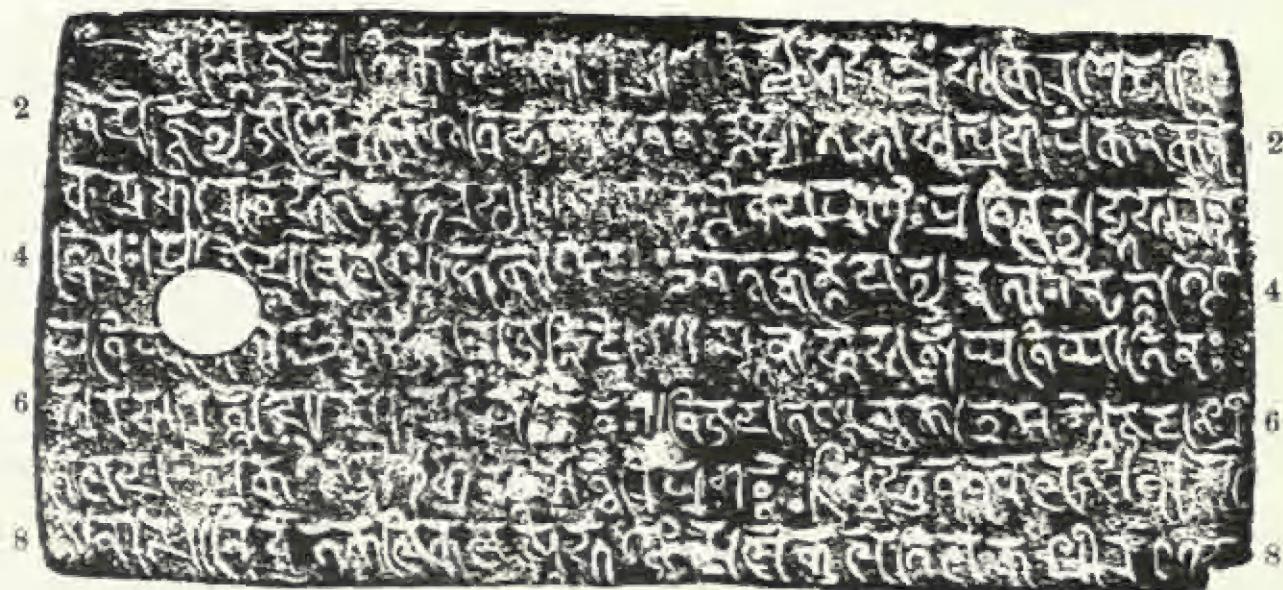
<sup>7</sup> In the *sepa* context, we have *śamam* in other inscriptions.

<sup>8</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

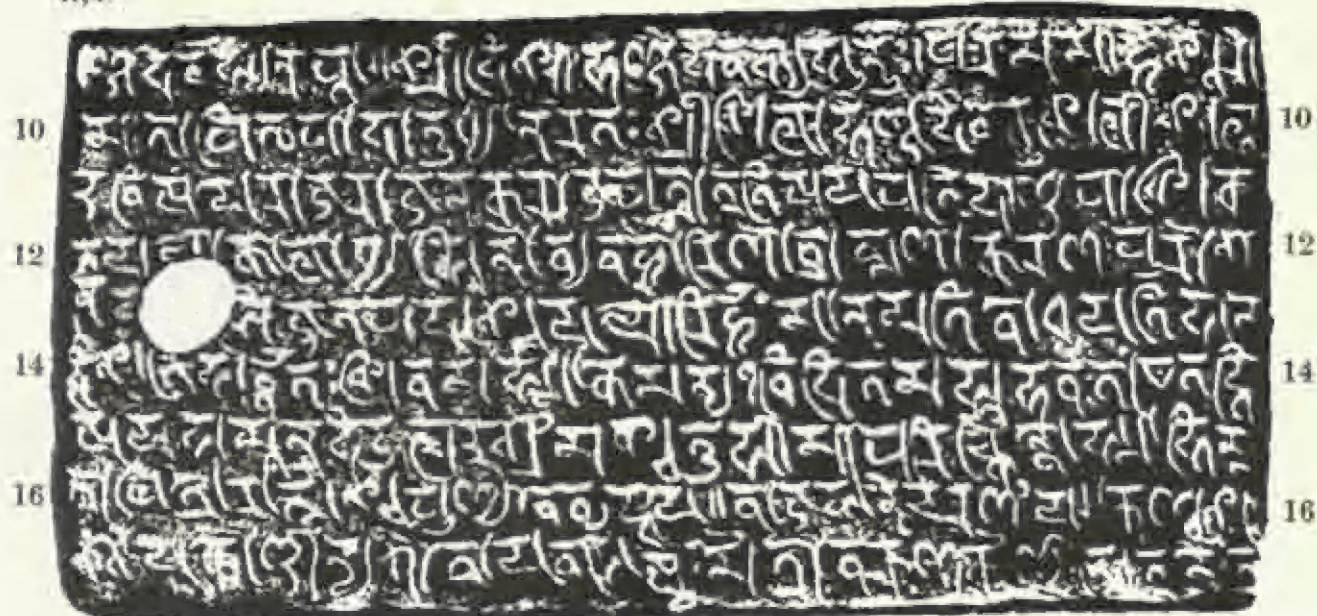


TWO GRANTS OF BHANJA KINGS OF VANJULVAKA  
A—PLATES OF SILABHANJA TRIBHUVANAKALASA

i.



ii, a.





ii, b.

[illegible]

三、

28 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 ३० ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 ३२ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 ३४ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

- 7 nīlayaḥ prakṛta-g[un]pa-gra[sta]-sarvva-ripu-garvvaḥ [ | Stri(Tri)]bhuvana<sup>1</sup>kalasa-nāmī  
8 jānāmā<sup>2</sup> nirvā(rdhū)ta-kali-kalusha[h/3<sup>3</sup>] Bhañj-āmala-kula-tāla-ke-śri-Baṇa(bha)-

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 9 ōjadēvasya naptā [ | <sup>4</sup> śrī-Dīśābhañjadēvasya su(sū)nuḥ | <sup>5</sup> parama-māhōvar[ō]  
10 mātā-pitri-pād-āudhyāna-rataḥ śrī-Śilābhañjadēva[h<sup>6</sup>] kuśali Śalva-  
11 ḍa-vishaya<sup>7</sup> rāja-rājanaka-rājaputrāt(trān) viśayaḥpati-dāṇḍapāśik[ā]-  
12 n ya[thā]-kāl-ādhyāsimō vyavahāriṇō Vrl(Brā)hmaṇ[sa]-Karaṇa-purōgā[n<sup>8</sup>]  
13 n[ī]vāsi[-]janapadāśmō-cha yathāriham<sup>9</sup> mānayati vō(bō)dhayati sa[mā]-  
14 dīśati sarvvaṭaḥ śivam-asamākam-anyaṭ viditam-astu bhavatām(tām) | śtat-vi-  
15 śhaya-samvandha<sup>10</sup>-Dāḍaḍḍagrūmaś-chaṭa[h<sup>11</sup>]-sīmā-pariśekhīmō-amāhhi[r-mmā]-  
16 tā-pitrōr-ātma[n<sup>12</sup>]-ś-cha puṇy-śva(bhi)vtiddhayaḥ [ | Vājasanā[ya<sup>13</sup>]-charaṇāya [ | Ka(Kā)-  
gva-śā-  
17 khāya Kauṇḍi[ḍi]nya-gūtrāya Vasishṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-K[au]<sup>14</sup>ḍi[ḍi]nyat<sup>15</sup> Mā[trā]-

*Second Plate : Second Side*

- 18 Vasishṭhat pravara Maitrāvaruṇat anupravara [ | Gōluva(svā)mi-<sup>16</sup>agnī(gni)-  
19 hōtri [ | aya<sup>17</sup> naptā(pitrō) Agudēva-<sup>18</sup>agnī(gni)hōtrīya(nah) \*n[ī]ta<sup>19</sup> Bhaṭṭa-Lumvādēva<sup>20</sup> sa-  
20 lila-dhātā[-]pu[ra]ḥsarōṇa vidhinā pratipādītō-amāhhiḥ a[ś]-chaud[r]-ā-  
21 rka-tārā yāvat a-chaṭa-bhaṭa-prav[ō]ḍa sarvva-vā(bā)dhō-parihārō-ā-karatvō-  
22 na bhūñjadbhir-dharmma-gauravāt na kēnachid-vyāghātaniyam(yam) | Asmat-kula-  
23 krama[m-u]dāram-udāharadbhir-anyaś-cha dānam-idam-ahīryanumōdan(m)-  
24 yam(yam [ | lakahmyās-tadit-salila-vu(bu)ḍva(dbu)ḍa-chaśchalāyā dānam phala[m] para-  
yasa[h<sup>21</sup>]-  
25 patipālanaś-cha [ | <sup>22</sup>uktaś-cha dharmma-sāstrō[<sup>23</sup>] Vā(Ba)hubhir-vyasudhā datā rājabhi-  
[h<sup>24</sup>]  
26 Sagar-ādibhi[<sup>25</sup>(bhih) | ] [ya]jaya yasya yadā bhū(bhū)miḥ-tasya tasya tadā phala[m]lam [ḍ]

<sup>1</sup> Read *Śrī-Trishasana* for the sake of the metre. (Even this would not help. Better read *Trishasana-kalasa-nāmā*.—Ed.)

<sup>2</sup> Read *vājā*.

<sup>3</sup> The *daśas* are superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> The *daśas* is unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> Read *patā-dhātā*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *amāhhiḥ*.

<sup>7</sup> The *daśas* are superfluous.

<sup>8</sup> The medial *sa* in *śā* is imperfectly formed, as of the three (left, right and top) members of the sign, only the top member has been missed.

<sup>9</sup> Read either *Kauṇḍiṇya Vāsishṭha-Maitrāvaruṇa-pravardya* or *Vāsishṭha-pravardya Maitrāvaruṇa anupravardya*. The occasional use of *t* at the end of the names is apparently owing to the alternate style of citing the *pravaras*, e.g., *Kauṇḍiṇyat Vāsishṭhat Maitrāvaruṇat*.

<sup>10</sup> The rules of *saṁdhi* have not been observed here.

<sup>11</sup> Read *hōtrīya*. The *daśas* are superfluous.

<sup>12</sup> Read *śāśya*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *dāśya*.



## Third Plate

- 27 Mā bhūd-a-phala-sāṅkī-vaḥ para-datt-śī-pārthivāḥ[\*] sva-dānāt-phalam-ā-  
 28 nantyaṁ para-datt-śūpālanaś(nā)[6\*] Sva-dattām para-dattām-vā(ttām vā) yō harēta  
 vaśundharīn(rām | )  
 29 sa vīaḥ(hāyān kṛmīr-[bhū]tvā pitṛibhīḥ saha pachyatā[7\*] Shash[hi(śhṭi)-varaḥa-saha(srā)-  
 30 nī sva(rgē) mōdati bhū(bhū)mīdāḥ | ākshāptā ch-ānnumantā cha sa sva narakam vra-  
 31 jōt[8\*] Iti ka(mala-dal-āmva(mbu)-vi)ndu-lāḥm āriyam-annohintya ma-  
 32 nashya-ja(ji)vitān-cha[\*] sakalam-idam-udāhṛitān-cha vu(bu)dhvā nahi puruṣaish-  
 (shuī) para-  
 33 kirtayō vīḥpyā[6\*][9\*] svayam-ādīśhṭō rājā(jāḥ |) vu(dā)nakō-tra śrī-Bhaṭṭa-Stambhād-  
 34 va[6\*] likhitaṁ-cha sandhivigraha(nā) Māṅju(nā\*) utki(tkī)ṛṇṇāḥ-cha akshatālikhāna  
 Durg(g)a-  
 35 [dāvēna][āṅghritā Dēvarājēna[\*] Samva 1[9\*]

## B.—Plates of Nāṭabhaṅja Tribhuvanakalāṭa

The inscription is written on a set of three copper plates (each measuring 6.85 inches by 4 inches), strung together on a copper ring 2.75 inches in diameter and .3 inch in thickness. The first and third plates have writing only on the inner sides, while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation, although a small bit has broken away from the last plate together with a few letters at the beginning of the last line of the inscription. The circular bronze seal soldered on the joint of the ring is 1.6 inches in diameter. The seal closely resembles that attached to the grant of Śilābhāṅja II Tribhuvanakalāṭa edited above (A) and the upper part of its surface bears the figure of a lion depicted as moving towards the left with its face turned towards the front and its tail curled above its back. Below the lion is the legend in two lines: (1) *Śrī-Nāṭabha*. (2) *Ājadēva*. The weight of the three plates together is 112½ *tolas* and that of the ring with the seal is 34 *tolas*.

The characters of the inscription resemble those employed in the charter A, although they have to be assigned to a slightly later date. On the grounds of palaeography, supported by the internal evidence of the inscription, the charter under discussion may be assigned roughly to a date in the eleventh century A.C. The language of the record is Sanskrit and there are numerous errors of language and orthography, the latter exhibiting considerable influence of the local pronunciation. The charter is dated in the 13th regnal year of its issuer and not in the year of any era.

The style of the record is similar generally to that of the other grants of the Khinjalimāṇḍala branch of the Bhāṅja family and particularly to that of the charter A above. The inscription begins with the symbol for *śiddham* which is followed by the verses, *Jayati kṛṣṇamāḍḍya*, etc., and *Śāśh-āḍḍr-ies*, etc. The word *śanti* is, however, put after the above verses and before the short prose passage speaking of the victorious *Vaṅgulvaka* as the place whence the charter was issued. Next follows the stanza, *Asi*, etc., which differs in form only slightly from the third verse in the record A. But it is interesting to note that the secondary or coronation name of the issuer of the grant introduced in this verse is also Tribhuvanakalāṭa as in the other epigraph. The following passage in prose (lines 9 ff.) says how the *Paramaravishyapa* (devout worshipper of Viṣṇu) *Bāgaḥ Nāṭa-bhaṅjadēva* of the Bhāṅja family, who was the son of Rāyahhaṅjadēva and grandson of Prithvi-

\* The figure is engraved below the akṣara *śa* as the lower part of the akṣara *śja* in the previous line occupied the space in front of *śa*. Read *Santat* 1.



bhañjadēya, addressed the village folk of the Nānākhaṇḍa' *vishaya* (district) including the *śāmantas* (subordinate rulers) and *bhōgins* (*jāgirdars*) together with their *śarayas* (i.e. *adhikarayas* or officers)<sup>1</sup>. In the style of the charters of the branch of the Bhañja family in question, the king first informed the addressees of his all-round prosperity and next of the grant of *Sēdāgrāma* in the above district together with another locality called *Rāigrāma*, made by him in favour of a Brāhmana named **Bhaṭṭa Daṇḍi**. The donee was the son of Bhaṭṭa Siḍḍha and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Balabhadra. He belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* having the *Āngirasa pravara* and the *Bārhaspatya anupravara* and was a student of the *Chhandōga śāstra* and *Kaṭhuma śāstra* (of the *Sāmaveda*). He is described as a resident of Kōlakhalī, although the original home of his family is given as Vātala-viḍḍina. Lines 18-20 say that the above gift was made a permanent revenue-free holding by means of the copper-plate charter. Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are then quoted in lines 24-33. In this connection, the well-known verse, *Sarvān-śānta-bhāvināḥ pāṭhi-nēndrīn*, etc., is quoted with the substitution of the donor's name, *Nēṭṭabhañja*, in place of the usual *Rāmabhaṇḍa* and a prose passage introducing the stanza says that the grant was made on Monday when the *tithi* was the *dev-śrāvaṇa-dvādaśī* and the *nakṣatra* *Rēvati*. As all the *dvādaśī* (the twelfth *thithi* of either half of the lunar month) are associated with the god Viṣṇu<sup>2</sup>, the *śānta-dvādaśī* of the donor, it is difficult to determine, in the absence of any indication regarding the month and the fortnight, the particular *dvādaśī* referred to in the passage. The details are thus insufficient to calculate the exact date of the grant. Of the following two verses quoted in lines 36-39, the one beginning with *amān-vantā kṣaya-kāṇṭh* is found in numerous other Orissan records. The concluding lines (lines 40-42) give the names of the persons associated with the grant. The charter was registered with a seal (*lāṅchhita*) by *Jivalōka-mahādēvi* (or has probably, *Śrījivalōka-mahādēvi*) who seems to have been a queen of Nēṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalāśa, issuer of the charter. We know of many other similar instances of the mention of queens in connection with the function indicated by the word *lāṅchhita* especially in records coming from the Ganjam area<sup>3</sup>. The grant is said to have been approved (*anumata*) by Bhaṭṭa Arkadēva, while it was taken to the donee's home or executed (*prasthita*) by the *Pratihāra* (officer in charge of the palace-gate and head of the palace guards) Rāṇa. It is further said that the grant was assented to (*anuṣṭhāta*) by the *Vārguṇi* (bearer of the king's betel-box) Mahindapa who seems to have been a witness or worked on behalf of the executor of the grant, Rāṇa. The plates were engraved by the *arṇamūli* (i.e., *akṣamūli* or goldsmith) Napa. The document was written by the *Samāhāra-grāha* (minister for war and peace) whose name was Pānā. The date of the grant, viz. year 13 of the donor's reign, comes at the end of the inscription in line 42.

There is no doubt that *Rāṇaka Nēṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalāśa* who issued the charter under discussion belonged to the family of the earlier Bhañjas of Khijūjalimaṇḍala. This is suggested not only by the king's names and the issue of the grant from Vañjulvaka, the later capital of the rulers of that family, but also by the very style of the document. The genealogy of the family quoted above would show that there is hardly any space for Nēṭṭabhañja Tribhuvanakalāśa and for his father and grandfather in the family before Nēṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalāśa II. The secondary or coronation name ending in *kalāśa* was a style unknown in the family before the sons of Rāṇabhañja. The expression *prasthita*, used in connection with the execution of a grant, is found in the

<sup>1</sup> It may be suggested that the passage *nānā-khaṇḍa vishaya* means "in the various subdivisions and districts (of the kingdom)". But the description of the gift village in line 14 below as "attached to this district" seems to presuppose the mention of the name of the *vishaya* in the passage under consideration. Note also the singular used in *vishaya*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J.E.A.S.B., Letters, Vol. XVI, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> See *Sakṣināṣaṇḍana*, s.v. *dvādaśī*. The *Viśva-saṁgraha* (XLIX, 1), however, lays special stress on *Mārgaśrīṣṭha* *śukla* 12, which may be the *tithi* intended in our record.

<sup>4</sup> See Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1500-02.

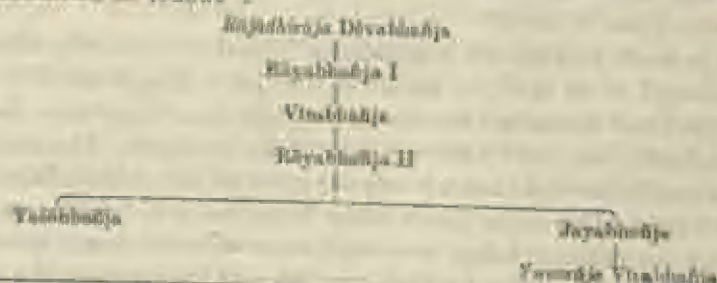


family's records only of the time of Vidyādharaśhaṇja Amōghakalāsa and Nēttabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāsa II. The officers of the king mentioned in the grant as associated with it are also not found in any other record of the family. These facts would suggest that Nēttabhaṇja Tribhuvanakalāsa, who issued this charter, flourished sometime after Nēttabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāsa II and may be tentatively designated Nēttabhaṇja III. This suggestion seems to be supported by his epithet *Paramamahāseva*, as Vaiṣṇavism was reintroduced as the family's religion by Nēttabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāsa II. Whether Prithvīśhaṇja and Rāyaśhaṇja, father and grandfather respectively of Nēttabhaṇja III Tribhuvanakalāsa (II), actually ruled cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. It seems however that Prithvīśhaṇja was not far removed from Nēttabhaṇja II and may have been the latter's son or grandson. It is difficult to determine whether the title *Rājaka* adopted by Nēttabhaṇja III had any special significance. The seal of all these rulers bears the emblem of a lion moving to the left.

Another later member of the same family was Śatrubhaṇja Māṅgalārāja who was the son of Śilāśhaṇja, grandson of Mallagambhīrādēva and great-grandson of Yathānkhadēva and who issued the Jangalpadu plates<sup>1</sup> in the fourteenth year of his reign. As in the case of Nēttabhaṇja III, the relationship of Śatrubhaṇja Māṅgalārāja with the known members of the family of the earlier Bhaṇjas of Khinjalmaṇḍala is unknown. Whether the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of Śatrubhaṇja Māṅgalārāja were actual rulers is also not known. The place of issue of Śatrubhaṇja's charter is, however, not mentioned and he may have been a member of the same family ruling side by side with the ruler of Vañjulvaka. But the Śalvāḍja or Śulvāḍja *viśaya*, in which the village granted by Śatrubhaṇja Māṅgalārāja was situated, seems to be no other than the Śalvāḍja *viśaya* of the grant of Śilāśhaṇja II edited above (A).

Another Bhaṇja king making grant of a village in Khinjalmaṇḍala and ruling in the Ganjam region was the *Paramamahāseva Mahāmaṇḍalēvara* Nēttabhaṇja who was the son of Rāyaśhaṇja and grandson of Nēttabhaṇja and issued a charter from Kumārapura.<sup>2</sup> The style of this record is quite different from that of the charters of the Bhaṇja rulers of Vañjulvaka. The emblem on the seal is also not the lion but a *kalāsa* taken by some as *pūrṇa-kumbha* and by others as *amṛta-ghaṭa*. He must have represented a different branch of the Bhaṇja family just as the later Bhaṇjas claiming to have ruled the Khinjal country from the Kālīḍja *kaṭaka*<sup>3</sup> did. The *yasaṇḍja* Rāyaśhaṇja mentioned in this inscription may have been the son of the issuer of the charter.

The genealogy of the later Bhaṇjas of Khinjal, as known from their two records so far discovered, may be tabulated as follows<sup>4</sup>:



<sup>1</sup> Inaccurate transcripts of this inscription have been published in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 287 ff., and *J. K. II. R. S.*, Vol. I, 181 ff. We have recently re-edited the record for the *Epigraphia Indica*. The first three verses of this record are the same as those in the epigraphs edited here.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar, Nos. 1594, 2006. Kālīḍja seems to be no other than modern Kalida near Russi, which was the headquarters of a family of Bhaṇjas chief as late as the British period. The celebrated Orissa poet Upendra of Khinjal ruling from Kālīḍja-kaṭaka.

<sup>4</sup> Bhandarkar, *Id.*, p. 379.



## R—PLATES OF NETTABHANJA TRIBHUVANAKALASA

८ उ रा नि कु सु म व ल घ्रा ल व ष्ठ रु द वे च्च कि नू ल प र ण  
 २ अ रा डी ष्ठ लो मी ष्ठ रु द वे च्च कि नू ल प र ण २  
 क णिक व णो पं व रु ष्ठ रु द वे च्च कि नू ल प र ण  
 ४ श्वा रु द वे च्च कि नू ल प र ण ४  
 न ः ष्ठ गा ष्ठ य णि य णि न ः ष्ठ रु द वे च्च कि नू ल प र ण  
 ६ य ः ष्ठ रु द वे च्च कि नू ल प र ण ६  
 ८ नै पु ठ म ः ष्ठ रु द वे च्च कि नू ल प र ण ८  
 १० सु न ः य न म वि सु ण म ः ष्ठ रु द वे च्च कि नू ल प र ण १०

圖書分類

12 12  
14 14  
16 16  
18 18  
20 20



[illegible][illegible]



Only two copper plate grants of this family, one of Yaśōbhāṣja and the other of Jayabhāṣja, both from Antirigam in the Ganjam District, have so far been discovered. Yaśōbhāṣja, said to be the lord of the whole Khizjāl country, is described as the conqueror of Jagadēkamalla who has been identified with the Western Chālukya king Purna-Jagadēkamalla II (circa 1128-51 A.C.).<sup>1</sup> Jayabhāṣja's grant is dated in his third regnal year when there was a lunar eclipse on Jyēṣṭha sudi 15. Bhandarkar, who assigns Yaśōbhāṣja's contemporary Jagadēkamalla to circa 1139-49 A.C., says, "The first lunar eclipse in Jyēṣṭha after this date came off on Friday, 22nd May 1161. Jayabhāṣja therefore came to the throne in A.D. 1161." Unfortunately this is wrong as Bhandarkar confused in many cases the full moon with the new moon in the calculation of dates for his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.<sup>2</sup> As however, the exact date of the end of Yaśōbhāṣja's reign is unknown and as lunar eclipses occurred on the Jyēṣṭha *pūrṇimās* in 1143, 1146, 1147, 1164, and 1165 A.C., it is impossible to determine the exact date of Jayabhāṣja's accession on this basis. The fact that these petty rulers of the Ganjam region must have owed allegiance to the early imperial Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam), who were themselves subordinate allies of the great Chōlas, would suggest that the battle against the Western Chālukya king was fought by the Bhaṣja king in the train of an early imperial Gaṅga monarch and on behalf of a Chōla emperor.<sup>3</sup> The identification of Jagadēkamalla with the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha I Jagadēkamalla (circa 1015-42 A.C.), who is celebrated in history for his conflict with the mighty Chōla monarch Rājendra I thus does not appear to be altogether improbable. It should, however, be admitted that the ascription of Raṇabhāṣja's reign to the third quarter of the tenth century and the number of succeeding rulers belonging to his own family and to the branch lines represented by Nāṭṭabhāṣja of Kumārapura and Jayabhāṣja of Kōlāja favour Bhandarkar's view regarding the date of Yaśōbhāṣja and Jayabhāṣja about the middle of the twelfth century, unless it is believed that some of the rulers of Vaṣṭjulvaka, Kumārapura and Kōlāja were ruling contemporaneously. The problem of the chronology of these rulers cannot be satisfactorily and finally settled until further evidence is forthcoming.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Vaṣṭjulvaka, as already pointed out, has not yet been identified. Nor can the district called Nānīkhaṇḍa and the villages called Śaḍāgrāma, Rāgrāma, Vātalaviḍima and Kōlakhaḥ be identified with certainty.

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

[Metres :—Verse 1 *Mālinī* ; verse 2 *Sārdūkanīrjita* ; verse 3 *Gūṭī* ; verses 4-9, 11 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 10 *Sālinī* ; verse 12 *Puṣhpūṣṭr*.]

#### First Plate

1. Siddham]<sup>5</sup> Jayati kṣumavā(bā)na-prāna-vikāḥōbha-dakṣa[m<sup>6</sup>]]<sup>7</sup> sva-kirāṇa-pari(vē<sup>8</sup>)k-an-
2. jī(rj)tya-rjī(rj)tya-ānu-lēkhaṇ(kham) | tri(tri)-bhuvana-bhavan-āta(na)t-dyōta-bhāva-

<sup>1</sup> Sewall, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Such confusions are due to the fact that the tables in Sacamikaṇṇa Pillai's *Indian Calendar* (the same as in *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 200-70) were consulted without sometimes noticing that they offer a list of new moons and not of full moons.

<sup>3</sup> See on this point our paper on the Alagun inscription to be published in this journal.

<sup>4</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>5</sup> Exposed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> The *ṣanda* is superfluous.

18 DGA



- 3 ka-nikaṣa-gaurasā<sup>1</sup> va(vi)bhra-nōtram Barasaya[1\*] Sā(Śā)śh-ābhā-iva yā phapāḥ pravilasa-  
 4 uty=sdbbhāvad-indu-tviahah prālēyāchala-ṣṛi(ṣṛi)ṅga-kōtta(ṭa)ya iva tvaṅganti yā-tyunna-  
 5 tūh[1\*] nṛity-ātt(ā)pa-vighattitā iva bhujā rājanti yā Sā(Śā)mhbavās-tā savv-ā(rvv-ā)-  
 gha-vi-  
 6 ghātinaḥ eura-sarit-tōy-ōmma(rmma)yaḥ pānta vah[2\*] avastī vijaya-Vaḥju-  
 7 [vakā<sup>2</sup>-Astī śri-vijaya-nīlaya[h\*] prakatta(ṭa)-gaṇa-gaṇa-grasta-samasta-  
 8 ripu-vargah[1\*] Śri-Tribhuvanakaśeḥ(śa)-nāma(mā) rājā nirḥhu(nhā)ta-kali-ka-  
 9 lasha-kalmashah[3\*] Śri-Prithvībhāṇjadērasya p[an]tra[h\*] Śri-Rāyabhaṇjadērasya  
 10 sutah Paramavaishnavo mātā-pitri-pād-ānandhyāta-Bhaṇj-ā-mala-ku-

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 11 la-tilaka-Rāṇaka-śri-Nōttabhaṇjadērah knaa(ka)ll Nānākhaṇḍa-  
 12 viśaya[1\*] yathā-nivāsi-eva(sa)karapa<sup>2</sup> [1\*] sāmanta-bhōgy-ādi-janapādān ya-  
 13 th-ārharo mānayati vō(bō)dhayati samādāsa(śa)ti [cha\*] vivī(ḍi)tam-asu bhavatām  
 14 savvataḥ ai(hi)vam-samākaṣ-anyaṭa<sup>3</sup> [1\*] ātad-viśaya-samva(mba)ddhaḥ Sōjāgrāma-  
 15 ā-chaṭah-simā-parichechun(n)ah mātā-pitrō-ātma[na\*]ś-cha paṇy-ābhīva(vṛi)ddha-  
 16 y[ḍi\*] sālila-dhātā-purah[sarḍa\*] viśhinā Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Āngi-  
 17 sa-pravarāya Vārīhaṭa<sup>4</sup> anupavarāya Chohāmadōgya<sup>5</sup> chaṭāṇḍ-  
 18 ya Kai(Kau)thuma-sākh-ādhyāyina Vātalaviḍima-vinirgata-Kōlakha-  
 19 ā-vāstavyāya Bhaṭṭa-Va(Ba)labhadraeya p[an]tra<sup>6</sup> Bhaṭṭa-Siḍa-mātāya Bhaṭṭa-Dā-  
 20 nī<sup>7</sup> Rāgrāma-samavita[h\*] tāmvra(mra)-sā(śā)śhāṇikṛitya pradattah  
 21 yāvach-chandr-ārka-tārakāḥ a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa<sup>8</sup> pravēḍ(ā)na savv-ā(rvv-ā)vā(hā)dhā-va-

*Second Plate : Second Side*

- 22 [i(r)]iān-ā-karavēna hmbjadbhīr-dharma-gauravāt-pratipālaniyah a-  
 23 smat-kala-kramam-ādāharadbhīr-anyaś-cha(ś-cha-ā)ma(d\*)-dānam-idam-anumōda-  
 24 nīyah(vam) uktāś-cha dharma-sā(śā)streshu[1\*] Va(Ba)hubhīr-vasudhā dattā rājabbhī Sa-  
 25 gar-ādibhīb[1\*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(hā)mba-tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ [(lam)[4]  
 26 Mā bhu(hā)dhā-phala-sa(śa)śāśh vah para-datt-āti pāthivah [ava-dattā-  
 27 taphalam-ānanyam para-datt-ānupālanā [5\*] Sva-dattām-para-dattām-vā(ttām) vā]

<sup>1</sup> In the same context, we have tāṇasa in the other records.

<sup>2</sup> A verse follows this short passage in prose.

<sup>3</sup> Omī goes for the sake of the metre. [Read Astī s-ā-jya-sūgah prastāpa-gaṇa-grasta-samva-ripu-gaurāḥ as in the foregoing record.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> [Read Tribhuvanakaśeḥ sāmā rājā nirḥhūta-kali-kaśaḥ.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> The medial aa in paṇ is imperfectly formed, as out of the left, right and top members of the sign only the third one has been engraved.

<sup>6</sup> The ānāḍa is imperfect.

<sup>7</sup> Kuruva here may be a contraction of sūbhikuruva or sūbhikuruva.

<sup>8</sup> Read aṇḍa.

<sup>9</sup> Read ānanyam-anupālanam.

<sup>10</sup> Read sūbhikuruva-anupālanam.

<sup>11</sup> Read sūbhikuruva-anupālanam.

<sup>12</sup> Read paṇḍya. The medial aa in paṇ is imperfectly formed as in paṇ in line 8 above. See also as in aṇḍa in line 20 below.

<sup>13</sup> Read ānāḍa.

<sup>14</sup> Read a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa.

- 28 yā harita vasundharāṣṭa(rām) | sa viśṭhāyāśi kṛimīḥ-bhu(r-bhū)tvā pāṭṛibhiḥ saha pa-  
 29 chyatē] [6\*] śatyaṁ yajña-hutaṁ ch-aiva yat-k[ṁ]chid-dharma-samachayaṁ(yaḥ) | arddh-  
 āṅgulē-  
 30 na śmāyāṁ haraṅgāna praṇasya(śya)tī] [7\*] śhaśṭhīr-va(śhṭi-va)raha-sahasrāṇi  
 31 sa(ava)rgāḥ vasaṭi bhu(bhū)midah[ ] | a[ā]kshāptā ch-ānamantā cha sām-aiva<sup>1</sup> nara-

## Third Plate

- 32 ka[ṭh\*] vrajēta(jēt\*) Nandan[ ] tasya pitarah pravalantī pītāmahāh[ ]\* bhu(bhū)-  
 33 mī-dātā kulē jātaḥ sa das-[tr]jātā bhaviśhyati ] [9\*] Dāv-ōṭava-dvāda-  
 34 ayā(śyā)ṁ Sōmasya dinē rēvatī(tī)-nakshatrēṇa<sup>2</sup> Sarcvā-śān-bhāvinaḥ pāṭhi-  
 35 vēndrān-bhāyō bhūyō yūchatā Nā[ṭa\*]bhaṣṭab[ ]\* sāmānyō-yaṁ dharma-śāstr-śrīpāṇā-  
 [m\*]  
 36 kālē ka[ṭā]ḥ pālānyō bhavadbhiḥ ] [10\*] Asmin-vaśāḥ(n-vaśāḥ) kashā(kaha)yō(ya)-kashyō-  
 yō-nyō rāj[ā]  
 37 bhaviśhyati | tasy-āham pāda-lagnō-omī mayā dattaṁ na lōpayata ] [yēt ] Iti kama-  
 38 la-dai-āmu(mba)-[bindu\*]-līḥ(lī)lāś śrī(śrī)yaṁ-anuvichintya<sup>3</sup> nanaśhya-jivitaś-cha |  
 iti<sup>4</sup> sakala-  
 39 m-idaṁ-ndāh[ṭi]ta\*]ḥ-cha vudhvā (buddhvā) us hi puruṣ[ā]ḥ para-kīrtayō vilau(lō)pyāḥ]  
 [12\*] lā-  
 40 śobhitāḥ śrī-Ji(Ji)valōka-mahādēvyā | anumataḥ Bhaṭṭa-<sup>5</sup>Arkaśēvōna pra-  
 41 vēś(śi)taḥ pratihāra-Rāolēna anujātaḥ vārgulī-Mahendapēna  
 42 [u]kīrṇa [ \* arkasēlinā Napēna | likhitaḥ Sandhivigrahī(hi)-Pānā<sup>6</sup>] Samva(Samva)t 13[ ]\*

## No. 45—MAHADA PLATES OF SOMESVARADEVAVARMAN : YEAR 23

D. C. Sircar and M. Venkataramayya, Ootacamund

The above-mentioned plates were edited in this journal<sup>7</sup> in 1913-4 by the late Mr. B. C. Majumdar under the heading 'Mahadā Plates of Yāgēśvaradēvavarman.' Since then the record has not aroused further interest among scholars, although two more charters of the same family of chiefs, to which the donor of the Mahadā plates belonged, were subsequently discovered and their contents reviewed in this journal and elsewhere. They are (1) the Patna Museum plates of Sōmēśvaradēva II<sup>8</sup> and (2) the Kumārīśiṅhā plates of Chōlakula-Sōmēśvaradēva.<sup>9</sup> In the light of these charters, latterly discovered, it seems now possible to assign a more specific date to the Mahadā plates than what Mr. Majumdar suggested, viz., the 16th century A.C. Further it is also possible to draw certain conclusions in respect of the chronology, genealogy and history of the rulers represented in the above charters, the scene of whose activities lay in South Kōśala with their capital at Sūvarnapura (Somepur) in Orissa.

<sup>1</sup> Read *śaśāḥ*.<sup>2</sup> This prose passage containing some astronomical details regarding the date of the grant is followed by verses.<sup>3</sup> Read *'anuvichintya*.<sup>4</sup> Omit *iti*.<sup>5</sup> The rules of sandhi have not been observed here.<sup>6</sup> Read *śāśvapaṇa* and omit the *śaśvapa*.<sup>7</sup> The same appears without the third case-ending required by the context.<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 218 ff. and plate.<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 37 ff. and plate.<sup>10</sup> *J. K. R. R. S.*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 29 ff. and plate.



The said Mahadā plates are now the property of the Asiatisk Museum of Indian Art attached to the University of Calcutta. They were obtained for examination through the kindness of Mr. D. P. Ghosh, the Curator of that Museum. On a careful examination of the original plates, it was found that a number of very important passages of the record were not properly read by Mr. Masumdar in his edition of the record. In the first place, the name of the donor of the charter is not Yōgēśvaradēvavarman but Sōmēśvaradēvavarman (line 24).<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the name of the father of the donor is to be read as Dhīrāśvādēvavarman (lines 14-17) and not Dhāmasādēvavarman, as made out by Mr. Masumdar. Thirdly, there is no mention in the inscription of Vañdhapura which has been identified with modern Bandh and taken to have been the capital of the issuer of the charter. Lastly, the date of the record is not the 33rd regnal year of the issuer's grandfather (Sōmēśvaradēvavarman I) but really the year 23 (written both in words and in numerals in line 11) of his own reign. Hence the very title of the record has to be changed as the 'Mahadā plates of Sōmēśvaradēvavarman' since Yōgēśvaradēvavarman, in reality, did not exist at all. In view of all these important factors now brought to light on a re-examination of the plates, the record is re-edited here for the benefit of scholars.

After the introductory *siddham* symbol and the word *svasti* the inscription introduces, in lines 1-10, the reigning king Sōmēśvaradēva, who is called *pañcaka-sukhāśubha-samavarita*, *mahā-mahī-maṇḍalāśvara*, *mahā-bhūpati* and *chakravartin*. Of these titles, the first is known to have been used by feudatories and the last by paramount sovereigns. This combination of subordinate and imperial titles shows that the issuer of the charter owed only nominal allegiance to the overlords of his predecessors.<sup>2</sup> The same conclusion is further suggested by the titles *mahā-mahīmaṇḍalāśvara* and *mahā-bhūpati*, which were apparently deliberate modifications respectively of the feudatory titles of *Mahīmaṇḍalāśvara* and *Mahābhūapati* used by another member of the same family who issued the Kumārasiṃhā and the Patna Museum plates. Other interesting titles used by the issuer of the Mahadā plates are *śivakara-kula-nandana* (i.e., son of the solar dynasty), *Karikālāśvaya* (i.e., of the house of Karikāla), *Kāśyapa-gotra*, *Kāvēri-nātha* (i.e., lord of the river Kāvēri) and *Varaṇasiparvata-nāthāśvara* (lord of Varanasi or Uraiyūr, the traditional capital of the Chōḷas), all of which refer to the descent claimed by the Telugu-Chōḷas from the celebrated Chōḷa royal family. The epithet *Sauka-dharmā-lācchhana* may be either a modification of or a mistake for *raṭṭa-dharmā-sauka-lācchhana* of the Kumārasiṃhā plates. The expression *Ayōdhya-vicīryagata-sukhāśubha-maṇḍalāśvara-pañcaka-sukhāśubha-dvijarāja-lācchhana* seems to suggest that the issuer of the Mahadā plates claimed to have been enjoying the privilege of using certain insignia brought from Ayōdhya, the ancient capital of North Kōśala.<sup>3</sup> This, no doubt, has a bearing on the claim that the family belonged to the solar race, the main branch of which represented by the epic hero Rāma ruled at Ayōdhya. Another interesting epithet of the king, etc., *Śrī-Vaidyanātha-pada-paśāṅga-bhramara*, speaks of his devotion to god Vaidyanātha (Śiva) whose temple lies on the river Tel, about 12 miles from Sonapat. The mention of the deity also in the Kumārasiṃhā and the Patna Museum plates shows that he was the tutelary deity of the Telugu-Chōḷa ruling family of South Kōśala.

The date of the charter is recorded, in lines 9-13 in the following words: *Śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva-pravarādhikānta-vijayarājya-sukhāśubha-samavarita-śvara-vaṇḍana 23 vārāhi Māgha māsi śubha-pakṣe tithau saptaṃśadeśa mātara-sthite surikari mīna-rāsi-sthita-chandramani Ravaṇa Rāvatyāgāṃ amṛita-gṛāṇi*.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. K. G. Goswami of the University of Calcutta, who examined the plates in the Asiatisk Museum of Indian Art, also suggested the same reading of the king's name.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 328; J. G. K., Vol. XVIII, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> The passage may also be suggested to stand as *Ayōdhya-vicīryagata[?]-sukhāśubha-maṇḍalāśvara-pañcaka-dharmā[?]-dvi-jarāja-lācchhana[?]*. In that case, we may think that the king's emblem was, both the lion and the deer-king (the moon or Garuda).



There is considerable Telugu influence on the language, although there are grammatical errors. The 23rd regnal year of the king is given both in words (*iruvati-muvatu* for Telugu *iruvati-muvatu* or *iruvati-muvatu*) and figures.

The details of the grant are given in lines 13-24. It was made by the king when he was standing before Lakṣmīvarṭaka on the bank of the river Chitrōtpalā (i.e., the Mahānadi).<sup>1</sup>

The genealogy of the donor as well as that of the donee are traced to their respective grandfathers. The donor, king Sōmēśvaradevavarman, is described as the son of Dhīralladevavarman and grandson of Sōmēśvaradevavarman belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra*. The donee of the grant is described as the Brāhminya Madhusūdana, who belonged to the Vata *gotra* and was the son of Puruṣottama and grandson of Gādādhara. The object of the donation was the village of Uṣampā-malla with the five *peṭṭikā* named Mahāḍā (the findspot of the present plates in old Somapur State, still retaining its ancient name), Atāṅgrelā, Mēḍhakā, Khādna and Kōkaṇḍēva. The grant is stated to have been made for obtaining the favour of the god Vaidyanātha and for the increase of longevity, health and royalty of the donor, Sōmēśvaradevavarman, in the 23rd year of whose reign the record was issued.<sup>2</sup>

Lines 25-30 of the inscription quote some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. This portion is rather abruptly followed by three verses, of which two are in the *Upeyādi* and one in the *Induvijayādi* metre. These apparently form a part of an elaborate prelude of the Telugu-Chōḍa family of South Kāśā. The employment of these verses, which are really unalloyed for, reminds us of such records as the Guṇakūṭ plates of king Indrapāla<sup>3</sup> of Prāgyyōtiśa, in which the engraver is found to have felt the necessity of filling up some blank space at the end of the charter. Since the script of the last lines of the plates does not differ from that of the rest of the record, there is little doubt that they are coeval with the date of the gift. The first and second verses do not relate to the same person, for the second verse beginning, as it does, with the words *paṇḍu āmāṇḍa*, 'in whose lineage', referring to the person described in the first, introduces another chief who, being referred to as *śaka bhūpatiḥ* 'this king', could be none other than the donor of the charter, Sōmēśvaradevavarman. He is again described as Yaśōgaja<sup>4</sup> and as a lion to hostile<sup>5</sup> kings. The third verse describes the king's sport in the river Chitrōtpalā (Mahānadi). Here the stanza, stating that when the king sported in the Chitrōtpalā, which was associated with Svrapavati (Svrapavati-*gati*), seems to imply that Sōmēśvaradevavarman had his capital at Svrapapura, of which Svrapavati may be a feminine form. In a verse from the *Rajamahatmya* (VI, 48), to which Mr. Max Müller draws our attention in this context, precisely a parallel sense is conveyed as the mention therein of Mathurā on the Kāśīnādi implies its being the capital of the Śūrasena<sup>6</sup> king. Mukunda mentioned in one of the verses no doubt refers to the god Viṣṇu and not to a later Rājā of Purī.

<sup>1</sup> The passage *Chitrōtpalā-kāśī Lakṣmīvarṭaka-samādāya* reminds one of such similar passages as *Alīmān-Vāṇasāyaka Bhāgavataḥ* &c. *Purandāśāmadāya* mentioned in records like the Nagari plates of Anantabhāga III. It is not clear if there was a duty of Lakṣmīvarṭaka or whether the king made a libation to the holy spot of Lakṣmīvarṭaka itself. The modern Lakṣmīvarṭaka, a town in the bed of the Mahānadi at Somapur, seems to have been referred to as Lakṣmīvarṭaka in the inscription.

<sup>2</sup> That the actual donee Sōmēśvaradevavarman and the king Sōmēśvaradevavarman in whose reign the charter was issued were one and the same is apparent, although the text of the record does not explicitly say so. The fact that the donation is made for the increase of the royalty of the donee shows that it was the reigning king who was the actual donor.

<sup>3</sup> *Alīmān-Vāṇasāyaka*, pp. 120 ff.

<sup>4</sup> This word can be read as Yaśōgaja; but this does not suit the metre. The text is, however, syntactically faulty even as it stands.

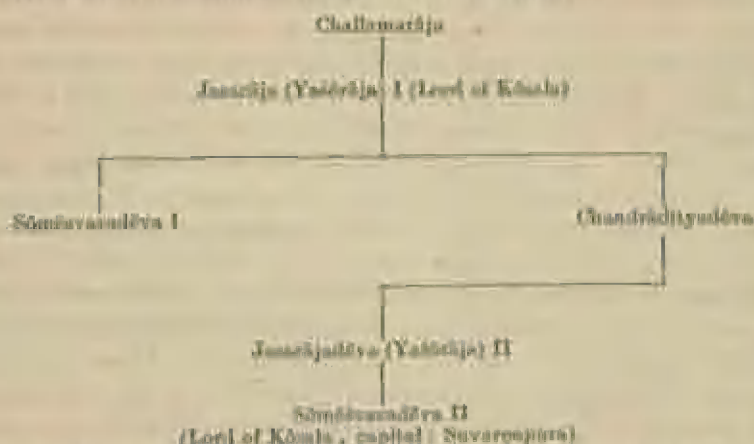
<sup>5</sup> The word *śaka* used in the verse seems to be derived from *śaka*.

<sup>6</sup> Mathurā was the capital of the Śūrasena. See E. C. Low, *Sanskrit Literature of the Śūrasena*, Vol. 1, p. 33.





Both the palaeography and contents of the Patna Museum and the Kumārisinhā plates indicate that they were issued by one and the same king, Sōmēśvarādēva II, lord of Kōśala, from his capital at Savaraspura, the former in the 17th year of his reign and the latter in the 11th year. Both the charters were written by the same person, the *vyādura* Lōkanātha. While the Patna Museum plates do not specifically mention the name of the grandfather of Sōmēśvarādēva II, the Kumārisinhā grant names him as Chandrādityādēva. Since Jasurājādēva II of the former grant is clearly stated as meditating on the feet of Chandrādityādēva, we have here an indication that Chandrādityādēva was perhaps his father<sup>1</sup> and this is confirmed by the other grant which specifically says so. Hence the donor of the two charters is identical and the genealogies supplied by them can be combined to form a single family tree as shown below<sup>2</sup>:



Before the correlation of this line of chiefs with the one in the Mahādā plates is established, the chronological position of the rulers of the line has to be determined. And in this respect we are on much surer ground than what palaeography alone can furnish. The palaeographical dating of the Patna Museum plates, so far attempted, has been divergent. R. D. Banerji, who edited the plates, assigned them to the 14th century A.C., while Krishna Sastri thought the characters of the record were referable to the 11th century, a view with which Dr. Hirananda Sastri was inclined to agree. Indeed the palaeography of the record is not so late as Banerji suggests, since the letters show definitely much earlier forms than those found in the charters of the 13th or 14th century, of which we have instances in the Kēndupātā plates of Gaṅga Narasimhadēva II of Orissa, dated Śaka 1217 (1295 A.C.).<sup>3</sup> They are also even earlier than the characters of the Bhuvanēśvar bi-lingual (Oriya-Tamil) inscription of Vira-Narasimha of the 13th century A.C.<sup>4</sup> and those of the Liṅgarāja Temple inscription of the Gaṅga king Narasimha I of Śaka 1165.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, they have very close resemblance with the Bhuvanēśvar stone inscription of Svapnēśvara, a general of the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyāśakabhinna who ruled in the 12th century A.C.<sup>6</sup> The only difference noticeable between the records of Sōmēśvarādēva II under study and the afore-mentioned inscription of Svapnēśvara is that the alphabet of the former shows rounded forms while the characters

<sup>1</sup> Suggested by Banerji, above, Vol. XIX, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Krishna Sastri thought that Chandrāditya was perhaps identical with Chahamanāja, *Ac. Rep. of the Ar. Sur., Eastern Circle*, 1916-17, p. 4. G. Romades (*Journal of the Kaliṅga Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 231) identifies Chandrāditya with Jasurāja I, a view with which we do not agree. The wording of the Kumārisinhā grant is clear in indicating that Chandrāditya was the grandfather of the donor Sōmēśvara.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXV (1894), plates VIII to XVIII, now re-edited in the same journal, Vol. XVII, pp. 23-39.

<sup>4</sup> *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1527; *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XX, p. 41 and plate.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Coll.*, Vol. III, p. 122 and plate.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 124 ff. and plate.



of the latter are straight and angular in shape, a difference which is perhaps due to our records being on copper plates while the other is on stone. It is therefore permissible to conclude that the Patna Museum and the Kumārisimhā plates of Sōmēśvaradēva II were issued in the 12th century A.C. and that the five generations of kings figuring therein flourished during the 11th and 12th centuries A.C. It is found that the facts of contemporary history of the locality fully support the above chronological position for these chiefs.

Of the kings figuring in the genealogy, Chandrādityadēva seems identical with the Telugu-Chōḍa prince Chandrāditya who is described as a subordinate of the Nīgaravāṇi Śinda king, Dhārāvārsha of Chakrakōṣṭa in two Telugu inscriptions dated Śaka 995, Śārvatī, Kārtika su. 5, Monday, corresponding to October 2, Monday, 1060 A.D., at Barnasur and Potinar in the Bastar State.<sup>1</sup> This chief is introduced with the same Telugu-Chōḍa *prashasti* commencing with the words *aridandhara-sara*, etc., which Sōmēśvaradēvavarman of the Mahādā plates and Sōmēśvaradēva II of the Kumārisimhā plates adopt. An additional detail found in Chandrāditya's *prashasti* is that he is called the lord of Ammagānapura. This city may be identified with Ambeganno in the Jeypore agency, Koraput District, Orissa. The village lies about 75 miles east of Jagadelpur, capital of Bastar.<sup>2</sup> But both the charters of Chandrāditya's grandson, Sōmēśvaradēva II, were issued from Sōmēśvarapura (Sonepur). Whether Sōmēśvara II himself transferred his headquarters to Sonepur cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge; but there is no doubt that the Telugu-Chōḍa occupation of Sonepur followed the rule of the Sōmavarman in that region. Thus Sōmēśvara II must have issued his records from Sonepur sometime after the Kelgā (Sonepur) plates of the Sīma-varihāi Kumārādhirāja Sōmēśvara<sup>3</sup> had been issued from that city. It has been shown<sup>4</sup> that the rule of the Sōmavarman Sōmēśvara should be assigned to the close of the 11th century A.C. and the beginning of the twelfth. The rule of Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmēśvara II at Sōmēśvarapura should therefore be relegated to a period about the commencement of the 12th century A.C. Since Chandrāditya was living about 1060 A.C., the approximate dates of the members of his family might be: Chāḍamarāja (c. 1025 A.C.), Jamarājadēva I (c. 1040 A.C.), Sōmēśvaradēva I (c. 1060-75 A.C.), Chandrādityadēva (c. 1055-80 A.C.), Jamarājadēva II (c. 1080-1105 A.C.) and Sōmēśvaradēva II (c. 1105-1130 A.C.).<sup>5</sup>

These conclusions in respect of the chronology of the family of Sōmēśvaradēva II of Sōmēśvarapura would now help us to correlate this line with that of Sōmēśvaradēvavarman, the donor of the Mahādā plates, who as shown above, must have flourished about the 12th century. Since both the sets of rulers belonging to the same Chōḍa stock are found flourishing in the same age and locality they apparently belonged to the same family, and, in all probability, Sōmēśvaradēvavarman, the grandfather of the issuer of the Mahādā plates, is identical with Sōmēśvaradēva II of the Patna Museum and Kumārisimhā plates.<sup>6</sup> The main reason for identifying him with Sōmēśvaradēva II instead of Sōmēśvaradēva I is the following. The modification of the feudatory titles and the

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (1932) Nos. 260 and 270; *As. Rep. S. I. E.*, 1890, part II, pars. 60; *S. I. I.*, Vol. X, Nos. 644 and 645.

<sup>2</sup> There is another place called Ambegann in the Chanda District, Madhya Pradesh, about 125 miles north-west of Barnasur. Whether this was the place referred to as the seat of Chandrāditya cannot be affirmed in the present state of our knowledge.

<sup>3</sup> *Ahwa*, Vol. XII, pp. 137 ff. A revised edition of the inscription is being published in this journal.

<sup>4</sup> *J. R. G.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 207.

<sup>5</sup> The Kumārisimhā plates of king Sōmēśvara II only in a later edition in the month of Mīgha of the king's 11th regnal year. In the period to which we have assigned this king, the above details tallied on three dates, viz., February 1, 1124 A.C.; January 21, 1125 A.C. and January 10, 1126 A.C. The intended date may be any one of these.

<sup>6</sup> Pandit Bhanuak Mishra suggested the identification of the king with Sōmēśvaradēva I, the other brother of Chandrāditya (*J. R. G.*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 148 and note).

### ATTENTION

The obituary note and the relevant illustration appearing in this issue may be removed and inserted in the beginning of the volume (Vol. XXVIII) at the time of binding.





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BORN 17TH APRIL 1867 DIED 29TH JUNE 1948

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## STEN KONOW

Dr. Sten Konow, the celebrated Indologist, passed away at Oslo on the 29th June 1948. In his death, philological research, specially the branch concerned with Old Central Asian languages, Sanskrit learning and Indian epigraphy, have sustained a very great loss indeed.

Dr. Sten Konow was born on 17th April 1867. His father was a Norwegian pastor. He studied in Christiania under Sophus Bugge and took a Degree in 1891 in Classics and German Philology. For some time he was a pupil of Fiebel in Halle where he took his D.Phil. in 1893. He served as Assistant Librarian in the Royal Library at Berlin from 1894 to 1896. From 1896 to 1899 he was Lecturer and Assistant Professor in Christiania. He collaborated with Grierson from 1900 to 1903 in the editing of the volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India. Later on he was appointed Government Epigraphist for India. In that capacity he edited parts i, ii, vi and vii of Volume X, part vi onwards of Volume XI, the whole of Volume XII and a portion of Volume XIII of the *Epigraphia Indica*. After his service as Government Epigraphist for India, he returned to Oslo where he became Professor of Indian Philology and continued there till his death, except from 1914 to 1919 when he served as Professor at Hamburg and in 1924-25 when he was a Visiting Professor at Santiniketan.

He was a member of several learned societies in Europe: an Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society; a Corresponding Member of the Berlin Academy; an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and also of the Société Asiatique de Paris.

The range of his scholarly pursuit was as varied as it was extensive. In the field of epigraphy, his monumental work on the *Kharosthi Inscriptions* (C. I. I., Vol. II, Part I) is by far the most outstanding contribution. Other branches of research have been equally enriched by his facile pen.<sup>1</sup>

### DR. STEN KONOW'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE *EPIGRAPHIA INDICA*.

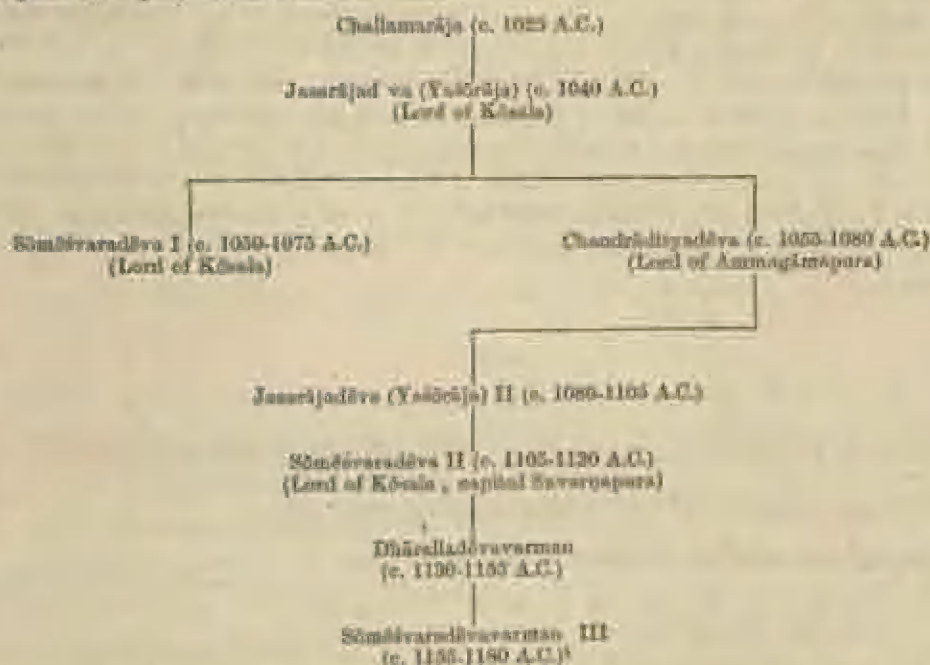
- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| Volume IX   | 1. Madras Museum plates of Vajrabasta III.                    |
|             | 2. Kharier plates of Maha-Sudeva.                             |
|             | 3. Two Buddhist inscriptions from Sarnath.                    |
|             | 4. Arigon-Sarada inscription of Ramadeva.                     |
|             | 5. Chandravati plate of Chandradeva.                          |
|             | 6. Sarnath inscription of Kumaradevi.                         |
| Volume X    | 7. Karamlanda inscription of the reign of Kumaragupta.        |
|             | 8. Sunao-Kala plates of Samgasasunha.                         |
|             | 9. Balara plates of Mularaja I.                               |
|             | 10. Peshawar Museum inscription of Vanhadaka.                 |
| Volume XI   | 11. Five Valabhi plates.                                      |
|             | 12. Narasapatam plates of Vajrabasta III; Saka Samvat 967.    |
| Volume XII  | 13. Hamut plates of the Chahamanas Bhartivarddha; Samvat 813. |
| Volume XIII | 14. Talegaon copper-plates of Krishna-Raja; Saka 690.         |

<sup>1</sup> See *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XX (1948), pp. 164a-164b; *J. E. A. S.*, 1950, pp. 99-102.



- Volume XIV 15. Ars inscription of Kanishka II ; the year 41.  
16. Sanjan plates of Buddhavarasa.  
17. Taxila inscription of the year 136.
- Volume XVIII 18. The so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 103.
- Volume XIX 19. Zeda inscription of the year 11.  
20. Shahdaur inscriptions, one apparently of the year 60.  
21. Rawal spurious inscription of the year 40.
- Volume XXI 22. Saddo rock inscription of the year 104.  
23. Mathura Brahmi inscription of the year 28.  
24. Kalawan copper-plate inscription of the year 134.
- Volume XXII 25. Kharoshthi inscription on a Begram bas-relief.  
26. A note on the Mamane Dheri inscription.
- Volume XXIII 27. Hidda inscription of the year 28.  
28. Allahabad Museum inscriptions of the year 87.
- Volume XXVII 29. Note on the Bajaur inscription of Merandros.

assumption of the imperial title of *Chakravartin* by the issuer of the Mahadā plates, to which attention has already been drawn, as well as the influence of Telugu on the language of the record, as noticed from the revised text published now, would suggest that the donor of the Mahadā plates is later than the issuer of the Kumārisinhā and Patna Museum plates in which the above characteristics are absent. The grandfather of the issuer of the Mahadā plates being probably identical with Sōmēśvara II who issued the Kumārisinhā and the Patna Museum plates, Sōmēśvaradēvavarman who issued the Mahadā plates may be styled as Sōmēśvaradēva III. If the identification suggested above is correct, as it seems to be, the pedigree of the entire family of the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs of Suvarṇapura (Sonepur) would stand as under:



The advent of these Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs into the South Kōśala country may be envisaged in this manner. We have stated above that Chandradityadēva of the Kumārisinhā plates may be identical with Chandraditya, a subordinate of the Nāgavahā ruler of Chakrakōṭa (Bastar). Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa Dhārāvaraṇa, in 1060 A.C. Dhārāvaraṇa's son Sōmēśvara I is credited with the conquest of Kōśala in one of his records.<sup>2</sup> Jasurjādēva I, the father of Chandradityadēva, is likewise described as having become the lord of the entire Kōśala country as a result of victories in battle. It is just possible that Jasurāja I took part in the campaigns of the Nāgavahā Sōmēśvara I in Kōśala and, as a reward for his services, was made the ruler of that country or parts of it to administer on behalf of the Nāgavahā kings.<sup>3</sup>

If it is admitted that the advent of these Telugu-Chōḍas into Kōśala took place through the agency of the Nāgavahā Śindas of Chakrakōṭa (Bastar), it would be necessary to explain how the family came to be associated in the first instance with the Śindas. For, it is obvious that they must

<sup>1</sup> The Mahadā plates of this king are stated to have been issued on Sunday, Māgha Śukla 7, when the sun was in Makara and the moon in Rēvati during the 23rd regnal year of the king. In the period to which we have assigned this ruler, there are several dates on which the above details tallied, viz., January 1, 1156 A.C.; January 9, 1169 A.C. and January 2, 1182 A.C. The date quoted in the inscription might have been any one of these.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. X, pp. 26-7, Karanpal Stone Inscription, text line 20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. H. Q., Vol. XXII, p. 306.



have been emigrants from the Telugu country where they had their original home and where a number of Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs who were distinguished by the same *bīśalas*, *aridurddhamvara*, etc., flourished in different parts of the Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool Districts of the Madras State.<sup>1</sup> Some other princes of the same stock are found, at a later date, as subordinates of the Chālukya kings, Sōmēśvara I (1043-68 A.C.) and Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.C.) administering parts of their dominions. These were Bācharasa, Gōnarasa and Bhūmarasa (1058 A.C.) in the Bellary District,<sup>2</sup> Sankarasa (1069 A.C.) in the Anantapur District,<sup>3</sup> his son Rāvarasa (1059-88 A.C.)<sup>4</sup> and another prince Chadupakarasa (1062 A.C.).<sup>5</sup> Since so many of these chiefs were subordinates of the Western Chālukyas in different parts of their kingdom it is likely that still another branch of the same stock, viz., that of Challamarāja, found its way into Bastar and came into contact with the Sindas evidently in the time of his son Jasarājādēva I (1040 A.C.) as Western Chālukya generals in the wake of the conquest of that country effected by Vikramāditya VI as *Yasovijaya* during the reign of his father Sōmēśvara I.<sup>6</sup> The name Sōmēśvara held by the princes of the Sinda family and the Chōḷas of South Kōśala might perhaps be taken to indicate their vassalage, at least for a time, under Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I. The title *Ayyanagandhanūra*, assumed by Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmēśvara II, might be taken as an indication pointing in the same direction, since it was a well-known epithet of the generals and subordinates of the Western Chālukyas.<sup>7</sup>

## TEXT\*

## First Plate

- 1 {Siddham}[\*] Svasti {[\*]} pañchamahāśaśva(bda)samanvita-mahāmuni?mapdālā-
- 2 śvara-aridurddhamvarabhojāśibhāṣu(m)raprachapdaprōdyadī-
- 3 nakarakulanandana-Kali(ri)kālānvaya-Kāśyapagōtro-

\* Above, Vol. XI, p. 343 and note 3, and p. 344.

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 123.

<sup>3</sup> No. 454 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>4</sup> No. 416 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 178-9; *Ibid.*, Vol. XLVIII (1918), pp. 119, 136, 140 and 142. Besides the testimony of Bilhana to the campaigns of Vikramāditya VI in Chakrakōṭa, there are other grounds to substantiate the same. The Kasipet Dargah inscription of the Kāśhātya chief, Bāta II (c. 1075-1100 A.C.), furnishes the information that Bāta's father Prōḷa I (c. 1030 A.C.) conquered the Chakrakōṭa-vishaya and the same record further states that he obtained the Annakopḍa-vishaya from king Traṭṭakyanāḍa (Sōmēśvara I). See *Hpl. Arch. Series*, No. 11; *Corpus of Telugu Inscriptions*, No. 7, text line 3 ff.; *Bhārat*, Vol. XVIII (1941), Part II, pp. 189 ff. It is clear, therefore, that Prōḷa should have effected the conquest of Chakrakōṭa (i.e., Chakrakōṭa) in the reign of this Chōḷa king, evidently as a comp-follower of *Yasovijaya* Vikramāditya VI.

It may be contended that the advent of the Telugu-Chōḍa into Kōśala might have taken place during the invasion of that country by Rājendra Chōḷa I. This is not likely in view of the fact that the Telugu-Chōḍas of this period were on terms of amity with the imperial Chōḷas, witness Telugu-Chōḍa Bīḍma being killed by Rājendra I, the father of Rājendra Chōḷa I, in c. 1080 A.C. (*Colas*, Vol. I, p. 217). Later, a king of Pottapi (i.e., a Telugu-Chōḷa) was killed by Virarājendra in c. 1067-8 A.C. (*Ibid.*, p. 233). It seems best, therefore, to view the Telugu-Chōḍa advent into Kōśala as having taken place through Western Chālukya-Sinda agency.

<sup>7</sup> *Hpl. Arch. Series*, No. 7, Nagai Inscriptions, pp. 3, 25, 32, 33, 37. The title was assumed by Kāḷimarasa and Rāḥavarasa, both subordinates of Vikramāditya VI. For a similar epithet, *ajāyanagandhanūra*, see S. I. I., Vol. IX, pt. I, No. 100 (1052-53 A.C.) of the time of Sōmēśvara I.

<sup>8</sup> From the original plates and from the facsimile published above, Vol. XII, between pp. 220-1.

<sup>9</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>10</sup> The word *maha* is omitted in Mr. Marutadar's transcript.

- 4 Kāvērīnātha<sup>1</sup>-kamalavaraha(hā)(bā)jā<sup>2</sup> singha(singha)dhvajalāchha(sa<sup>3</sup>)-  
 5 Varāṇrapuravarādhā<sup>4</sup>vata<sup>5</sup> Ajō(yō)dhya<sup>6</sup>vinisagantasi-  
 6 āghā(āhā)-anamaṇimakuṇapa<sup>7</sup>tavarādhamā<sup>8</sup>-di(dvi)jāvō(rā)jāla(lā)-  
 7 śikhana<sup>9</sup>-satrudhva<sup>10</sup>japundarakāśa<sup>11</sup>-satrumaṇḍallī(lī)ka(sa<sup>12</sup>)mūlva(ha)ṇadapā-  
 8 satyamāritāṇḍa-dēva-śrī-Vaidyanātha-paḍapa-

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 9 kaṁ(āka)jāhārāṁ(bhā)maṇa-maḥa(hā)hū(hū)patillu(tula)<sup>13</sup> Chakravartī-śrī-Sōmā-  
 10 āvarādēvaru(rā)<sup>14</sup> pravardhamāna<sup>15</sup>-ji(vi)jaya-rā(jya)-samva(tsa)raṁvullu<sup>16</sup>  
 11 iruval-muṇḍu<sup>17</sup> 23 ārāhi<sup>18</sup> Māghā māsi śukla-pakṣhē tithau  
 12 saptamyaṁ Makara-śthitē savitari Mīna-rāśi-śthita-chandramasi  
 13 Ravi(van) Rēvatyām-amṛita-yōgē Chō(Chī)teṭpalayās-tirē Lā(La)hā<sup>19</sup>kāvartha-  
 14 ka-sam(sa)nnidhan Vatsa-sagōtrasya Gadādhara-nāma(h<sup>20</sup>) putrāya Vatsa-sagō-  
 15 trasya Puruṣhōttu(tama)<sup>21</sup>-nāma(h) putrāya Vā(Kā)śya(āya)pa-sagō(gō)trasya<sup>22</sup> śrī-Sōmā  
 16 āvarādēvavarmaṇaḥ paṇtra(ha)ḥ Kāśyapa-sagōtrasya śrī-Dhāralla-

*Second Plate : Second Side*

- 17 dēva(rā<sup>23</sup>)mmapaḥ putrah Vatsa-sagū(gō)trāya Madhura(sā)lana-nāmā(mnā) Vṛā(Bṛā)-  
 18 hmapāya ā-sa(sū)trānta-hantā-vōla(vīdā) Ru(Ri)g-vōda-mantra-vṛā(hṛā)hmap-ādhyā-  
 19 yinē Mahājī<sup>24</sup>-Atāṇḍrīlā<sup>25</sup>-Mādhakā-Khādna<sup>26</sup>-Kōkaṭidā<sup>27</sup>(va)-  
 20 paṭcha-pallikā-sahitaṁ Champāmalla-grāmaṁ chatuḥ-śinā-pa-  
 21 riḥhi(chohhi)ma<sup>28</sup>(m<sup>29</sup>) sa-jala-athala(m<sup>30</sup>) sa-machchha(taya)-  
 kaḥchhap-ādika(m<sup>31</sup>) sa-viṭaṁ(ta)ḥ<sup>32</sup> p-āṇḍyaṁ  
 22 nūli-na(m)kōhōpa-sahitaṁ sarva-āpādra(dra)va-va(vi)vaḥ(rji)taṁ(tam) apu(trā)<sup>33</sup> sa-  
 23 hitaṁ(tam) āyur-āṇḍya-rājya-vivridhya(ddhy-a)riha(m<sup>34</sup>) śrī-Vaidyanātha(dēvasya-  
 priti)-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Macumdar read this as 'Kāvērīnāthā-sāthā'.

<sup>2</sup> This epithet is evidently a corruption or alteration of *śaṅkha-parāṇḍāḥ* which occurs among the same string of heralds held by a Telugu-Chōḍa chief (No. 488 of 1923 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.)

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Macumdar read this title as '(Va)śrī(āka)paṇa-śrī-ādikaḥ'.

<sup>4</sup> Whether this is to be restored as *paṇḍarīkākāśa* or *paṇḍarīkākāśa* is doubtful. The latter seems to be more appropriate.

<sup>5</sup> This is the Telugu honorific plural for *śāḍa*.

<sup>6</sup> This is Telugu for *dhya*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *anamaṇimakuṇa*.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Macumdar's reading is 'Anavardha-chōḍa-*varādhamāna*-ji(vi)jaya-rā(jya)-samva(tsa)raṁ vōlva(vi)-*kaḥchhapamāna* 23 ārāhi)-Māghā'.

<sup>9</sup> The 's' sign may actually be a *śāḍa* to indicate that the letter 'sa' was inadvertently omitted.

<sup>10</sup> An *anavardha* was intended and deleted above 'sa'.

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Macumdar read this as *śikhāḥ*.

<sup>12</sup> Mr. Macumdar's reading is *Mādhakā-āḥḥa*.

<sup>13</sup> This word evidently stands for *āpādra*, i.e., without fear of failure of hairs. Cf. *nūli-nūlihōp-āpādra*-*dhava-dāḍ-āpādra-saṁdāḥ* in lines 21-22 of the Kumāraśikhā plates. Mr. Ramana wrongly reads 'jāṭa' of the above passage as *śāḍa* and offers a fanciful interpretation of the word. The expression *dhavāpādra* literally 'what is derived from punishment' no doubt means 'money exacted from offenders as fines'.



*Third Plate : First Side*

- 24 kāmū[h\*] āci-śōmāśvarādēvavar[m]mā<sup>1</sup> pradadē [i\*]  
 25 Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṣātī yaś-cha bhūmim prayachohātī [i\*]u-  
 26 bhaṣ dvau (tau) puṇya-karmāṇaṁ niyatau(tau) evargga-gāminau ||  
 27 Mā bhū[d-a]phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt-ōti pārtthiva(vāḥ) eva-  
 28 dattāt-phalam-ānantiyau para-datt-ānupālānē || Gām-ākān  
 29 suvarṇam-ākān bhūmā-apy-oddha(viddha)m-aṅgula[m]\* hāṣa-narakam-āpnō-  
 30 ti-yāvad-āhūta-sampālavah(vam) || Yad-vairi-bhūpāla-villāni-  
 31 nām-ō(m-u)tkshipta-hūnē(rē)ya(ahu) payōdharāhu | aru-pravāhaḥ prithu-ohā(hā)-

*Third Plate : Second Side*

- 32 va(ru)-ya[shu][m\*] vīm-aiya sōkṛṣa samāśaṅga || Yasu-ā-  
 33 nvaṣ bhūpatir-ōsha jātaḥ Yaśōga<sup>2</sup> ity-āhita-  
 34 rāja-simhaḥ [i\*] yasmīna(emin) vinikshipta dhuraṇ-dhaṣṭryāḥ  
 35 suvā(śvā)pa vānidhau muditō Mukundaḥ || Yasu-āvarōdha-  
 36 stana-chandanānāṁ prakāśanād-vāri-vihāra-kālā | Chi-  
 37 trōtpalā Svarṇavati-gat-āpi [a Gaṅg-ōtmmi-śa[m\*]saktam-iv-ā-  
 38 vibhātī]

**No. 46—TWO NISHIDHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM SONDA***(I. Plate)*

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

**Sōndā** in the Sirsi taluk of the North Kanara District, Bombay State, is a small hamlet with few residential buildings. A dilapidated fort, some deserted temples, a few monastic establishments and ruins scattered over a large area bespeak the eminence once enjoyed by this place. Besides being the headquarters of the Nāyaka chiefs who ruled over this tract during the period of the 16th to the 18th centuries, this was once, in the heyday of its glory, a busy commercial centre with its communications extending far into the inland on one side and to the foreign countries through the activities of the Portuguese and English traders on the other.<sup>3</sup> The name of the place occurs in earlier records in various forms, viz., Sōdā, Sōda, Svādi, Sōdāpuri, Sudhāpuri, etc.

In addition to the *maṭha* founded by the Mādhyama saint Vādirāja Tirtha, Sōndā contains a Jaina *maṭha* of pontifical dignity, though in a decayed condition. This is known traditionally as the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Macdonald read this name as *Yōghāntadhamarāṇa*. What he read as *pō* is definitely *śō* and the letter read by him as *pō* is *mā*. For similar forms of *mā* see 'varṇanā' in the same line and *maṣṣā* in plate C a, line 1, of the Sonapur plates of Kumāra Śrīmādevārādēva : above, Vol. XII, p. 240 and plate.

<sup>2</sup> The text is here metrically defective.

<sup>3</sup> The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> North Kanara District Gazetteer, part II, pp. 52 and 349.

Akalanka and the Bhattākalanka *maṣṭa*<sup>1</sup> among the Jaina community of the Bombay-Karnāṭak area. At a distance of about a mile from this *maṣṭa* and in the midst of the forest is preserved a cemetery set apart for the interment of the deceased pontiffs of the *maṣṭa*. In this burial ground, arrayed in decent rows and constructed with characteristic designs stands conspicuous a large number of Jaina sepulchres known as *nishidhis*. On two of these constructions, which are more dignified and stand prominently at the commencement of a row are engraved the following two epigraphs which I copied in the course of my epigraphical survey of the Sirci taluk in 1939-40. I am editing them below for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India. These inscriptions will hereafter be alluded to as **A** and **B** for the sake of brevity.<sup>2</sup>

**A** is incised on the four sides of the first *nishidhi* construction, while **B** is inscribed on a slab fixed into the front side of the second *nishidhi* construction referred to above. The figures of a reclining *śaśa* and *kaṇaṇḍala* are carved in the right and left corners at the top of **B**. The orthographical convention of doubling the consonant after *r* is followed in some expressions of both the records: e.g., *śchūryya* and *svaryya* occurring in lines 4 and 9 of **A** and 5 and 11-12 of **B**. Both the inscriptions are written in Kannada characters and language which is of the post-Vijayanagara period. Except for the last two lines of **A**, which contain a Sanskrit verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, the composition of the two records is in prose.

**A** is an epitaph announcing the death of a Jaina teacher, named Akalanikadēva, on Kārttika śu. 10, Wednesday, of the Śaka year 1530 and *Plavastiga*. This teacher bore the following titles: *Rāya-rājaguru* (royal preceptor of kings), *Maṇḍalāchārya* (high-priest of the state), *Mahāvāda-vēdīvara* (supreme disputant in profound discussions), *Rāya-cāli-Pāṇḍaka* (god Brahmā among the royal disputants), *Sakala-vīrajjana-chakravartī* (paramount sovereign in the assemblage of the learned) and *Ballāṣarāja-jīvarakṣhā-pālaka* (saviour and protector of life of the Ballāṣa king). He bore two more epithets, viz., *Dēś-gaṇ-āgragonyya* and *Śaṅgītapura-sinhāsana-patī-chārya*, which show that he belonged to the *Dēśi gāṇa* of the Mūla *saṅgha* and adorned the pontifical throne of Śaṅgītapura. The Sanskrit verse at the end states that the memorial vault (*nishidhi-maṣṭapa*) was caused to be erected by Bhattākalānikadēva, expounder of the Syādvāda doctrine. In the context of events it would not be unreasonable to assume that this Bhattākalānikadēva was a disciple of the deceased Akalanikadēva.

In regard to the date cited above, it may be noted that the Śaka year was current and the weekday was Tuesday on the specified *tithi*. Making allowance for this discrepancy it may be equated with 1607 A.C., October 20.

**B** again is an epitaph purporting to record the demise of another Jaina teacher, by name Bhattākalānikadēva, who expired in the second *ghaṭikā* after sunrise on Kārttika śu. 10 of Śaka 1577, Jaya. This teacher also bore the titles, such as *Rāya-rājaguru*, etc., enumerated above in respect of Akalanikadēva. The expression *Dēśi* in line 4 might be an abbreviation of *Dēś-gaṇ-āgragonyya* occurring in **A** and as such it would indicate that this teacher also belonged to the *Dēśi gāṇa* of the Mūla *saṅgha*.

<sup>1</sup> At the time of my visit to the place I met the Svāmī of the *maṣṭa* and he told me that it was called the Bhattākalānikadēva *maṣṭa*. In response to my enquiry Prof. A. N. Upadhye, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, informed me that the *maṣṭa* was known as that of Akalanika and that this traditional name was quite popular (letter dated 28-8-1944). While editing the copper plate records from Sirci, Prof. E. G. Kumbhakar observes that the *maṣṭa* took its name after its founders, Akalanika and Bhattākalānikadēva; *Jyotiś Karmajyoti* (Kannada monthly), 1925-26, p. 13. Both these traditions are in support of the identification of the two Jaina teachers proposed in the article. But the same writer is not certainly correct when he says that the *maṣṭa* was founded in the 4th century A.C. As shown in the article, the *maṣṭa* must have come into existence only during the 10th century A.C.

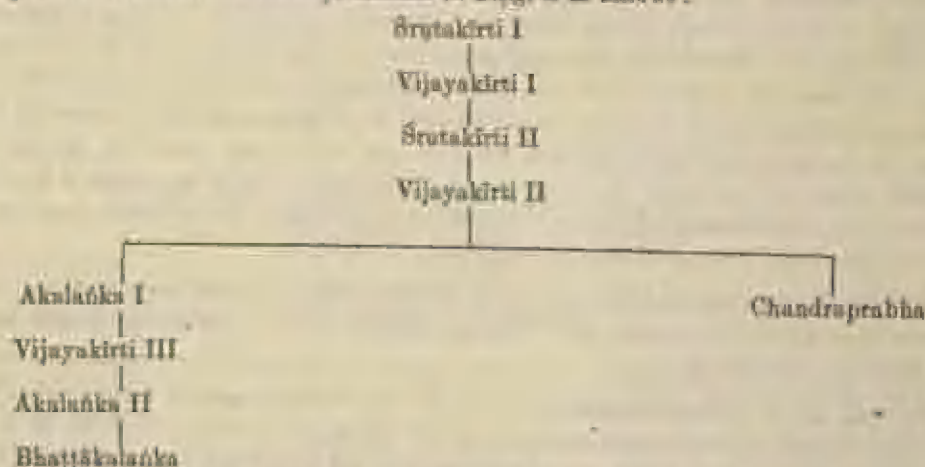
<sup>2</sup> These inscriptions have been registered as Nos. 77, 78 of 1939-40, *As. Recd.* on 8.1. Epigraphy for 1939-40 to 1942-43, Appendix E.



The date cited above is not verifiable as the week-day is not mentioned. However, we may note that the Śaka year was current, and thus the specified *tithi* would correspond to 1635 A.C., November 9, Thursday.

In order to understand the importance of these two teachers and their identification, we have to probe into the religious and political history of this region as gathered from other sources. During the period of the 14th to 17th century A. C., there flourished in the southern parts of the North Kanara District and the adjoining tract four principalities, *etc.*, Nagire, Hāḍavalli or Saṅgitapura, Bijigi<sup>1</sup> and Sōndā. The rulers of these chiefdoms came under the powerful influence of Jainism and the Jain teachers who were responsible for this influence belonged to a particular monastic order. Two inscriptions<sup>2</sup> found in the dilapidated Ratnatraya Basadi (*i.e.*, Jain temple) at Bijigi in the Siddāpur taluk of the district furnish valuable information about these monks.

There flourished an erudite Jain teacher named Chārukīrti Paṇḍita who founded a monastery at Śravaṇa Belgōla. He bore the titles, *Rāya-rājaguru*, *Maṇḍalāchārya*, *Mahāvādā-cāḍisvara*, *Rāya-vādi-Pitāmaha*, *Sakala-vibhajana-chakravarti* and *Ballāṣarāya-jīvaratākā-pālaka*. This teacher might have lived in the early part of the 12th century A. C., since, according to some inscriptions from Śravaṇa Belgōla, he earned the last-mentioned title by saving the life of the Hoysala king Ballāṣa I (1100-1106 A. C.). This teacher belonged to the Dīṅḍīya *gana* and Pustaka *gacchhā* of the Mūla *saṅgha*.<sup>3</sup> The subsequent teachers who were connected with the spiritual heritage of this preceptor adopted these titles in their *prasaṅgi*. Śrutakīrti was a later descendant in the monastic lineage of Chārukīrti Paṇḍita. The spiritual succession of Śrutakīrti as recounted in inscription No. I in the Ratnatraya Basadi at Bijigi is as follows :



The earliest date mentioning the last named teacher, Bhāṭṭākalāṅka, as known from the above epigraph is Śaka 1010 or 1587 A. C. So on a modest calculation of about 25 years per generation we can place Śrutakīrti I approximately in the beginning of the 15th century A. C. It may be

<sup>1</sup> This name is spelt as Bijigi and Bijagi also and Sanskritised into Śaṅgitapura.

<sup>2</sup> I copied these epigraphs privately in 1938 and the above account is based on my own readings of their texts. These records have been published with many flaws in 1940, October-November issue of the Kanara Journal *Sarasa Sāhitya* whose editor states that he copied them in 1926. Their summaries have been published with some mistakes in the *Annual Report on Kanara Research* for 1939-40, Nos. 82, 89. The late R. Narendrabhaṭṭar referred to one of these inscriptions in his account of Bhāṭṭākalāṅka based on his copy found in the Madras Museum, *Karnāṭaka Kaviśaṅkṛti*, Vol. II, p. 248. But it is now seen that that copy must have been defective in parts.

<sup>3</sup> *Karnāṭaka Śāhityaśaṅkṛti* (Bibliotheca Carnatica, 1923), Introduction, p. 5; Bijigi Ratnatraya Basadi inscription No. I.

noted in this connection that the principality of Hādūvalī or Saṅgitapura also came into being approximately at this period.<sup>1</sup> The chiefs of Saṅgitapura seem to have accepted the spiritual leadership of these preceptors from the beginning and extended their support to Śrutakīrti I in establishing a monastery of pontifical status in their capital. Hence, as we shall see in the sequel, these preceptors were designated the pontiffs of the Saṅgitapura throne (*Saṅgitapura-sinhācāru-paṭīśāhārya*). The influence wielded by these preceptors over the rulers of Saṅgitapura is illustrated by the following assertion in the above epigraph. It states that Vijayakīrti I earned renown by securing the throne for Indrabhūpala of Saṅgitapura.<sup>2</sup> In regard to Vijayakīrti II, the second epigraph from Bīḷigi observes that he became eminent from his seat at Saṅgitapura.<sup>3</sup>

We may reckon a few more facts about these teachers, indicating the sphere of their influence as gathered from the first inscription from Bīḷigi and a few other records. Vijayakīrti II caused to be constructed a well-planned town named Battakaja (modern Bhatkal) on the west coast for his pupil Dēvatīya who may be identified as the namesake elder brother of the Hādūvalī chief Gururīya<sup>4</sup> who lived approximately in the first quarter of the 16th century. Soon after this and by the middle of the 16th century, the Hādūvalī chiefs lost their entity as a political unit.<sup>5</sup>

It was about this time that the chiefs of Bīḷigi, another principality in the neighbourhood, were rising to power. The influence of these teachers is clearly discernible on these rulers during the next few generations. Thus we are told that Akalaṅka I and Chandraprabha illuminated the path of the Jina by confiding the spiritual truths to their pupils Narasimha and Timma. These two chiefs were the sons of Ghaṭṭēndra I of the Bīḷigi family.<sup>6</sup> This Narasimha's grandson Raṅgarāja was fervently devoted to Akalaṅka II and calls himself the foremost and favourite pupil of the latter.<sup>7</sup> Raṅgarāja's son Ghaṭṭēndra II was equally attached to Akalaṅka II and more so to Bhaṭṭākalaṅka. Arasaṅga Nāyaka II, the founder of Svādī or Sōṇḍā, another chiefdom nearby, seems now to have come under the direct influence of these teachers, more so, probably on account of his matrimonial alliance with the Bīḷigi family.<sup>8</sup>

Epigraphic evidence is precise to prove that the chiefs of Sōṇḍā accepted the religious leadership of the above-noticed teachers of Saṅgitapura and revered them as their own spiritual preceptors. A copper-plate inscription from Sōṇḍā, dated Śaka 1490 or 1567 A.C., and issued by the Sōṇḍā ruler Arasaṅga Nāyaka II, recounts the genealogy of his preceptors from Vijayakīrti II of the above account, who is characterised as the lord of Saṅgitanagara.<sup>9</sup> In this epigraph the chief styles himself the favourite pupil of Akalaṅka II. In the light of the above facts, it is easy to see how and under what vicissitudes the teachers who were originally at Saṅgitapura, passed on from that place to Bīḷigi and thence to Sōṇḍā. It is in the fitness of things to assume that a monastery of pontifical status was founded for his preceptor Akalaṅka II by Arasaṅga Nāyaka II in his capital at Sōṇḍā. The above review thus lends support to the prevalence of the tradition noticed in the

<sup>1</sup> *Am. Rep. on Kon. Res. in Bom. Prov.*, 1939-40, p. 47. The genealogy of the Hādūvalī chiefs set forth here commences with Sijuvēndra who might have lived about the closing part of the 14th century, as his son Mallirāja has Śaka 1332 or 1410 A.C. as his last date.

<sup>2</sup> This Indrabhūpala may be identified with Indra in the genealogy of the Hādūvalī chiefs, who has the date Śaka 1394 or 1472 A.C.; *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> The passage in question reads as follows: *Tat-samādhā-kramāṇāṃ pūṭi Saṅgitā-dhām-puraṃ kabhāvaṃ dīkṣitaṃ Vijayakīrti-śreyaṣa paramāraṇa-paṇḍitaḥ ||*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* *et.*, the genealogy of the Hādūvalī chiefs.

<sup>5</sup> *Am. Rep. on Kon. Res. in Bom. Prov.*, 1939-40, pp. 45-46.

<sup>6</sup> *Jaya Karmāśaka*, 1925-26, copper plate records of Svādī, No. 2; *Madras Ep. Coll.*, C.P. No. 2 of 1940-41.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, copper plate records of Svādī, No. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Bīḷigiga Arasaṅga Vanāśveta* (Karmāśaka work), verse 125. Arasaṅga Nāyaka II's daughter Vīramāṅka was married to Ghaṭṭēndra II of the Bīḷigi family.

<sup>9</sup> *Jaya Karmāśaka*, 1925-26, copper plate records from Svādī, No. 6.



beginning of this study, connecting the name of Akalaṅka and his disciple Bhaṭṭākalaṅka with the Jaina maṭha at Sōṇḍā.

Akalaṅka II and Bhaṭṭākalaṅka were the most celebrated teachers of the line; and the Bīḷgi epigraphs furnish the following information about them. They were held in esteem not only in the chiefdoms of the west coast, but were also renowned in other parts of the country on account of their profound learning and versatile scholarship. Well-versed in secular arts, a pleasing personality, of extraordinary ability and immaculate character, Akalaṅka II rose to eminence as the foremost among the circle of preceptors on account of his incessant practice of proclaiming and expounding the scriptures, tendered with affection. His disciple Bhaṭṭākalaṅka had mastered several branches of learning, was endowed with many good qualities and excelled in the art of exposition. Proficient in the treatises of his own school of philosophy as well as in those of others, constantly engaged in study and teaching, he proved himself to be an impressive figure, a critical scholar and a judicious advocate in the royal courts and in the assembly of learned men. It is stated at the end of the Bīḷgi inscriptions that they were written by Bhaṭṭākalaṅka. We can detect the personality of the learned author in these epigraphic compositions which evince scholarly treatment and literary style in its excellence.

A Jaina teacher named Bhaṭṭākalaṅka is the author of the *Karṇāṭaka-Saḍdānuśāsana*, a scholarly treatise on Kannaḍa grammar, written in Sanskrit in the *vāra* style of Pāṇini. "This work is not only more elaborate and exhaustive than the previous ones, but also more methodical in the treatment of the subject. It may be said to be to Kannaḍa what the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is to Sanskrit and its learned commentary (written by the author himself) may in a way be compared to the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali."<sup>1</sup> This work was completed in 1604 A.C. From the colophon of the work, it is gathered that the author's teacher was Akalaṅka who was learned and assisted him in its composition, that these preceptors belonged to the lineage of Chārukirīti Paṇḍita and that they bore all the titles and epithets of the teachers of Saṅgītapura noticed above. Noteworthy among them is the characteristic title *Saṅgītapure-nishāṇa-paṭṭābhāṣya* which is also applied to Akalaṅka in the first *nishāṇi* inscription from Sōṇḍā as seen above.

Judging from the evidence adduced so far, it may be safely concluded that the grammarian Bhaṭṭākalaṅka and his teacher Akalaṅka are identical with Bhaṭṭākalaṅka and Akalaṅka II of the line of teachers from Saṅgītapura. We may further recognise the identity of the same two teachers in the two *nishāṇi* records from Sōṇḍā under study. The intimate connection of the grammarian Bhaṭṭākalaṅka as well as of his preceptor Akalaṅka with Sōṇḍā is attested by another authority also. This is Dēva-chandra, an author of the last century, who states in his *Rājāvalīkātika* that the grammarian Bhaṭṭākalaṅka learnt all the sciences at Sudhāpura,<sup>2</sup> i.e., Sōṇḍā, naturally under his teacher Akalaṅka.

Lastly, we may note that the above identification does not lead to any inconsistencies, although it might confer longevity upon the two teachers. The earliest date available for Akalaṅka II from an inscription<sup>3</sup> is Śaka 1487 or 1584 A.C. and he died in 1607 A.C. according to A. This would show that he lived approximately over 60 years. Similarly Bhaṭṭākalaṅka was alive in 1587 A.C. and he passed away in 1635 A.C. according to B. So he might have lived approximately over 80 years.

<sup>1</sup> *Karṇāṭaka Saḍdānuśāsana* (op. cit.), Intro. p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Akalaṅka II figures in a copper-plate record as the preceptor of the Bīḷgi ruler Raḍgaṇḍa. The epigraph refers back to the reign of the Vijayanagara king Saḍḍiṭṭa and is dated Śaka 1487, Raktākṣi: *Jaya Kuraḍḍaṭa*, 1923-26, copper-plate records from Svādī, No. 2.

TWO NISHIDHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM SONDA  
A

FIRST SIDE



SECOND SIDE





THIRD SIDE



8

FOURTH SIDE



10

12

8

10

12

## INSCRIPTION A

TEXT<sup>1</sup>*First Side*

- 1 Śrī [i\*] Svasti [i\*] Śrī-jay-ābhyudaya Śālivāha-
- 2 na-Śaka-varuaha 1530 neya Plavaṅga sarivatsara-
- 3 da Kārttika śu 10 Budhavāradāni śrīmad-Rāya-

*Second Side*

- 4 [tājaguru-Ma]hāśākhāryya Mahāvāda-
- 5 [vādīvara Rāya-vādi-Pitāmaha Sakala-vidva]ja-
- 6 [na-chakravarti Ra]jā[ra]ya-jīvarakāhā-pā-

*Third Side*

- 7 laka Dēśi-gaṇ-āgraganya Saṃgītapura-simhā[sana]-
- 8 paṭṭākhāryya śrīmad-Akalanīkadēvarugala
- 9 śrī-Paṇcha-guru-charaṇa-amaraṇiyitida svargastha-ā-

*Fourth Side*

- 10 [daru] [i\*] Avara nishidhi-maṇṭapakke maṅgala mahāśrī [i\*]
- 11 Bhāṭṭākalanīkadēva Syādvāda-nyāya-vādīnā | nishi-
- 12 dhī-maṇṭapō dīpādīnā śhōyād-ā-chaṇdra-bhāṣa[k]arath ||

## ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Be it well ! On Kārttika śu. 10, Wednesday of the Śālivāhan Śaka year 1530 and Plavaṅga, the illustrious teacher Akalanīkadēva, bearing the distinguished titles, *Rāya-acharyas*, *Maṇḍa-likārya*, etc., attained heaven, meditating on the feet of the Five Teachers.<sup>2</sup> May this vault erected in his memory be auspicious ! This memorial vault (*nishidhi-maṇṭapa*) was arranged (i.e., caused to be erected) by Bhāṭṭākalanīkadēva, expounder of the Syādvāda doctrine.

## INSCRIPTION B

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti[i\*] Śrī-jay-ābhya[da\*]ya Śālivāhana-na(śa)ka-va(raha)
- 2 1577 Jaya sariv[va\*] [ta\*] [ra\*]da Kārttika sudh(d)ha daśarni
- 3 Śār[ṣṭ]ṭhāyav-āda ya(s)radana ghaṭigaya-
- 4 Ii Dēśi śrīmad-Rāya-rājaguru Mahāśa-
- 5 khāyā(chā)ryyaruṁ Mahāvāda-vādīvara Rā-
- 6 ya-vādi-Pitāmahā(ha) Sakala-vidva]jana-cha-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> These are the Pañcha Paramahatthas, the well known pentad of Jaina theology, viz., Jina, Sakha, Acharya, Upadhyaya and Sadhu.



- 7 [kra]varitiga[|]nāh Ballā|arāya-jīvarakāśā-pā-
- 8 lakārum-appa śrinad-Bhaṭṭākalanika-jīyā-|dē-
- 9 varu
- 10 'ārī-|Pamcha-guru-churāya-amara|neyānda]
- 11 Chata-mahāgha-|samakaha|dullī-ava-
- 12 rggavanyai(n-ai)lidiaru [|\*] I[sh]-
- 13 [t-|] arī arī arī [|\*]

## ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Be it well ! On Kārtika tuddha dasami of the Śālivāhana Śaka year 1077 and Jaya, in the second *ghaṭikā* after sun-rise, the illustrious revered teacher Bhaṭṭākalanikadēva attained heaven, while he was absorbed in meditating upon the feet of the Five Teachers in the presence of the Four-fold Saṅgha.<sup>2</sup>

## No. 47—TEKKALI PLATES OF MAHARAJA UMAVARMAN ; YEAR 9

(2 plates)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND.

This set of three copper plates was received for examination in 1934 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Mysapore, Madras, from the Deputy Tahsildar of Tekkali, Visakhapatnam District. It is registered as C. P. No. 13 of 1934-35 in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1934-5*. The Superintendent for Epigraphy reports on page 52 of the said *Report*, on the charter as follows :

"The plates measure  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " and have a ring-hole of about  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter near the left margin, through which passes the ring measuring  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of this ring are soldered into the back of an oval seal which bears a worn-out legend on its oval counter-sunk surface measuring about  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The ring had been cut when the plates were received by me. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only, while the other two plates have writing on both the sides, the second face of the third plate bearing only two lines of writing. The whole set including the ring and seal weigh 79 tolas and without these only 48 tolas. The plates are reported to belong to the Raja of Tekkali, who has published an inaccurate text of the inscription in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VI, p. 53. The Raja does not mention the place, or history, of the discovery of the plates, but only states that a Karnam of Tekkali had these in his possession when they came to his notice."

The seal of the plates is very much worn out ; nevertheless traces of four letters, in a single line, are visible. Of these the last can be made out as *tha*. The Raja of Tekkali, however, reads the whole legend as *paṭraśakti* which is not clear in the photograph. It is not improbable that the legend might have been as read by the Raja, since we have three other instances of a similar legend which occurs on the seals of the Kōmarti plates<sup>3</sup> and the Bobbili<sup>4</sup> plates of Chāṇḍavarman and on the Chicacole plates of Nandiprabhāñjanavarman.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lines 10-13 are inscribed in the top portion of the slab.

<sup>2</sup> The Four-fold Saṅgha might be the Nāma Jina, Śikhaṇa Jina, Devāya Jina and Bhūṭaya Jina, defined in the *Prasādhana Śāstradhāra ; Jaina Iconography* by B. C. Bhattacharya, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Jes. Ind. Vol. XIII*, p. 48. Dr. Fleet, who edited this record, could not decipher the legend on the seal. This was, however, read by Dr. Bhatnagar as *Paṭraśakti* ; Above, Vol. IV, p. 143.

The four seals are now reproduced here, for the first time, for comparison.

The characters of our inscription resemble those in the first two grants cited above, all of which are engraved in the southern script. In some cases, like *w* and *e*, the letters of the present grant show a rounded appearance as compared with those of the *Bṛhatprōshthā* grant<sup>1</sup> and the *Dhuvapēja* plates of *Mahārāja* Umavarman,<sup>2</sup> in which they appear angular. In all these charters including the one under study, the characters bear remarkable affinity to one another especially in the marking of the serif which is deeply cut. On palaeographical grounds the script of the above two charters of Umavarman has been assigned to the first half of the fifth century A.C.<sup>3</sup> Our record may also be placed in the same century on the same grounds. The Superintendent for Epigraphy, however, remarks about its script as compared with that of the *Bṛhatprōshthā* grant as follows: "From the more angular aspect of the script adopted in this inscription and also the more archaic form of certain letters and its orthographical peculiarities, this may have to be assigned to an earlier period. The forms of subscripts for *y* and *r* adopted in this inscription, resemble those found in later *Kushāṇa* epigraphs. The doubling of the consonant before the *repha* also suggests an earlier model like the *Nāla* inscriptions."<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to agree with the line of argument adopted above, since it is not quite correct to compare these *Kaliṅga* grants which are in southern characters with the *Kushāṇa* records which are in northern characters.

As regards the orthography of the Tekkali plates there is nothing particular to remark. There are very few errors of composition or those committed by the scribe. A consonant after *r* is duplicated. The doubling of the consonant before a *repha* is found in *dharma-kṛama* (line 2) and *vikrama* (line 9). *Yuddhishthira* for *Yudhishtīra* (lines 14-15) is evidently a mistake. There is only one instance of the use of *b* for *v* (*sambatsara*, line 16). The phraseology of the grant is in many respects similar to that obtaining in the allied *Kaliṅga* grants cited above except for a few differences. Thus, the passage *dharma-kṛama-vikramābhya(nam) dānam anupāśanā-h-iti śaha śahā sa dharmam* may be compared with the following one in the *Bṛhatprōshthā* and other grants: *dharma-kṛama-vikramābhya(nam) anupāśanā-gṛhāṇa-mahimā anupāśanā pravaritakam-idaṁ dānam ad-dharmam-anupāśadbhāḥ*, etc. Towards the end of the record and before the mention of the *likhaka* there is an interesting endorsement to the effect that the charter was written by the king in his own hand and was as such capable of destroying sins. It runs, *riyāṁ eva-kṛta-likhitam dānam pāpa-nāśanam*. Here the word *likhitam* is perhaps to be understood in the sense that the king attested the original deed of gift himself since the inscription says that the king himself was the executor (*vaṣṭam-āpāt*). Mention is made of another person, *Kṣavastva* of *Piśhāpura*, who is also stated to have written it. The latter evidently was the person who actually wrote the inscription on the copper plates which was later engraved over.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Except the three imprecatory verses, the rest of the composition is in prose.

The object of the charter is to record the gift of a village called *Antihavā* or *Havā*<sup>5</sup> as a tax-free *agrahāra* to a *Bṛhmanya* Yaśovarman of the *Kāśyapa* *gotra* by *Mahārāja* Umavarman who describes himself as *puripādānuśyātāḥ*. The date of the grant is given in words as the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the month of *Māgha* in the ninth year (of the king's reign). The king himself was the *ḥṛdā*, i.e., executor of the grant. The record is stated to have been written (*likhitam*) by the king himself. It is also recorded that *Kṣavastva*, a resident of *Piśhāpura* wrote (*likhitam*) the charter. As explained above, the king perhaps issued the original charter in his own hand and executed it, its copy having been reduced to writing on the copper plates by *Kṣavastva*.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XII, p. 4 and plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 123 and plate.

<sup>3</sup> *JASIE*, 1934-35, p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> See below p. 302, foot-note 2.



The order conveying the gift was issued from the victorious **Vardhamānapura**.

In the century to which *Mahārāja* Umavarman of the present Tekkali plates has been assigned there ruled in Kalinga another king of the same name, *viz.*, *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman, already mentioned, who was the donor of the Brihatprashthā grant and of the Dhavalapāṇa plates. That both may be identical seems at first sight plausible, but it was perhaps not so. In the first place there is a marked difference in the seals attached to their respective grants. Those of *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman have the legend in four lines ending with the name of the donor in the genitive case. The one attached to the present Tekkali plates has only a single line as legend which in all probability reads *pitrībhaṭṭaḥ*. The absence of the title *Kalingādhipati* among the titles of Umavarman of the present charter may be considered as another factor pointing in the same direction of their non-identity. Whether the Umavarman of the present Tekkali plates belonged to the same family as, if he was not identical with, his namesake of the records cited above cannot also be ascertained with the evidence at our disposal. On the other hand, there is a possibility of our Umavarman being in some way lineally connected with two other kings of Kalinga who flourished in or about the same century, *viz.*, *Kalingādhipati* Chandavarman of the Bobbili<sup>1</sup> and the Kōmarti<sup>2</sup> plates and *Sakala-Kalingādhipati* Nandaprabhañjanavarman of the Chicacole plates.<sup>3</sup> In all their grants the legend on the seals is the same, *viz.*, *pitrībhaṭṭaḥ*. A common legend like this used by several kings on the seals of their charters would indicate that it was more than a personal epithet of a particular ruler, perhaps a cognomen indicating one family. We have a similar instance of a common legend adopted by the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, *viz.*, *Tribhuvanānkura*. Although this occurs as a personal attribute of a number of kings of this dynasty, its adoption as a legend on the seals of their charters by different members of the family invests it with greater significance than that of merely indicating a particular ruler. Perhaps it gained importance as a common title of the family as a whole. Similarly, it may be said that the kings who used the legend *pitrībhaṭṭaḥ* were all of one family, whose dynastic appellation, if any, is not at present known. The origin of the legend can be traced to the personal epithet *pitrīpādānuḥyātāḥ* or *bappabhaṭṭarakapādubhaṭṭaḥ* by which these kings are found to style themselves. While there were other rulers belonging to different dynasties, *viz.*, the kings of the Māthara, Pallava, Śālaṅkāyana and Viṣṇukunḍina families, who used the same epithet, none of them adopted it as a legend on their seals.

As stated above, king Umavarman of the present charter was not the overlord of the whole of Kalinga, as he does not bear the title *Sakala-Kalingādhipati* or even *Kalingādhipati*. He seems to have been ruling only a portion of the country from his capital at Vardhamānapura. I have stated elsewhere<sup>4</sup> that *Kalingādhipati* Chandavarman of the Bobbili and Kōmarti plates should have

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 30 ff. and plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff. and plate.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 46 ff. and plate.

<sup>4</sup> See article on the Madras Museum plates of Amantakṣivarman, above, p. 222. The chronological position of another early king of Kalinga, *viz.*, Viśākṣavarman, who issued the Kōrchaṇḍā plates (above, Vol. XXI, p. 13), remains uncertain. The script of this record resembles the characters of *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman's grants (Brihatprashthā grant and Dhavalapāṇa plates) and those of the present Tekkali plates of *Mahārāja* Umavarman. Viśākṣavarman does not bear the title *Kalingādhipati* and his charter is issued from Śrīpura. Neither the ring nor the seal of his grant is forthcoming to help us in deciding whether he was a *pitrībhaṭṭa* king or not. To take a cue from his name Viśākṣavarman, we might suppose that he was the son of an Umavarman, since Viśākṣa, *i.e.*, Śaṅkha, was the son of Umā, *i.e.*, Pārvatī. If future discoveries substantiate this conjecture, it would appear that the Bappa-bhaṭṭaraka for whose heavenly lile he made the gift of the village recorded in his Kōrchaṇḍā plates (*named-bappa-bhaṭṭaraka-piṭṭinaḥ sara-bhaṭṭaraka-piṭṭinaḥ śāṅgaḥ paṇḍya-paṇḍya*) is to be identified with one of the two kings of the name of Umavarman. If he was *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman of the Brihatprashthā grant, it might be supposed that soon after his death and before Viśākṣavarman could consolidate his power, *Kalingādhipati* Chandavarman wrested the Kalinga kingdom from the young prince and thus deprived him of his lordship over Kalinga as well as of the title of *Kalingādhipati*.



acquired the kingdom of Kalinga soon after *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman had ceased to rule. Our Umavarman, who belonged to the same family as that of Chajjavarman, must have been holding sway over a part of Kalinga sometime after Chajjavarman, that is, in the third quarter of the 5th century. Of the three kings who belonged to this line of *pitribhaktas* rulers, *etc.*, Chajjavarman, Umavarman and Nandaprabhāṣjanavarman, only Umavarman did not style himself as *Kalingādhipati*. Since the characters of Nandaprabhāṣjanavarman's grant belong to a period later than those found in the inscriptions of the other two *pitribhaktas* rulers, we may consider Umavarman of our grant as having preceded him but to have come after Chajjavarman who immediately followed *Kalingādhipati* Umavarman, whose family is not known. It would appear that owing to the causes unknown, Umavarman lost his hold on the whole of Kalinga. Some time later *Mahārāja* Nandaprabhāṣjanavarman restored the power of the family to its old position, since this king is found to assume the title *Sabala-Kalingādhipati*. He was in his turn, superseded by another line of Kalinga rulers, *etc.*, the *Vāṃśikha* family to which belonged Anantavarman, Lord of Kalinga, 'who acquired the kingdom by his own prowess' as recorded in his Siripuram<sup>1</sup> and Śrūṅṅavarapukōṭa<sup>2</sup> plates. Thus, of the three *pitribhaktas* kings, Chajjavarman ruled the whole of Kalinga from his capital at Sihhapura. His successor, Umavarman of the present plates, administered only a part of the country from his seat at Vardhamānapura. Nandaprabhāṣjanavarman, evidently the last ruler so far known of this line, again exercised sway over the whole of Kalinga from his seat (*vīṣaḥ*) Śīrapalli as recorded in his Chikucole plates. Since this place was only a *vīṣaḥ* or camp, he might have had his capital elsewhere.

Of the places mentioned in the present grant, *Piaṭapura* is well-known. The others, *Vardhamānapura* and *Astihavēra* have been identified respectively with *Vaḍams* in the Palakonda taluk, Visakhapatnam District, and *Atava* in the Śrūṅṅavarapukōṭa taluk in the same District by the late Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari.<sup>3</sup> These are situated at a distance of more than fifty miles from each other.

Some of the villages referred to in the early Kalinga grants have not been satisfactorily identified so far. In the following list, I have tried to indicate their modern names.

Reference.	Village mentioned in the inscription.	Modern name.	Taluk and District.
1. Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 323 (Dhavalapēta plates).	Kaṭṭa[ra] in Mahā-drabhōga.	Kadapudiḡi . . .	Golapudi Agency, Visakhapatnam District.
2. <i>Ibid.</i> , Vol. XXVII, p. 33 (Bobbili plates).	Tiṛiṭhāga . . .	Tirum . . .	Chipurapalle taluk, Visakhapatnam District.
3. <i>Ibid.</i> , Vol. IV, p. 142 (Kāmarṭi plates).	Kōṭṭūra . . .	Kottura . . .	Sekkakulam taluk, Sekkakulam District.
4. <i>Ibid.</i> , Vol. XXI, p. 23 (Kāṭṭanapāṭa plates).	Tampōyaka in Kōṭṭanapāṭa.	Tampa <sup>4</sup> near Korumudi.	Parthimēdi taluk Ganjam District.
5. <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , Vol. XIII, p. 48 (Chikucole plates).	Śīrapallivāṅka . . .	Śīrapalle . . .	Visakhapatnam taluk, Visakhapatnam District.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *ARSIE*, 1924-5, part II, para 2. If the name of the latter village is to be taken only as *Havēra*, I am unable to locate it.

<sup>4</sup> This identification has already been suggested by Mr. C. R. K. Chari; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 302.



TEXT<sup>1</sup>*First Plate*

- 1 Svasti [I\*] Vijaya-Vardhamānapurā[ti] pūṣpādānuddhyātā[ḥ] śrī-Mahārāj-ō-
- 2 navarinnā Astihavēra<sup>2</sup>-grāmē sarva-samavētām(n) kutumbinaḥ-sa-
- 3 mājñāpayaty-astā vō viditam [I\*] amāknō aya-puṇy-ā(ay-ā)yur.yyāśō-
- 4 bhividdhāy<sup>3</sup> ā-chandm-tārak-ārka-pratishṭham-agrahārām kṛtvā a-

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 5 [ka]ragrāhika-grāmañ-cha kṛtvā sarva-kam-bhāra-parihāra[ḥ] [I\*] parihā[ḥ] [Iya]
- 6 Ya[śa]śarmmañ Kāsyapa-gotrāya samprattā[ḥ] [I\*] tad-ēvañ viditvā
- 7 yashmābhīḥ pūrv-ōchita-maryādāy-ōparthānam kattiavyam-iti
- 8 [mē]ya-hiraṇy-ādī ch-ōpanēyam-iti bhaviṣyad-rājñā-cha vijñāpa-

*Second Plate : Second Side*

- 9 yāni dharmma-krama-vikramābhya(maiḥ) dānam-anupālanañ-cha-ōti ā-
- 10 sha khala sa dharmmaḥ | apī ch-ātra Vyāsa-gītā[n\*] ślōkān-udā-
- 11 haranti [I\*] Bahubhīr-vasandhā dattā vasu-dhā vasudhādhīpu[ḥ] [I\*] ya-
- 12 [aya] yaaya yadā bhūmi[ḥ] [I\*] tasya tasya tadā phalam [I\*] Shashti-varsha-sa-

*Third Plate : First Side*

- 13 hantāpī svargg<sup>4</sup> mōdati bhūmida[ḥ] [I\*] āksheptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva
- 14 narakē vañt [I\*] Sva-dattā[ḥ] [I\*] para-dattām vā yatinād-rakha Yuddhi[ḥ] [I\*]
- 15 sh[hira] [I\*] mahā-mahimatā[ḥ] śrīśākha dānā[ḥ] [I\*] chhōyū-ōpālana[m] [I\*] Māghaya kri-
- 16 shpa-divas[āḥ] septam sambatara navama<sup>5</sup> svayam-ājñā [I\*]

*Third Plate : Second Side*

- 17 Rājñā sva-hasta-likhitam śāsanam pāpa-nāśanam-[īti] [I\*]
- 18 Pishapura-vāstavyēna Kēlayadēvēna likhitam-[īti] [I\*]

## No. 48—PURI PLATES (SET B) OF GANGA NARASIMHA IV

## (1 Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

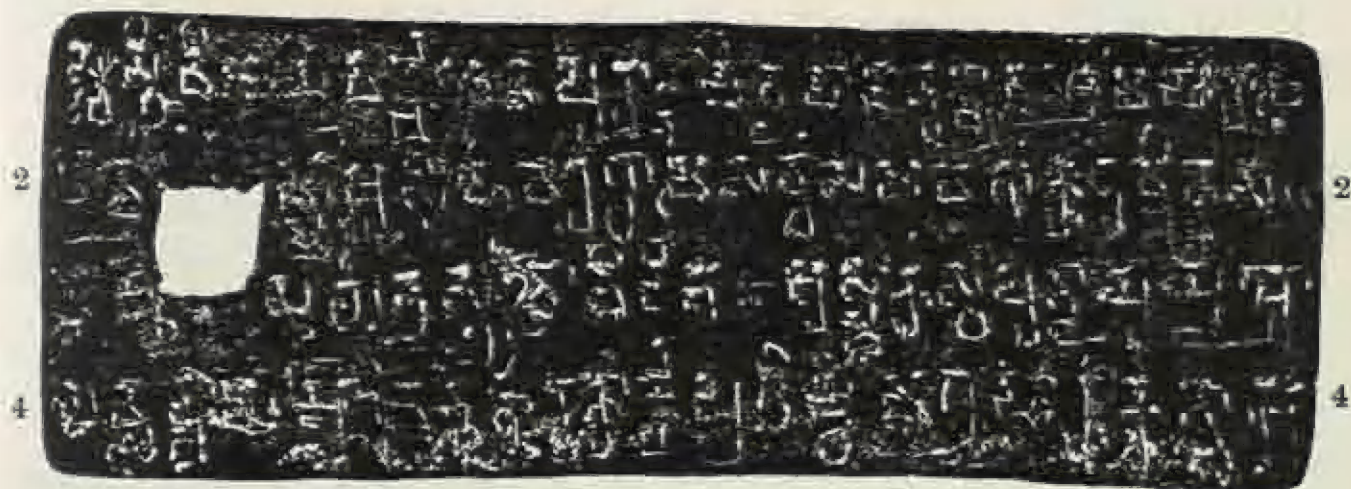
Sometime ago, my friend Mr. Paramānsuda Āchārya, Superintendent of Research and Museum, Government of Orissa, kindly sent me for examination a copper-plate inscription recently secured by him from Puri for the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. On examination, it was found to

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

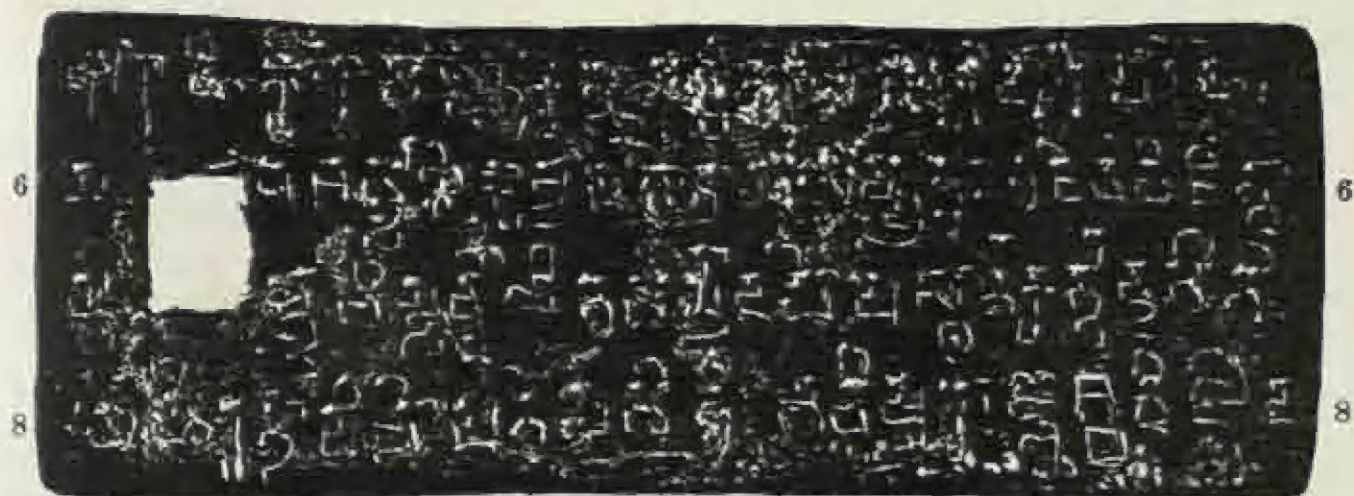
<sup>2</sup> Possibly we have to read *astihavēra*, treating *ast* as an unobscured and *havēra* as the name of the village. I owe this suggestion to Dr. B. Ch. Chakrab.

<sup>3</sup> Read *apāyiddhāy* or *apāyiddhāy*.

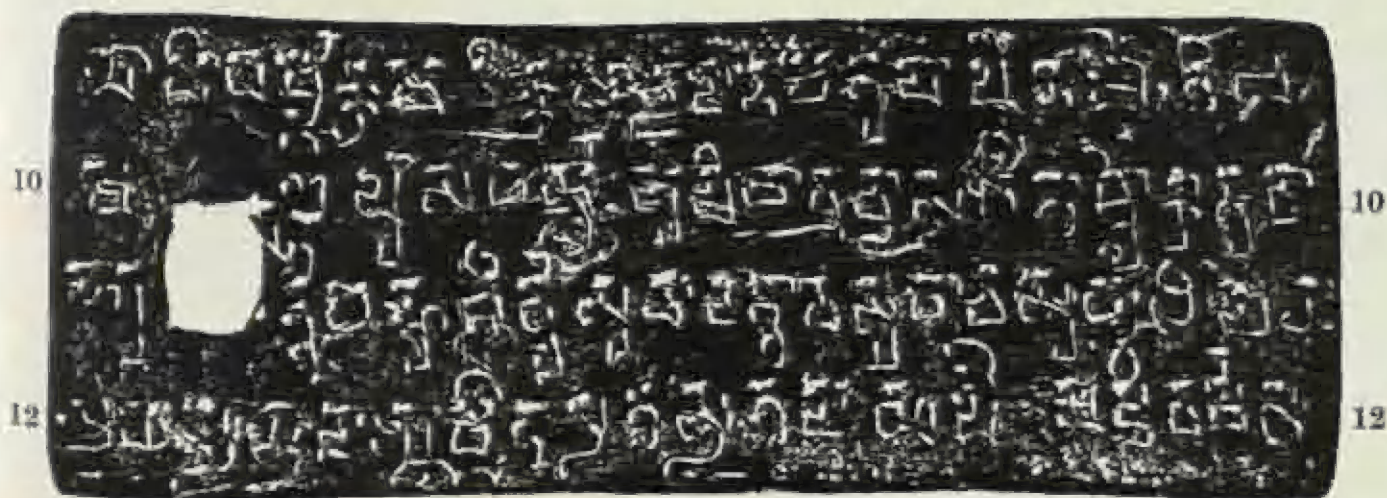
i.



ii, a.

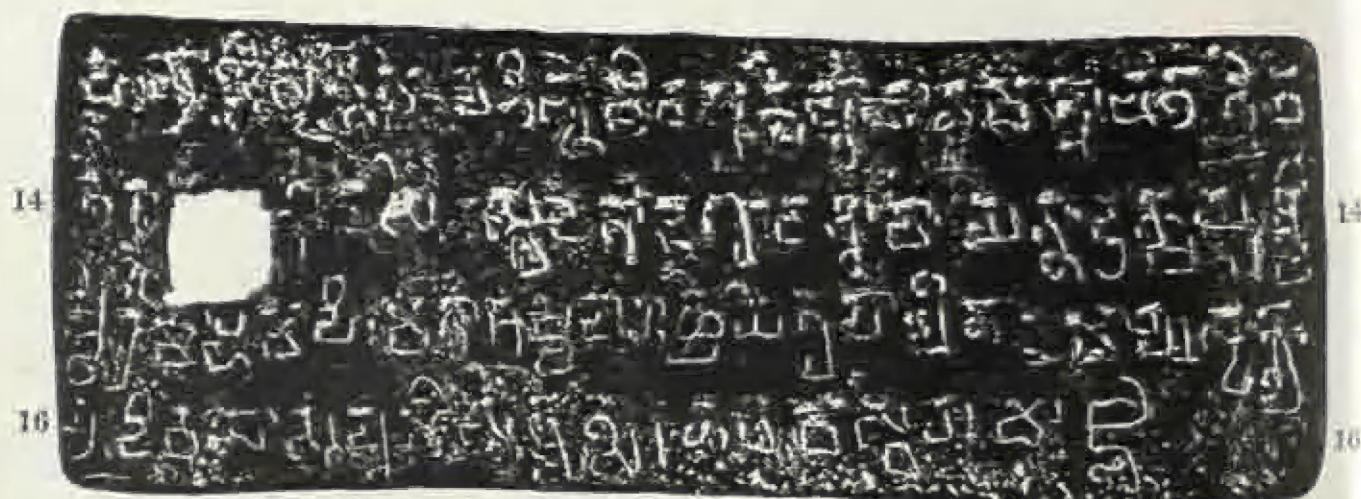


ii, b.

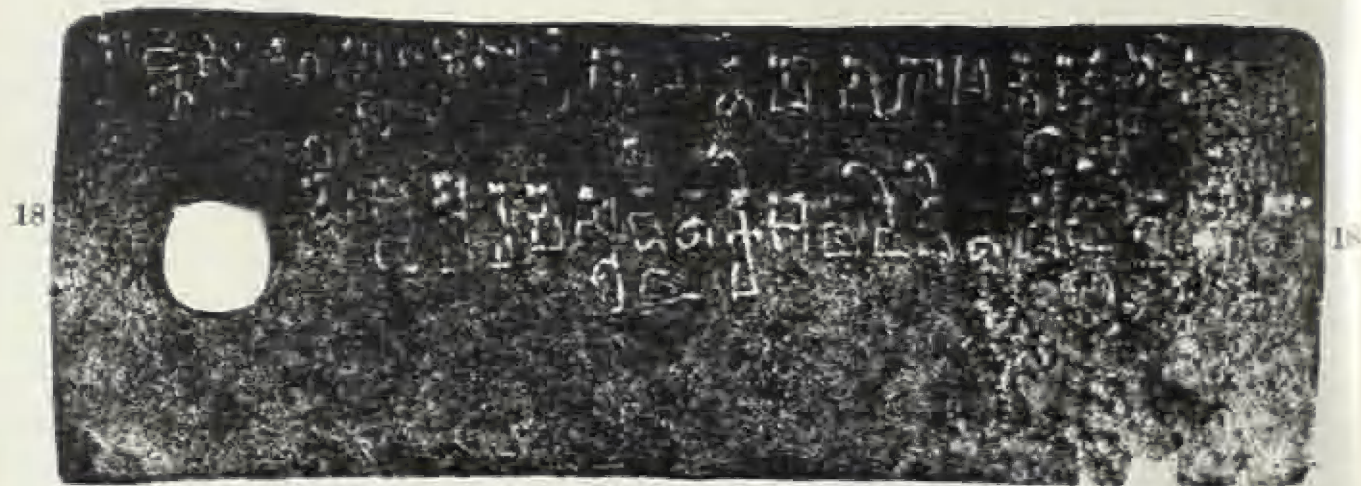




iii,a.



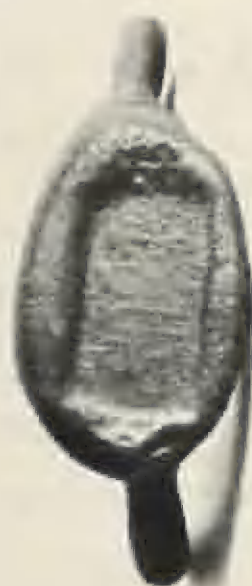
iii,b.



FOUR 'PITRIBHAKTA' SEALS



KOMARTI PLATES OF CHANDAVARMAN



BOBBILI PLATES OF CHANDAVARMAN



CHICACOLE PLATES OF NANDAPRABHANTANAVARMAN



TEKKALI PLATES OF UMAYARMAN





to the second of the two sets (A and B) of copper plates of the Eastern Ganga monarch Narasimha IV, published without facsimile by the late M. M. Chakravarti in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV, 1895, Part I, pp. 128 ff. It was also found that considerable improvement in Chakravarti's reading and interpretation of the inscription, especially in the grant portion containing an early specimen of the Oriyā language, is possible. I am therefore re-editing the grant portion of the inscription incised on plate VI-VII.

Chakravarti found the inscription in the Śaṅkarānanda Maṭha at Puri, about half a mile to the south of the Jagannātha temple and close to the old palace of the Puri Rājās. It was originally incised on seven plates but the fifth one, together with the seal, is missing. That only six loose plates (without the missing fifth plate) came into the possession of the Maṭha is indicated by a modern inscription in Devanāgarī on the obverse of the first plate. It runs as follows:

- 1 idam tīrtha-śāśana-saṅkalan
- 2 śrīmata-parmakṣama-parivrajakāchārja-Māgavadhana-
- 3 pīṭhādhipa-jagadguru-dādṛḍi-Bālabrahmaṇaśila-Sara-
- 4 svatī-śvāmīnā padā amṛitam.<sup>1</sup>

The plates measure each 12.3 inches by 11.1 inches. The first and the seventh plates have inscription only on the inner side, while the other plates are inscribed on both the obverse and the reverse. The plates (with the exception of Plate VII which has no writing on the reverse) were consecutively numbered, the particular numerical figure being engraved on the left margin of the reverse of each plate. The figure for 1 is of the Telugu type, while those for 2 and 3 are of the medieval Bengali type, 2 resembling modern Telugu and English 3 and 3 the Devanāgarī form of the same numeral. The figure for 5 is interesting to note. The figures for 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 9 also occur in the text of the inscription (Plate VI B, lines 12, 21; Plate VII, line 3). The numbers of lines on the different plates are as follows: IB—25, IIA—34, IIB—24, IIIA—24, IIIB—25, IVA—24, IVB—25, VIA—24, VIB—28, VIIA—23. The six plates together weigh 851 tolas.

The characters of the inscription are Gaudī influenced by Nāgarī, though a few letters (e.g. *r*) have forms approaching those of the letters in modern Oriyā. The engraving is carelessly done. A sibilant is often so formed that it is difficult to understand whether the engraver had the palatal or the dental in mind. In our transcript, we have sometimes ignored the forms of *s* looking like *ś* and vice versa. This is to avoid a large number of corrections in the transcript. The language of the versified portion of the inscription is Sanskrit; but the grant portion in prose is predominantly Oriyā. The orthography often exhibits influence of local pronunciation.<sup>2</sup> The same proper name has sometimes been spelt differently (cf. Rāḡas55-Rāḡha<sup>3</sup>=<sup>4</sup>saḡ, Raktapaḡ5-Rakata<sup>5</sup>, Vāruḡ5-Vārūḡ5, Ōjamvḡḡ5-Ōjamḡḡ5).

The charter was issued by the imperial Eastern Ganga monarch Narasimha IV who is known to have ruled in 1378-1402 A.C.<sup>6</sup> It contains no less than three dates, the first in 1395

<sup>1</sup> Read idam tīrtha-patra-śaṅkalan. *śrīmat-parmakṣama-parivrajakāchārja-Bhīṣmaśāśana-pīṭhādhipa-jagadguru-dādṛḍi-Bālabrahmaṇaśila-saravastīnā padā amṛitam.*

<sup>2</sup> In Oriyā *ś* is usually pronounced as *s*. Note also the contractions *śva* for *śvā*, *pa* for *paṭi*, *gāḡet* for *gāḡarī*.

<sup>3</sup> The latest definitely known date of the king is Śaka 1324 (=31st Añka or 25th regnal year). See *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1014. He may not have been living in Śaka 1328 when his wife Pīrvatī-mahadevī made a gift in favour of the god Narsimha of Simhachalam (*Mad.*, No. 731). Śaḡha Rao (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 79 ff.) takes 1414 A.C. to be the last year of the king's reign as another of his wives, named Nīladēvī, made a gift in favour of the same god in Śaka 1333 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 1072). But this is uncertain as the queen seems to have been a widow at the time of the grant. A recent suggestion that the king died in 1409 A.C. (cf. *J. O. R.*, Vol. XIX, p. 135) is based on a misunderstanding of the evidence of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1205, which belongs to the reign of Bhīma III and not of Bhīma IV as is wrongly supposed.



A. C., and the second and the third respectively in the following two years, viz., 1396 and 1397 A. C.

The first five plates (including the lost fifth plate) as well as three quarters of the obverse of the sixth plate are occupied by the introductory part of the charter dealing with the genealogy of the royal family to which the issuer belonged and the achievements of the imperial Gaṅga rulers down to the issuer himself. The importance of this part has often been discussed by scholars on the basis of Chakravarti's transcript published more than half a century ago. In the present paper we are especially interested in the latter part of the document recording the grant made by Narasimha IV in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Dēvarathāchārya who was apparently the priest in charge of the worship of a god named Ugrēśvaradēva.

The genealogical part of the inscription ends in line 19 on the obverse of plate VI. As one of the plates (Plate V) is lost, it is not possible to count the number of the lines in the inscription consecutively from the beginning. The end of the metrical part of the record dealing with Gaṅga genealogy is indicated by the words *śubham-asu*. The grant portion of the charter then begins with the date given in words as the expired Śaka year 1316. Line 20 says that the above year corresponded to the 22nd Aṅka year of king *Vira-śri-Narasimhadēva* (i.e., Narasimha IV of the imperial Gaṅga family) who was endowed with titles like 'the lord of the fourteen worlds'. The details of the date in which the charter was drawn up are given in the next line as Tuesday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Vriśchika, i.e., the solar Mārgaśīrṣa or Agrahāyana. The date is irregular for Śaka 1316 expired; but, for Śaka 1317 expired, it corresponds to Tuesday, the 22nd November, 1395 A. C.<sup>1</sup> This date is said to have fallen in the 22nd Aṅka year, i.e., the 18th regnal year of the Gaṅga king Narasimha IV who is believed to have ascended the throne about 1378 A.C. and ruled at least up to the year 1402 A.C. At the time of issuing the grant the *śrī-chaṇa*, i.e., the king, who purified (cf. *a-ripāḥ*) himself by offering worship (possibly to the family deity Purushōttama-Jaganātha<sup>2</sup>) was staying in the *bhīṭara-nagara* of the *kaṇka* (city or residence) of Vārāṇasī, i.e., the present Cuttack. In this inscription, as in the corresponding passage of some records of the king's ancestor Narasimha II (circa 1273-1305 A. C.), the word *vijaya* has been used in its modified Oriyā sense of 'stay', etc. *Nagara* is an Oriyā corruption of Sanskrit *nagara* and means a city, palace, etc. *Bhīṭara-nagara*, which is the same as *abhyantara-nama(gira)* of some grants of Narasimha II, seems to refer to the king's stay in his palace at Cuttack. The following officers were then in the king's presence (lines 22-23): (1) *Mahāpātra* Kṛishṇānanda *Sāndhivigrahika*, (2) *Mahāpātra* Lāṅgaratha *Āchārya*, (3) *Mahāpātra* Gōpinātha *Sāndhivigrahika*, (4) *Pātra* Śiddhēśvara *Jēṇā*, (5) *Dēvaraparīkṣā* Trivikrama *Sāndhivigrahika*, and (6) *Kināi* *Sēnādhyakṣa*. Among the official designations, the word *pātra* indicates a minister and *mahāpātra* a minister of a higher rank. *Sāndhivigrahika* was a minister dealing with matters relating to war and peace. The word *jēṇā* originally meant a prince of the royal blood, but later came to be a title of the nobility and ultimately a family name. The word *parīkṣā* (Oriyā *parīkṣhā*) means a superintendent, governor, etc. *Dēvaraparīkṣā* seems therefore to be the same as the *pratikṣā* (officer in charge of the palace-gate). *Sēnādhyakṣa* was a leader of the forces.

The last line (line 24) on the obverse of Plate VI says how the king (*śrī-hasta*; cf. *śrī-chaṇa* above) made a grant of land in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Dēvarathāchārya in accordance with the *mudala* that had been settled before *Purō-śrīharṣa* Vīra-nātha *Mahā-nāpati*. *Mudala* is a Telugu word meaning *dīḍ* or order and is first noticed in the records of Narasimha II. In Oriyā,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> See *J. O. R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 200-15. It is very probable that a substitute was installed after the original image of Purushōttama-Jaganātha, established in the Gaṅga palace at Cuttack by Anagabhadra III, had been carried away by Sultan Piriz Shāh of Delhi.



however, the word seems to be used in a modified sense to indicate an arrangement made according to order. That *mulala* and *āyā* were not used in Oriyā exactly in the same sense is suggested by epigraphic passages using both of them. The Oriyā inscriptions of the Śūryavarmanis have the following passages in a similar context : *āyān hālā*, *Agniarṇā mudrāveṣṭara gōharā vālā mulalā*, *avadhāra ā mṛā pṛamāṇā*, *avadhāra āyān vālā mulalā*, *amastaka mukhāḍāre āyān hālā*, *puṣṭ-avāḍāre āyān hālā*, *āyān vālā hālā*, etc.<sup>1</sup> We have to note also the expressions *ṭaṭṭamara-dīna-tri-chaṇḍama-āy*, *avadhāra āyā vālā mulalā* and *avadhāra-mulala-pṛamāṇā* occurring in the latter part of our inscription. The same modified sense of the word can also be found in the *Māḍalī Pāṭṭī* in such passages as *tri-chaṇḍa vāḍā*, *mulala hālā*, *tri-pāda mulalā*, *āyāra-ā-manta mulala hālā*, etc. *Mahāśaṅkṣa* was a high military officer, apparently higher than the *śāḍḍhāyāśa* mentioned earlier. *Śrīkaraṇa* indicates a scribe-accountant and *purā*, prefixed to it, may possibly connect the official with the *purā* or capital of the Ganga monarch, although it may also be connected with Sanskrit *purus* and point to a front rank among the *Śrīkaraṇas*. The word *purā* occurs in another grant of Narasimha IV as *pōrā*, while the *Māḍalī Pāṭṭī* speaks of two officers of a Ganga king named *Anaṅgabhinna* as *Pōrā-Pāṭṭībhara-Paritāḥā* *Mithunī Paṭṭā* and *Pōrā-Śrīkaraṇa* *Śūrya-Purnāyaka*.<sup>2</sup>

Line 1 on the reverse of Plate VI says that the land granted to Dēvarathāchārya measured one hundred *vāḍis*. It is further said (lines 1-5) that on Paṅḍitarāra (Wednesday), the 2nd of the solar month of Vṛiśchika (Mārgaśīrṣa) and the seventh *tithi* of the dark half of the lunar month in the 23rd Aṅka year, the *tri-chaṇḍa* (king), when he was doing *japa* (counting of beads) after having offered worship at the *kaṭaka* (city or residence) of Dēvakūṭa and when a number of officials were in his presence, granted two villages covering one hundred *vāḍis* of land to Dēvarathāchārya. The details of the date show that it corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd November, A.C. 1396, a year after the grant was originally made. The officers present on this occasion were : (1) *Pāṭra* *Māhāmuni* *Purāḥita*, (2) *Dvāmparīkṣā* *Trivikrama* *Sāṇḍhigraha* (*Sāṇḍhigraha*), the same as No. 5 of the first list of officials quoted above, (3) *Fuḥālāṅkā* *Sōmanātha* *Vāḥanipati*, and (4) *Bhūṭara-bhaṇḍāra-adhikāri* *Narakari* *Sāṇḍhigraha*. In the official designation *Fuḥālāṅkā*, the word *vāḍā* is the same as Sanskrit *vaidhā* (Prakrit *vuddhā*)-*mahā*, while *lēṇkā* means a Śūdra servant of a king or a deity. *Vāḥanipati* was a commander of the forces, possibly the same as *Śāḍḍhāyāśa* mentioned in the first list quoted above. The designation *Bhūṭara-bhaṇḍāra-adhikāri* (*bhūṭara* being the same as Sanskrit *abhyantara*) suggests that there was another officer styled *Bhūṭi-bhaṇḍāra-adhikāri*. The *Bhūṭara-bhaṇḍāra-adhikāri* was probably the officer in charge of the treasury or store-house in the inner part of the royal palace. On this occasion also the *mulala* or arrangement regarding the grant was made in the presence of the officer *Purā-trikaraṇa* *Vīṇanātha* *Mukhāḍapati*. According to this arrangement (lines 4-5 on the reverse of Plate VI), the one hundred *vāḍis* of land granted to Dēvarathāchārya were offered in the form of two villages situated in the *Madanakhayḍa* *vishaya* which formed a part of *Kōṣṭhadēva* consisting of eight *khaṇḍas* or divisions (like the said *Madana-khaṇḍa*). *Madanakhayḍa* is later referred to as *Oḍamvāḍi* (or *Oḍamvāḍi*)-*Madanakhayḍa*. The two gift villages are called here *Sāṇḍgrāma* *Mukhāḍvara* and *Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍasāgrāma*, although later the former has been referred to only as *Sāṇḍgrāma* and the latter sometimes as *Rāḍha* or *vāḍ*. The first village was a part of *Sāṇḍgrāma*, known as *Mukhāḍvara*. *Kōṣṭhadēva* or *Kṛṣṭhadēva* is the name of a Pargana in the Purī District ; but the expression may also indicate an area in the king's private possession.

<sup>1</sup> See *J. A. S. K.*, Vol. LXII, 1892, Part I, pp. 91, 93, 96, 99, 100.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Māḍalī Pāṭṭī*, ed. A. B. Mahānti, Cuttack, 1940, pp. 27, 28, 30. Unfortunately, Mr. Mahānti has absolutely nothing to say about the meaning of such words, in spite of the fact that they are not recognised even in the voluminous *Prasāda Abhidhāna* (pp. 2941) published in 1942.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 28. Some of the officers known from our record are also mentioned in several other inscriptions of the time of Narasimha IV. Cf. *J. A. S. K.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 20 ff.







Vāṅgarisagrāma. The northern boundary began with parts of the road to the north of the house of Chidichūji lying to the south of Vāṅgarisagrāma and of the three-pronged cattle track going to the house of the Brāhmaṇas and ended in half of the waters (*adāś-śū* for Sanskrit *arāḥ-arāḥ*) of the river Vāṅgaṇī (later also called Vāṅgaṇī). The western boundary began with half of the waters of the Vāṅgaṇī river to the east of Rājasaṅgrāma and ended with parts of the cattle track going to Kuṣhīgāṇī to the south of Āmratōṣī on the river bank of Gōpīnāthapura on the further side (of the river Vāṅgaṇī). The southern boundary began with Haragāṇī to the north of Gōpīnāthapura and ran up to the northern bank of the river (Vāṅgaṇī) and to parts of the three-pronged cattle track going to the *śāma* (gift villages) of Bhagavallipura and Gōpīnāthapura. In all (*gō*), this was one village with fixed boundaries on all the four sides.

Lines 20-26 describe the second plot of land consisting of the village of Rājasaṅ (*i.e.* Dakṣiṇa-Rājasaṅ) situated in the same *viśaya*. The grant was made with *priddhi*, *śūlā* and *śaulāṇa*. The terms *priddhi* and *śaulāṇa* have been discussed above; the meaning of *śūlā* is uncertain. It may stand for Sanskrit *śūlā* and indicate a tax collected on the basis of a hundred articles of a kind. The income of the village is given both in words and figures as 127 *maḍhas*, probably of silver. This income is qualified by a passage which seems to suggest that it was being enjoyed by the king's second queen (*maḍhi-ghara*) for worshipping the god Puruṣottama. The eastern boundary of the said gift village started with parts of the waters of the Vāṅgaṇī river to the west of Sāśagrāma and ran up to parts of the road going to Rakatapaṭṭā (or Raktapaṭṭā) to the south of the temple land (of Ugrāvaradēva). The northern boundary began with parts of the road to Rakatapaṭṭā to the south of the temple land and ended in parts of the waters of the Vārāgō (or Vārāgō) river. The western boundary started from parts of the waters of the Vārāgō river to the east of the Vijayalakṣmīpura *śāma* (gift village) and ended in parts of the cattle track below the embankment called Śaṭṭaṅgāṇī in the Gōpīnāthapura *śāma*. The southern boundary seems to have begun with parts of the cattle track on the river bank to the north of the Gōpīnāthapura *śāma* and to the west of Āmratōṣī and ended in parts of the waters of the Vāṅgaṇī river. In all (*gō*), it was one village with settled boundaries on all the four sides. As in the case of Sāśagrāma, only the income of the village seems to have been granted to the donor.

The third piece of the gift land, situated in the same *viśaya*, is described in lines 26 ff. It consisted of 30 *śūlā* of land apparently around the temple of Ugrāvara. The eastern boundary of this land, called a *grāma* without mentioning its name, ran from the Vāṅgaṇī river to the west of Vāṅgarisagrāma to parts of the cattle track on the river bank to the east of Vallāgrāma. The northern boundary ran from the Vāhāla road (possibly indicating a road marked by a Vāhāla tree) at the head of a field to the south of Vallāgrāma to parts of (the waters of) the Vārāgō river. The western boundary seems to have started from parts of the waters of the Vārāgō river to the east of the Vijayalakṣmīpura *śāma* and ended in a point which is left out owing to inadvertence. The southern boundary ran up to parts of the road going to Rakatapaṭṭā to the north of Rājasaṅgrāma. Line 2 on Plate VII says that the above land was in all (*gō*) one *grāma* having fixed boundaries on all the four sides. The next line says that the gift altogether consisted of three *grāmas* of which the *jita*<sup>1</sup> or income was 449/5 *maḍhas* and the land measured 30 *śūlā*. It may be pointed out that 322/5 *maḍhas* and 127 *maḍhas* would make actually 449/5 *maḍhas*.

The above gift land was granted, according to lines 3-5, to Dēvarathāchērya to last as long as the moon and the sun would endure by means of the deed of gift, together with (*maḍhya kari* water, land, fish, tortoise, tree and forest and with the temple of Ugrāvaradēva and the land around it. Lines 5-8 say partly in repetition of what was said above that Narmābhādēvavarman

<sup>1</sup> From *Tahiga-Kamada jita* (from Sanskrit *jita*); 'pay, wage'. The *Māhāt Pāṭṭ* (op. cit., p. 20) also uses *jita* in the sense of revenue-income.



of the *Ātrīya gōtra* granted the two villages of Śāisā and Dakṣiṇa-Rājasū, situated in the Oḷamōla-Madanakhaṇḍa *raṣṭra* and having the boundaries specified above, to the Brāhmaṇa Dāvaratthakarman of the *Ātrīya gōtra*, a student of the Kāya branch of the Yajurveda, as a permanent rent-free holding, together with water, land, fish, tortoise, tree, forest, sand and *bhūṣi* (homestead land). It is interesting to note that the Gaṅga king adopts the Kāśatriya name-ending *varman* as his ancestor Bhānu II does in his Puri plates.<sup>1</sup> The *Tarikh-i-Firūshāhī*,<sup>2</sup> while describing Sulṭān Firīz Shāh's invasion of Jājnagar (i.e., the Gaṅga kingdom of Orissa) during the reign of Bhānu III, speaks of the Rāis of that country (i.e., the Gaṅga kings) as Brāhmanas. It thus appears that the Gaṅga monarchs claimed variously to be Brāhmanas or Kāśatriyas of the *Ātrīya gōtra*, although basically they must have been Dravidians. As I have shown elsewhere the claim to the *Ātrīya gōtra* was essentially connected with the genealogy of the Gaṅga family, fabricated by the court-poets of Anantavarman Chōḍagaḍga.<sup>3</sup> According to lines 8-9, the *Tāmrālikāra* (the same as the *Sāmanālikāra* or keeper and writer of records), Narahari *Sandhikgraha*, appears to have received as his perquisite one *vāṣi* of land out of the gift land, according to an arrangement approved of by the respectable people of the villages. The next line says how the *Tāmrālikāra* (engraver of the plates), Gurulāsa *Saṁpati*, received half of the area of land received by the *Tāmrālikāra*. Gurulāsa, however, appears to have been too big an officer to engrave plates and it is possible to think that he got the work done by a cooperatmith.<sup>4</sup> The charter proper is followed in lines 10-18 by nine of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The above verses are followed by three new stanzas in lines 18-23. The text of the verses is extremely corrupt.

A number of geographical names are mentioned in the inscription. The different orders of the king in regard to the grant recorded here were issued when he was staying at Vārāṅsi (modern Cuttack), Dēvalōṭa and Nārāyanapura. Of the three plots of gift-land, the first consisted of Śāisāgrāma (also once called Śāisagrāmi-Mākahāvara) and the second of the South Rājasūgrāma (also called Rājha' and 'saōgrāma), both situated in the *raṣṭra* called Kōśāhmadōla-Madanakhaṇḍa or Oḷamōla (Oḷamōla)-Madanakhāṇḍa, while the third plot consisted of 30 *vāṣis* of land belonging to the temple of the god called Kōśāhmadōla-Ugrēśvaraḍēva. In describing the boundaries of Śāisāgrāma, mention has been made of Bhagavatīpura-śāana, Chandraprabhā, Vāḍgarisōgrāma, Vāṅgaṇī-nadi, Rājasū, Gōpināthapura-śāana, Āmratōṭa, Kuchīāgāi and Harīgāṣ. In the description of the boundaries of Dakṣiṇa-Rājasūgrāma, mention is made of Śāisāgrāma, Vāḍgarisōṇī-nadi, Raktapaṭā, Vārāḡ (or Vārāḡō)-nadi, Vijayalakṣmīpura-śāana, Gōpināthapura-śāana, Sudmāghā and Āmratōṭa. In connection with the boundaries of the third plot of land, are similarly mentioned Vāṅgarisōgrāma, Vāṅgaṇīyī-nadi, Vāḍgarīma, Vārāḡō-another, M. M. Chakravarti located the villages approximately at 85° 56' 45" long. by 20° 10' 17" lat. on the left side of the Bhārgavī river and close to the P. W. D. Bungalow at Khirkhā. The Survey of India sheet map No. 73 H S B shows, between the rivers Bhārgavī and Dhannū, the locality called Ugreswar Deul having the Bhārgavī in the west, Bangura (Vāḍgarisō) Śāana in the north, Gōpināthpur towards the south and Bhagavatīpur towards east-south-east. As a result of the grant under discussion, the old names, viz., Śāisā and Rājasū, appear to have given place to the new name, viz., Ugrēśvara-dēul, suggested by it.

<sup>1</sup> See J. E. A. S. B., Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 18-26.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bay. D. H. N. I., Vol. I, p. 402.

<sup>3</sup> See my paper on the Nagari plates of Anantavarman III, above, pp. 226 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The officer may have written the document on the plates with ink or paint to facilitate the work of engraving. Cf. Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, p. 5.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## Sixth Plate : First Side

Lines 1—18.....

- 19 ... Śāhhaṃ-anta [v] Śaka-nipatār-ātīṭṭeṣu śhōḡaś-ādihikēṣu trayōdala-anta-mahvatsarē-  
shu cha-  
20 turdaśa-bhu[va\*]n-ādhipat-īry-ādi-virud-ācālī-virājamānā Śrī-vira-Nra(Nara)ś[īn\*]hada-  
(dē)va-nipatī[h\*] as(va)-rājyaas(śya) dvāvimśaty-aṅkē abhālikhya-  
21 mānē Vicchā<sup>2</sup>-śukla-śhūḡaśyām Maḡgala-vārē Vārūpaś-kaṭakē śrī-charaḡē bhītara-navarē<sup>3</sup>  
pū] ānva[ta]ram-a-raja[h\*] tatra vi-  
22 jaya-samayē pārēvē māhāpātra<sup>4</sup> Kṛi[śh]gānanda ś[īn\*]jdhivigrahika<sup>5</sup> māhāpātra-Lāḡduratha-  
yā(ś)chārya mahāpātra Gōpīnātha-sāndhivigrahi-  
23 ka pātra-Bhuvanānanda-ś[īn\*]jdhivigrahika pātra-Siddhōvara-jēnā dvārāparikha-Trivi-  
krama-ś[īn\*]jdhivigrahika Kīnā-śānādhyaśha ācēṣu-  
24 śhīṭṭeṣu purō-īrikaraga-Viśvanātha-mahāśānāpatī[ti]-gōchre(charē) avadhārīta-mudalā[ī\*]<sup>6</sup>  
śrī-hestēna usargya<sup>7</sup> Dēvarath-āchāryāya bhūm[ī]mi-[dā][naḡi\*]

## Sixth Plate : Second Side

6<sup>8</sup>

- 1 datta[m\*] bhū[mi]<sup>9</sup> āta-vāṭi-parimāṭa bhūmī-nimittam samin rājya-traydvimśaty-aṅkē  
Vicchāhā<sup>10</sup>-dvitīya-kṛiṣṇa-saptami-Panditavē-  
2 rē Dēvalōṭa-kaṭakē śrī-charaḡē pu(pū)] ānva(uta)rē japa-samayē pārēvē pātra Māhāmuni-  
purōhita dvārāparikha-Trivikrama-samih-  
3 vighra vājhālōṭkē-Sōmanātha-vāhinipati bhītara-bhaḡḡāra-adhikāri-Narahari-sāndhivi-  
graha thān purō-īrikaraga-Vi.<sup>11</sup>  
4 Viśvanātha-māhāśānāptī<sup>12</sup>-gōcharē avadhārīta-mudalē Dēvarath-āchāryaku āṭha-khaḡḡa-  
Kōṣhādāśa-Madanakhaḡa-n-vishayē Śāśō-  
5 grāmī-Mōkshāśvara Dakṣiṇa-Rāja āḡ-grāma ē dui grāma āśana karī(ri) bhūmī(mi) āśē  
vāṭi dōva ] ā-ā(śī)hi Mha-saḡhkrānī-kṛiṣṇa-ākē-  
6 dālī-Śanivārē Nārāyaṇapura-kaṭakē śrī-charaḡē pu(pū)] utāra vijē karī āśivā-samayē  
pu(pū)]rēvē vājhālōṭkē-Sōmanā-  
7 tha-vāhinipati Bhuvanāśvara-ś[īn\*]jdhivigraha Lakṣmunānanda-ś[īn\*]jdhivigraha bhītara-  
bhaḡḡāra-adhikāri-Narahari-sāndhivigraha thā-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates and their impressions.<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit *Vicchāhā*-*śāśī*-*śhūḡaśyām*.<sup>3</sup> Sanskrit *abhālikhya*-*śhūḡaśyām*.<sup>4</sup> Oriyā māhā stands for Sanskrit *māhā*.<sup>5</sup> The letters *grā* and *śa* had been omitted originally but were later inserted, the former below the line and the latter compressed between the preceding and following letters.<sup>6</sup> The reading may be *śhūḡaśyām*. In that case, *śhūḡaśyām* is used for *śhūḡaśyām* found elsewhere in the same context.<sup>7</sup> Sanskrit *usargya*.<sup>8</sup> In the left margin. This has a different form than that of 6 at the left margin of the reverse of Plate VI of the Kausāmbī plates (set I) of Narasimha II (*J. A. S. E.*, Vol. LXV, 1896, Part 1, Plate XVIII).<sup>9</sup> The letter *śa* had been originally omitted and was later imperfectly formed between the preceding and following letters. The word *bhūmī* is, however, unnecessary in the context.<sup>10</sup> Sanskrit *Vicchāhā*. The letter *dvī* has really been written with *d* having both medial *i* and *v*.<sup>11</sup> This *vī* is redundant. *Thān-āśhī* *śhūḡaśyām* of Plate VIA, lines 22-24.<sup>12</sup> Sanskrit *māhāśānāptī*.



- 8 n dvāraparikṣhā-Trivikrama-sa(m\*)dāvigraha-gōcharē avadhārīta-mudalē ā āmi-patō-  
parikṣha-mahāpātra-Gaṇḍavarādī-sa-sri-
- 9 chandana-ḍḍē aṣa(dhū\*)rīṣa śrīgā(jā)-vāllā-mudalē Dēvarathāchāryara Śāisō-Dakṣhiṇa-  
Rājasaḍ va(ā) dui-grā-
- 10 ma Kōchthudhōa-Ugrēśvaradēvaṣkara dēulī p\* bhū(bhū)ṇī dēula madhyē kari chatuḥ-simā  
samākṛānta-śāsanaka-
- 11 paṭā dēvā | Ōḍamvōlō-Madanakhaḍḍa madhyē Śāisō-grāma vri(vri)ddhi-avadāna madhya  
kari kōṭha-vyūpā-
- 12 rara bhāga tiri-sa-vāla mādha 322/0 ka | (\*) purō-kṣhariga-Viḍvanātha-thē<sup>2</sup>-māhāsēnā-  
patira pa-
- 13 dīhahaṣṭa-Thamaṭhī-nāḍkara simā-kālī-pramāṣē ā-grāmara pūrva-sīma(mā) Bhagavat-pura-  
śāsanara paśchima Chandrapu-
- 14 bhā-dapḍā-adha ādi kari Vāgūṇ(ḥga)riś-grāmara pura-kōṣa Pōḍāpōḍā-pōkharira bhāla<sup>3</sup>-  
paryantē(ntē)kē simā (|\*) u-
- 15 ta(tta)ra-si(śimā) Vāgūṇ(ḥga)riś-grāmara dakṣhiṇa Chōḍichōḍī-vāṭṭa uttara-dapḍāra adha  
Vrā(Brā)hmara-vāṭṭira ti-ma-
- 16 pōḍi-gōpatha-adha ādi kari Vāṅgaḷī-nadi-Vāṅga(pī\*)<sup>4</sup> adhā-sōi-parya(ntē)kē simā paśchimā-  
(ma)-simā | Rāḍa-
- 17 saḍ-grāmara purō(vē) Vāṅgaḷī-nadira adhā-sōi ādi kari māi-pāri-Gōpānāthapura-śāsanara  
nadi-taḷā
- 18 Āmvatōṭāra dakṣhiṇa-kōya Kuchūgāira gōpatha-adha-paryantēkē simā | dakṣhiṇa-simā (|\*)  
Gōpānāthapurara uttara Barūgaḍ
- 19 madhya<sup>5</sup> kari Bhagavatipō(pu)ra-śāsanara Gōpānāthapō(pu)ra-śāsanara ti-muṇḍi-gōpathara  
adha māi-uta(tta)ra-ka(kō)la-paryantēkē simā | gō(gā) chatuḥ-
- 20 simā-samākṛānta-grām-ōka | ā-vishaya-madhyē Rājasaḍ<sup>6</sup> vri(vri)ddhi-saikē-avadāna madhya  
kari māḷhi-ghaḍa(ra)ra Purnōḍ(śhō)ttara-prasāda-navara-bhā-
- 21 ga saḍ-sāśāsa-mādha 127 ka | (\*) ā simā-kālī-pramāṣē ā-grāmara pūrva-simā (|\*) Śāisō-  
grāmara paśchima-[Vāṅgaḷī-nadi-adhā-
- 22 sōi ādi kari dēulī-bhūmīra dakṣhiṇa Rakṭapōḷā-dēḍḍā-ardha-paryantēkē simā | uta(tta)ra-  
simā dēulī-bhūmīra dakṣhiṇa Rakṭapōḷā-dēḍḍā-
- 23 ra adha ādi kari Vārōḍ-nai-adhā-sōi paryantēkē simā | paśchimā-simā (|\*) Vijayalakṣmīpura-  
śāsanara purō Vārōḍ-nai-adhā-sōi
- 24 ādi kari Gōpānāthapura-śāsanā Sudunāghāi-va(lam) dha-tala-gōpatha-adha-paryantēkē simā |  
dakṣhiṇa-simā | Gōpānāthapō(pu)ra-śāsanara uta(tta)-
- 25 ra...<sup>7</sup>nai-kōlō Āmvatōṭāra paśchima gōpathara adha<sup>8</sup> Vāṅgaḷī-natra adhā-sōi-paryantēkē  
simā | gā chatuḥ(tuḥ)-si-
- 26 mā-samākṛānta-grām-ōka | ā-vishaya-madhyē Ugrēśvara-dēvakam(āka)ra dēḍḍi-avadharita-  
mudalā-pramāṣē bhūmī triśa vāṭi 30 ka | (\*) ā-simā-

<sup>1</sup> Better read *dēulī-bhūmī* | cf. line 22 below. But the text as it is may also be justified; cf. line 26 below.

<sup>2</sup> The letter *th* is redundant.

<sup>3</sup> I prefer *ḍḍāla* to *dēv-jala* at the suggestion of Mr. K. R. Tripathi.

<sup>4</sup> The name of the river is unnecessarily repeated.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly *śāi* here is intended.

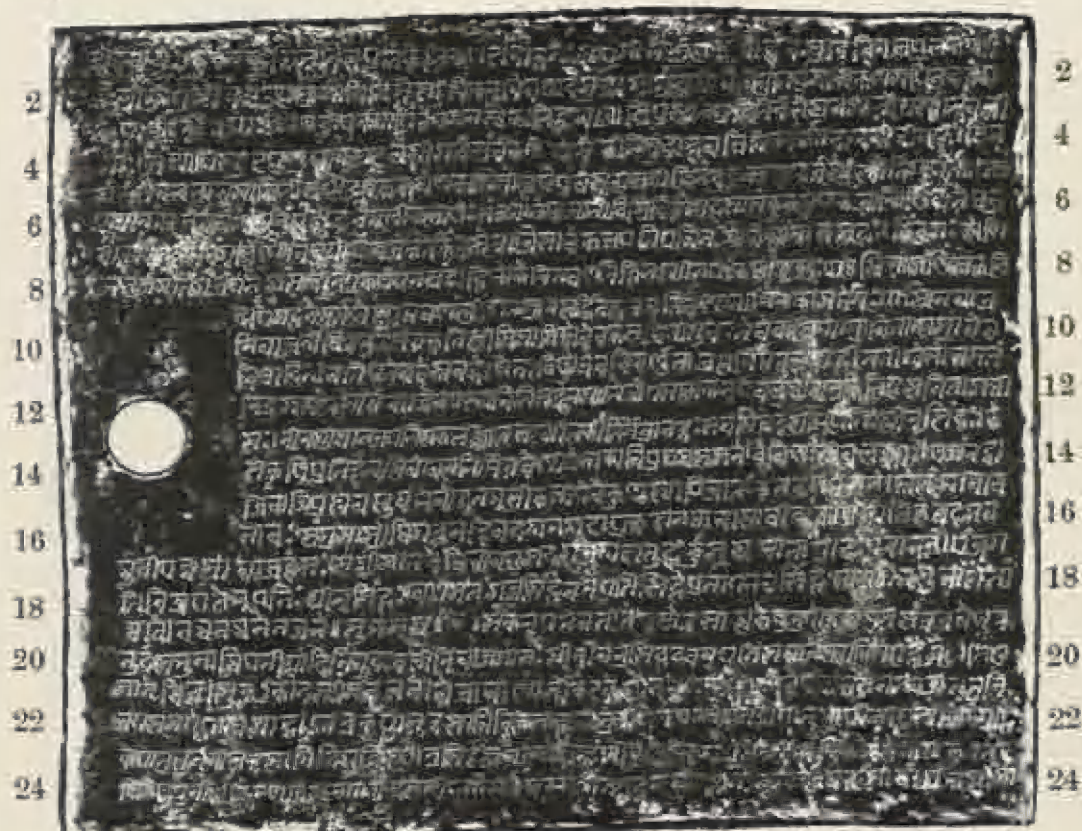
<sup>6</sup> I.e., *Dakṣhiṇa-Rājasaḍgrāma*.

<sup>7</sup> The space expected to be covered by the name of the river referred to is left blank with the only exception of small strokes. Apparently it was intended to supply the name later.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly we have to add the expression *adī kari* after *adha*.



via.



ci.b.







27. kalā-putrānāṣā ś-grāma-pūrva-simā Vāgaur(āga)riśā-grāmata paśchima Vāhagar yā-nai ādi kari  
Vāhā-grāmata pūva nai-ku(kū)la.
28. gōpatha adha-paryantāś-simā | u/a(tta)ca-simā [\*] Vāhā-grāma-dakṣiṇa khēta-muṇḍara  
Vāhāla-danḍā ādi kari Vāragō-nai.

*Seventh Plate*

1. ra arddha-payō(rya)ntākā simā | pakahi(śahi)ma-simā | Vāja\*śvalakṣmīpū(pu)ta-śāana[\*] ra  
pūva Vāragō-nadira adhā-sōi ādi\* [kā] simā |
2. dakṣiṇa-simā [\*] Rājhaśā-grāmata utara Rakatapatā-danḍā-ardha-paryantā[ś]ka\* simā |  
gā chatuḥ-simā-samākṛā[nta]-grām-aika
3. gāmā(ś-grāma)-tūnikī jita chāri-śa-rā(chā)hira-śa-māḥha 449/5 bhū(bhū)mi urisa-vāṭikā  
chatuḥ-sim-ākrānta\* ya ja)la-śha(la\*)-
4. machchha kachchhapa-pidā(p-ā)ya madhya kari ā-chandī āka-thā | kari Dēvaratha-  
āchāryaku dēvī Ugrēva[ra\*] de[va\*]la madhya kari
5. chatuḥ-simā-samākṛānta āsana data patāka | Ātra(trē)ya sagōtā(trā)ya Ya'a(ju)rvēvā-  
(d-ā)ntargata Kāpa-śākh-aika-dēśā(ś-ā)hīyāimā Dēvaratha-
6. samma(rma)ṇā Vā(Brā)hmaṇāya Ātrēya-sagōtrah śrīmāna(mān) śrī-Naras[imha\*]dēva-  
varmaṇā Odamāḥ-Madanakhanda-vishaya-madhya-madhya-
7. a[ś]na[\*] yathā-likhita chatuḥ-simā-samākṛānta sa-ja\*la-śha(machchha-ka)chchha[\*]pa-  
pādap-ā[ra\*]ya-vālukā-bhū[śa]-śhitam Sāśā-grāma-Da-
8. kṣiṇa-Rājhaśā-grāma ātat(d) grāma-dvayaṁ ā-chandī-ārka-akurā(ri)kṛitya prādāta(dāt) |  
śulhant-astu[śa] naya śāsanasy-āngatayā
9. tāma-ādhihikāriṇō Narahari-sanimigrahikasya[\*] śha(d\*)-grāma-mahāja(na\*)-bhāga-vyavasthaya  
śkāga\*
10. ā[ś]ta[\*]t-āma-ākhaka-Guradāsa-śāpatā ātat-ardha | Mad-dāma-phala-siddhy-ārtha[m\*]  
tad-rakṣhā-phala-siddhyā [\*] \*
11. mad-dha-mah paripālō(hyō)-yam bhū(bhū)mēt-ā-chandra-taraka(kam)[\*] Mā bhū(bhū)da-  
phala-mam(śam)kar(kā) tē para-datt-āti pāthiya | aya-da-
12. ālā-dadhika[m\*] puṇya[m\*] para-datt-ānupālāh(lanā) [\*] Sva-dattā[m\*] para-dattāch  
va(cā) yatnāt-rakṣha Yutkish(hira | mahi(bhū) mati-
13. matā[m\*] śrē-hya dānāta\* śrēyō-nupālānam(nam) [\*] Sva-dattā[m\*] para-dattā[m\*] vā  
yō harāśō(ta) vaan[m\*]dhacū(rām) | sa viśvāyō[m\*] kr-
14. mī[r-]\* bhūtrā pīṭhīh sa[ha] pachyatō [\*] Nirjanā prā[m\*]tārē dēśā śulha-kāṣṭha-  
lāimāh | krakṣa-sarpā hi jāyanti

\* The difference in the forms of some letters on this plate from those of the previous lines may suggest that this plate was engraved by a different person. There are numerous errors in the writing on this plate.

\* The *danḍas* are unnecessary.

\* It seems that the reading intended was *ādi kari*, . . . *paryantāś-simā*. Thus some further indications regarding this boundary appear to have been inadvertently omitted. In *adā*, *ā* looks like *āh* which is the form of *ā* in the Kāśī script. As to *āh* (*āh*), it may be pointed out that *āh* is often written for *ā* in Oriya inscription.

\* Possibly *śimā-samākṛānta* was intended as in other places.

\* Read *śulhānt-astu[śa]*. The *danḍas* are superfluous.

\* Possibly the reading intended is *śā-dāśa* or *śā-dā*.

\* The metre of this verse and the following four verses is *Anuśṭup*.

\* Read *śulha-kāṣṭha*.

\* Read *śāpā-sarpā*.





The inscription comprising 13 lines is engraved on the lintel of the entrance to the central hall of the Vishnu temple near Haribā's well, popularly known as the Anantāyana temple. The inscribed area measures 59" long and 12" broad. The record is in a good state of preservation. The characters are Nāgarī of the 13th century A.C., being normal for the period. The average height of the letters is  $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

The *prishthamātrās* are used to denote the medial *ai* and *au* in general. The occasional use of *v* for *b* and vice versa may be noted ; e.g., *Vrahmā* for *Brahmā* in line 1 and *varō* for *carō* in line 2. Noteworthy also is the substitution of *śh* for *kṣ*, as in *Vīśhṣha* for *Vīśhṣha* in line 2 ; and vice versa as in *śkhā* for *kṣhā* in line 13. The orthographical convention of doubling the consonant after *r* is not generally followed except in a few cases, e.g., *varṣṣanā* in line 7 and *utṣṣṣṣā* in line 13. There are a large number of clerical errors, the majority of which constitute the improper use of the *varga* ; e.g., the *varga* is used superfluously in the following cases, *namāḥ-śrībāḥ* in line 1 and *atṣṣṣṣā* in line 7 ; the same is wrongly omitted in the following instances, *Rudrā* for *Rudrāḥ* in line 1 and *vīśvārūpa* for *vīśvārūpaḥ* in line 2. *Nṛisīṣha* is written as *Nṛisīṣha* in line 8.

The language is Sanskrit and the composition is faulty in many places. The words *muni* and *bhūmi* are spelt as *muni* and *bhūmi* for the sake of metre in lines 2 and 4. The expression *chātrina* in the compound *chātra-charitra-chātrina-chamatkārāḥ* (1.5) is obscure. The form *yaśahya-* is incorrectly used for *yaśasya-* (1.7). Metrical flaws may be detected in the use of the proper names *Dhādipaka* and *Vāngi* in line 4. Such defects have been corrected in the body of the text and in the foot-notes. The major part of the record comprising lines 1-8 and 12-13 is composed in verse and the rest in prose. The verses are duly numbered and each half is denoted by a *doṣṭa*. The poetry is not of high order.

The epigraph commences with an invocation to god *Vāmadēva*. God Vishnu and his universal form (*vīśvārūpa*) are praised in the next two verses (vv. 1-2). Then comes the date and a brief statement of the gift (v. 3). The genealogy of the princes who were born in the lineage of Krishna, i.e., the Yādavas of Dāvagiri, is summarised in the two following verses (vv. 4-5). Verse 6 is devoted to the eulogy of Krishna, the reigning king of this family, who is said to be brave, diplomatic and handsome. This ruler made a free gift of the village *Kurukavāṭaka*. Half the income derived from this was to be utilised for the daily worship and offerings, etc., of the god *Bhadrāhari* and the remaining half to be bestowed upon the *Brāhmaṇas* engaged in the performance of sacrifices (vv. 7-8). In the next verse is described the temple of *Bhadrāhari* who appears to be identical with god *Nṛisīṣha* (v. 9). Then follows a list of particular *Brāhmaṇas* who were beneficiaries of the endowment (lines 8-11). A person named *Gaṅgādāra* is said to have made over houses, land and money, possibly for the convenience of the *Brāhmaṇas* (v. 11). Verses 12-13 are imprecatory. Verse 10 contains a reference to a person named *Siddha Śāraavata* of the *Kāśyapa* family who appears to have cut the stone suitably for inscribing the record. In the last verse which is however left unnumbered, it is stated that the god's image was fashioned with due dimensions according to the prescribed code and that the record (*prastāvi*) was incised by the sculptor *Hāmadēva*<sup>1</sup> (v. 14).

The date expressed in chronogram is stated thus : **Saka 1176, Ananda, Viśākha** (i.e., **Vaiśākha**), **ṣu. Jayanti, Sōma**. *Jayanti* appears to be the name of the *Ekādśī* or the eleventh day of the fortnight. As such if we equate *Jayanti* with the 11th *tithi*, the date would regularly correspond to **1254 A.C., April 29, Wednesday**, if we treat *Sōma* of the original as a mistake for *Somaṇḍa*. It is to be noted in this connection that all the twenty-four *Ekādśīs* of the Hindu

<sup>1</sup> This *Hāmadēva* has been identified with the famous minister and scholar *Hāmadāri* by Mr. Kulkarni, *ibid.* This is ridiculous.



calendar are given specific names, such as Kāmādā (Chaitra su. 11), Varāchint (Chaitra ba. 11), etc., though this particular name is not found in the list given by Swamikannas Pillai.<sup>1</sup>

The genealogy of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri is recounted in a cursory fashion and mutual relationship of the princes enumerated in the series is not explained. There is a remark, however, at the end of the account to the effect that they were born in succession. These names are as follows: Driḡhaprahāra, Sēṇna I, Dhāḡipaka, Bhīllama I, Rāja I, Vādugi, Bhīllama II, Vādugi, Bhīllama III, Sēṇna II, Rāja II, Māluga, Kriṣṇa I, Bhīllama IV, Jaitra I, Singhapa, Jaitra II, Kriṣṇa II. Driḡhaprahāra is prefixed by the expression *myra*, obviously for the necessity of metre. Sēṇna again is a metrical modification for Sēṇa.

A comparison of the above genealogy with the genealogical accounts of this family as compiled by the late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Fleet,<sup>3</sup> reveals the following facts. The three generations of Vādugi II, Vādugi II and Bhīllama IV, that intervened between Bhīllama III and Sēṇachandra II in the account of Bhandarkar are omitted in our list. Rāja II of our list, which appears to be a new name, has perhaps to be identified with Singhapa of Bhandarkar. Further, Kriṣṇa I of our epigraph may reasonably be equated with Karna<sup>4</sup> of Fleet's statement. It has however to be noted that neither of these names figure in the genealogy of Bhandarkar. Māluga and Malluga are identical. Some more names in Bhandarkar's account are omitted in our list.

We may briefly notice here a few historical facts about some of these Yādava princes in the light of epigraphical discoveries made during the past decades. Firstly we have the Āśvi plates<sup>5</sup> from the Ahmadnagar District, dated in Śaka 1020 or 1098 A.C. This record gives the genealogy of the Yādava family and introduces Mahāmāṇḡḡkāvāra Irammadēva as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya ruler Vikramāditya VI. The epigraph contains errors committed by the engraver, which seem to have been increased by its unscientific editing.<sup>6</sup> We may equate this Irammadēva with Parammadēva,<sup>7</sup> elder son of Sēṇachandra II, figuring in the genealogy of Bhandarkar. The Āśvi inscription further states that this Yādava prince vanquished the invincible Bhuvanaikamalla, who must be Sōmāvara II of the Western Chālukya family, and secured the kingdom for Paramardhin, i.e., Vikramāditya VI. A similar achievement, viz., helping Vikramāditya VI against his enemies and establishing him in the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa, is attributed to Sēṇachandra II.<sup>8</sup> From this it is gathered that both Sēṇachandra II and his son Parammadēva were staunch supporters of the Chālukya prince and played a prominent role in his struggles for kingship.

The disclosure made by the present epigraph by furnishing the name of Kriṣṇa I as the father of Bhīllama IV (Bhīllama V of Bhandarkar) and his identity with Karna of the Gadag inscription

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 59-65. It may be noted that Varāchika su. 11 is called Mōhina according to this authority. If the above assumption be correct, different names appear to have been in vogue for these *tiṅḡ* at different times.

<sup>2</sup> *Bam. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 519.

<sup>4</sup> The confusion between Kriṣṇa and Karna may be noticed in other cases also. For instance, among the Southern Kāṇchuris, Nigema's father is referred to both as Kriṣṇa and Karna; above, pp. 24-25. This confusion must be due to the influence of Prakrit, particularly the southern speeches, wherein both Kriṣṇa and Karna yield the common form *Kanna* or *Karna* and *Kannara*, cf. above, Vol. XV, p. 218.

<sup>5</sup> *Bhārata Jitānka Sankāḡhika Māṇḡḡka Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 1.

<sup>6</sup> In regard to the defects in editing the following may be pointed out: (i) No facsimiles of the plates are published.

(ii) The name of the Yādava founder is read as Iramma in line 50 and Ārma in line 42. (iii) This Iramma is regarded as the son of Bhīllama, whereas it is clear from lines 25-30 that he was the son and successor of Sēṇachandra or Sēṇachandra.

<sup>7</sup> I am inclined to believe that the original name is Paramma and that it is incorrectly read as Iramma and Ārma, for the latter would be a strange name for a prince.

<sup>8</sup> *Bam. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 215.



are important; for it is thus established beyond doubt that Bhillama was the grandson of Mallugi or Mālugi and not his son as described by Hēmadri. The reason for this omission by Hēmadri might be due to the fact that Krishna or Karna died young and did not rule.<sup>1</sup>

It would be worth while to make an attempt to identify some of the historical personages mentioned in the introductory verses (5-10) of Jalbaqa's *Sūttimuktāgāṇī*,<sup>2</sup> which may be summarised as follows. Dādā, a commander of the elephants under Mallugi, overawed the troops of Vijjaqa. After the demise of Dādā, his four sons, Mahidhara, Jalha, Sāmha and Gaṅgādihara, upheld the authority of Mallugi. Mahidhara harassed Bijjaqa's forces with the prowess of his mighty arms. He appears to have encountered Bijjaqa's army for a second time and lost his life on the field of battle. Mahidhara was succeeded by Jalha who helped Bhillama in attaining undiminished royalty.

These events, it may be noted, refer to a period of about a generation prior to the age of Bhillama, the virtual founder of Yadava sovereignty. As we shall see presently, Bhillama commenced his reign from 1185-86 A.C. Hence we may place the above incidents approximately between 1160 and 1180 A.C. Now it was during these years that the Kalachuris rose to power in Karnāṭaka under Bijjala and set up their independent rule. Hence we are justified in identifying Vijjaqa and Bijjaqa of the above account with the Kalachuri usurper.

Coming to the reign of Bhillama, a good many points deserve consideration. Firstly, we may consider the commencement of his reign. Different records yield different dates for the initial year of his reign, which varies from 1185-86 to 1187-88 A.C. But two epigraphs, one from Nimbāl<sup>3</sup> and another from Mutṭigi<sup>4</sup> in the Bijapur District, citing the cyclic year Plavaṅga and Paridhāvi as the 3rd and the 8th year respectively, prove that the initial year was Vīdvāvasu which may be equated with 1185-86 A.C. Secondly, we may examine the early stronghold of Bhillama and of the Yādava family. This seems to have been in the Bijapur District, although, according to Hēmadri,<sup>5</sup> he founded the town of Dēvagiri which became the capital of his family. The Nimbāl inscription mentioned above states that Bhillama was ruling the kingdom in 1187 A.C. from a place called Tadavalage which is the same as modern Tadvalgā in the Indi taluk of the Bijapur district.<sup>6</sup> Two years later, i.e., in 1189 A.C., he figures as ruling from another place in the same district, by name Tenevalage<sup>7</sup> which may be identified with the present day Teligi in the Bāgalkōṭ taluk. No inscription connecting Bhillama with Dēvagiri has been discovered so far. But we have the evidence of at least three inscriptions<sup>8</sup> of the reign of Jalugi showing that he was in the capital of Dēvagiri in the years 1192 and 1196 A.C. The earliest epigraphical allusion to Dēvagiri as the Yādava capital was noticed by Fleet in an inscription of 1210 A.C. of the reign of Singhapa.<sup>9</sup> But this statement now requires revision as pointed out above. The fact appears to be that though Bhillama selected Dēvagiri as his capital and started new constructions, he could hardly settle therein and the work was completed in his son's time by 1192 A.C.

<sup>1</sup> At this point Hēmadri simply passed over and observed that the fortune of the Yādava family disheartened the king's sons and courted the arms of Bhillama, enamoured by his excellence; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 271, verse 37. It may be gathered from this that Bhillama, being the son of a junior prince, was not the rightful claimant and that he rose to eminence from obscurity by dint of his ability.

<sup>2</sup> Gachwad's Oriental Series, No. LXX XII, 1933.

<sup>3</sup> Bombay Karnāṭak collection, No. 48 of 1937-38. Above, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 108 of 1929-30.

<sup>5</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 272, verse 39.

<sup>6</sup> Above, pp. 68-67.

<sup>7</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 320. This place has not been identified by Fleet.

<sup>8</sup> E. K. collection, Nos. 43 of 1938-37, and 137 of 1933-34; *Arch. Surv. An. Rep. for 1929-30*, p. 175.

<sup>9</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 320.



The third point that requires scrutiny is the end of Bhillama's reign. According to Bhandardkar,<sup>1</sup> Bhillama was succeeded by his son Jaitugi in Śaka 1113 or 1191 A.C. and it has been suggested by Fleet<sup>2</sup> that Bhillama lost his life in the decisive encounter against Vira-Ballāla that took place in the latter part of that year. But epigraphic evidence is now precise to show that neither of these views is accurate. The above noted inscription from Muttigi<sup>3</sup> in the Bāgewādi taluk of the Bijāpur District refers itself to the 8th regnal year of Bhillama and cites the date Paridhāvi, Śrāvaṇa śu. 15, Thursday. In another epigraph from Hipparagi<sup>4</sup> in the Sindagi taluk of the same district, dated Śaka 1115, Paridhāvi, Bhādrapada ba. madhyāṣṭakī, Monday, Kanyāsaṅkramana, Bhillama figures as making the gift of a village to a local temple. A third epigraph from Kadlāvāḍ<sup>5</sup> in the same taluk refers itself to the reign of Jaitugi and is dated Śaka 1114, Paridhāvi, Pushya ba. 10, Sunday, Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti. The dates of these three inscriptions are not quite regular; however we may approximately<sup>6</sup> equate them with July 26, September 1 and December 31 of 1192 A.C. respectively. Now it is easy to see that Bhillama was alive and active on the first two of these dates and that he must have died and was succeeded by Jaitugi between the last two dates.<sup>7</sup>

The fourth point worth examination is in regard to the identification of some of the adversaries of Bhillama. In verse 13 of Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvatī*, which praises the prowess of Bhillama, it is said that he frightened the forces of Mailugi. This Mailugi was in all probability a little known son of the Kalachuri usurper Bijjala. He is also called Mallugi and Mallikārjuna. He figures in three inscriptions of his father's reign<sup>8</sup> and three more refer to his own reign.<sup>9</sup> It is gathered from the latter that he ruled for two years, 1175-76 A.C., in between the reigns of his brothers, Rāya-Murāri Sōvidhva and Saṅkama, from his headquarters at Māsanūr<sup>10</sup> in the Shōlāpur District. It is quite likely that the two ambitious chiefs, Bhillama and Mailugi operating in the contiguous regions of the Bijāpur and Shōlāpur Districts, came into conflict with each other.

The last two lines of verse 38 in the Introduction to Hēmādri's *Vratakhanda*,<sup>11</sup> containing allusions to Bhillama's exploits, read thus :

Yō nī Maṅgalavēṣṭakam kṣitipatīm Śrī-Billāṇam jaghnivān |  
Kalyāṇa-irigam-apy-avāpya vidadhē yō Hōsalāṅkam vyasam ||

The text of the first of these lines appears to be faulty in the light of the following facts which also help us to suggest suitable correction. Maṅgalavēṣṭaka is no doubt identical with the modern town Maṅgalavēṣṭhe near Paṇḍharpur. No king bearing the name Billāṇa is known to have ruled from this place. On the contrary considerable epigraphic evidence is available<sup>12</sup> to show that this

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 594 and 519-20.

<sup>3</sup> B. K. coll., No. 108 of 1929-30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 36 of 1936-37.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 42.

<sup>6</sup> I have considered the cyclic year, the month and the *tithi* as the substantial parts of the dates, ignoring the other details. I have assumed *madhyāṣṭakī* of the second record as equivalent of *aṣṭamī*.

<sup>7</sup> Compare *Arch. Sur. An. Rep. for 1929-30*, p. 172 and 1936-37, p. 109.

<sup>8</sup> B. K. coll., Nos. 50 of 1928-29, 63 of 1936-37 and 120 of 1923-24.

<sup>9</sup> B. K. coll., Nos. 96 of 1936-37 and 31 of 1937-38; *Arch. Sur. An. Rep. for 1929-30*, p. 175. This prince's rule is also referred to in the following three epigraphs of subsequent reigns: *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, 22, 197; Vol. XI, Dg. 44; *Services of Med. Hist. of Dekkan*, Vol. II, p. 50.

<sup>10</sup> B. K. coll., No. 96 of 1936-37. I have discussed at length the identity of this place in my lectures on the Kalachuris of Kārnāṭaka delivered in February 1931 under the auspices of the Kannada Research Institute, Dhawar. Māsanūr figures prominently in the literary work *Rāmanandābhāratasūtra Rājale. These lectures are under publication in the Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy, Bangalore.*

<sup>11</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 271.

<sup>12</sup> Compare above, p. 27, n. 8. I have dealt with this subject exhaustively in my lectures on the Kalachuris referred to above.



place, the ancient name of which was Maṅgaḷivēḍa or Maṅgaḷavāḍa, was the ancestral seat and an important stronghold of the Kalachuris of Karnāṭaka right from the beginning until their last days. It was the secondary capital of the Kalachuri rulers even during the period of their usurpation and the later members appear to have resorted to this place after the overthrow of the Kalachuri regime. Now among the Kalachuris more than one prince is known to have borne the name Bijjala and an epigraph from Saṅkh,<sup>1</sup> in the Jath taluk of the Southern Satara District, discovered recently, reveals that a prince by name Vira-Bijjala, son of Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva, was administering this area at least till 1192 A.C., November 20. It was very probably this Vira-Bijjala who was worsted by Bhīllama. In this connection a word of explanation seems necessary in regard to the interpretation of the word *jaghnīdān* in the above citation. It may be taken to mean 'struck' and not 'killed'; for it is seen from the epigraphic evidence adduced above that Bhīllama and Vira-Bijjala were both alive until the latter part of the year 1192 A.C. and that the former might have predeceased the latter by a few days. This interpretation is further justified by another word occurring in the above passage, *vyasa*, which cannot be interpreted in its literal sense as 'lifeless'; for the fact that no Hoysala king<sup>2</sup> was slain by Bhīllama would go contrary to such an interpretation. In the light of the above discussion the text of the first line in the above citation with its suggested correction will be as follows :—

*Yā cā Maṅgaḷavēḍaka-kṣhīpatih Sri-Bijjanah<sup>3</sup> jaghnīdān |*

Proceeding to the reign of Siṅghana a very large number of epigraphs has come to light. It is seen from these that a great amount of divergency prevails in regard to the reckoning of the initial year of his reign which varies from 1197 to 1210 A.C. We have therefore to conclude that Siṅghana was actively associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom long before the latter's demise, although he must have assumed sovereignty independently in 1210 A.C. only after the event.<sup>4</sup>

Siṅghana is known to have been succeeded by his grandson Krishna actually in 1247 A.C.; but there are inscriptions which show that he was associated with his predecessor's rule one or two years prior to this date.<sup>5</sup> Inscriptions of Krishna are found in the Districts of Belgaum, Bijāpur, Dhārwar and Bellary and further south in the Mysore State. It is seen from this that he held under his control major part of the regions conquered by his grandfather in the course of his triumphant southern expedition. Krishna himself, as known from other sources,<sup>6</sup> directed military expeditions against his enemies though the present epigraph is silent about them.

We may incidentally note that besides the four major dynasties of Yādava extraction that ruled over the areas of Karnāṭaka, *viz.*, the Rāshtrakūṭas<sup>7</sup>, the Hoysalas, the Yādavas of Dēvagiri

<sup>1</sup> B. K. coll., No. 108 of 1940-41. The date of this inscription is irregular and its approximate Christian equivalent only is used here.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that the Hoysala king Narasimha was put to death by Bhīllama. This suggestion is unjustified as Narasimha was dead as early as 1175 A.C.; *Ben. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 238 and *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 351. One more instance requiring similar interpretation would be the expression *achchhīḍa* occurring in the Gadag inscription of Vira-Ballala. It has to be translated as 'having defeated' and not literally as 'having destroyed.' Compare *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, pp. 300 and 303 and above, Vol. III, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> According to another reading Bīllama would be substituted by Vajriṇa. In this case Vajriṇa may be taken to be the Sanskritization of Bijjala. Compare above, p. 28, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The following inscriptions among others would yield 1197 A.C. as the initial year of Siṅghana's reign: B. K. coll., Nos. 68 of 1928-29, 89 of 1929-30; also compare *Arch. Surv. An. Rep. for 1929-30*, p. 172. B. K. Nos. 181-82 of 1933-34 yield 1198 A.C. as his initial year.

<sup>5</sup> A. R. No. 426 of 1926 and B. K. No. 50 of 1933-34 mention Kṛṣṇa as the third year of Krishna's reign. This shows that Parābhava or 1246 A.C. was the first year.

<sup>6</sup> *Ben. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 527; above, Vol. XXV, p. 204.

<sup>7</sup> The following inscriptions among others refer to the Yādava lineage of the Rāshtrakūṭas: *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 68; Vol. XI, part I, No. 9.



and the Mahārājas of Mysore, there flourished a few more minor chiefs of the same lineage, though they never rose to eminence. Some of them deserve brief notice here. One was *Mahāsāmanā* Kuppeyasa of the Yādava family<sup>1</sup> who was administering in the area of the Gadag taluk and the *Mundargi pēthā* of the Dhārwar District as a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Amoghavarsha I in 865-68 A.C. He bore the title *Aharāditya*. Another chief named Kuppadeva who apparently belonged to the family of Kuppeyasa, bearing the designation *Mahāsāmanā* and claiming descent in the Yādava family, figures as a subordinate of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II about thirty years later. A part of the Bellāry District was also under the rule of this chief who had his capital at modern Māvūḍi in the Mundargi pēthā.<sup>2</sup> From Kakkūr in the same pēthā comes an inscription<sup>3</sup> of 1113 A.C., which introduces Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Permāḍiyasa of the Yādava family, as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. It is easy to surmise that his chief was a later scion of the family of Kuppeyasa. This Permāḍiyasa who was administering the tract of Māsavūḍi, bore the title *Dvārāsalipuranarādhiśvara* which is met with in the *prastāvi* of the Hoysalas and that of the Yādavas. Another family of feudatory chiefs of the Yādava extraction appears to have functioned in the area of the Bijāpur District. This is gathered from an inscription at Bidarkundī<sup>4</sup> in the Muddebihāl taluk of the district, which is dated in 1032 A.C. and mentions Nāgavarmanasa bearing the title *Yādava-Nārāyaṇa* as a subordinate of Jagadēkamalla I of the Western Chālukya dynasty. It is noteworthy that the title *Yādava-Nārāyaṇa* occurs conspicuously in the *prastāvi* of the Yādavas of Dēvagrī.

The Brāhmanas who were beneficiaries of the endowment are twenty-five in number as mentioned in the present record. They belonged to the following fifteen *gōtras*: Agastī, Bhāradvāja, Bhārgava, Kāṣṭha, Kāyapa, Kaṇḍīnya, Kauravya, Kauṣika, Kṛishṇātra (Kṛishṇātrēya), Lohita, Śāṇḍilya, Śānkara, Vachchhapurūḍha, Vachchhi, and Vātsyāyana. Some of these names are not given in their proper forms in the original and they have been corrected here. But still there are certain discrepancies. For instance, Kāṣṭha appears to be a mistake for Kāṣṇḍva, i.e., Kāṣṭha; Vachchhapurūḍha and Vachchhi seem to bear connection with Vata or Vakha.<sup>5</sup> The gift village Kurukavāpaka may be identified with modern Kurukavāḍa, a village not far away from Māthi.

#### TEXT

[Metres : Verses 1, 7-8 and 11-11 *Anuṣṭubh*, vv. 3-5 and 9 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 2 and 6 *Śruṅghard*.]

1 ॥\*॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमःस्त्रि(मस्त्रि)भुवनोत्पत्तिस्त्रि-  
संहतिहेतवे । विष्णवे(वेऽ)पारसंसारपारोत्तारणसेतवे ॥१॥ इ(व)ह्या  
दक्षः कुबेरो यमवरुणमरुदह्निचंद्रे(द्रे)दरुद्रा(द्राः) शैला नद्यः समुद्रा  
ग्रहणम-

<sup>1</sup> *Bom. Karn. Inscriptions*, Vol. I, part I, No. 11.12; above, Vol. XIII, pp. 177-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Bom. Karn. Inscriptions*, Vol. I, part I, Nos. 22 and 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, part II, No. 165.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, part I, No. 65.

<sup>5</sup> *Gāṅgopāyanaśrautśākhakūṭumba*, list at the end, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> From lak-impersonation.

<sup>7</sup> This letter looks like the Nāga numeral three with three anasoras on the top.





## LEFT HALF

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12

3  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12

## RIGHT HALF

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12

- 2 नृजा दैत्यनागैर्द्रनागाः । द्वीपा नक्षत्रतारा रविवसुमनयो ज्योम भूरदिवनी च  
संलीना यस्य सर्वे(वे) वपुषि स भगवान्यातु वो विश्वरूप(यः) ॥२॥ स्वस्ति  
श्रीशकवत्सरे रसमनीसंख्या(जो) रुद्रे(द्रैः) शर्ते(तैः) घानदे सविशाष(ख)-
- 3 शुक्रजयनीसोमे सुधासुदरे । पूजाबदनधूपदीपचसनै ने(नै)वेद्यनृत्य(त्य)क्रमैः  
भू(भैर्भू)षाभोगविवर्धनाय नगरं भद्रेश्वर[1](र)स्थापितं(तम्) ॥३॥ वंशै-  
स्मिन्वसुदेवनन्दनरतिः(ति)प्राणेशकामात्मजा(जाः) स्थाता
- 4 वज्रदृढप्रहारनृपति(तिः) सेउल्लघाडिपको<sup>1</sup> । उच्चैर्भिल्लमराजवाहुगिन्तुषा जाता(ताः)  
क्षितेर्भूषणं शोणीद्रो वरभिल्लम(मः) समभवद्देसुगिदिवाभिधः ॥४॥ भूमीभूम-  
(भूमू)गभिल्लमः क्षितिपते(तिः) सेउल्लराजामिधो जातो(तो)
- 5 मालुगिकृष्णभिल्लभनृपा जैत्रो नृप(पः) सिवण(णः) । जैत्र(त्रः) कृष्ण इव<sup>2</sup>  
प्रतीतमहसा(सो) जाता(ताः) क्रमादौ(द्वये) नृपा ते(पास्ते)षां विवचरित्र-  
चारिमन्त्रमत्कारा(रो) बुधा(धैः) श्रूयतां(ताम्) ॥५॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसौ(शौ)-  
यसूर्यग्लपितरिपुवधूवक्त्रशीतासु(द्यु)विबः संप-
- 6 द्विधार्मसिधुज(जै)यति नयवतामगणीः कृष्णभूप(पः) । यस्मि(स्मिन्)-  
श्रि(शुं)ग्गा(गा)रकेलीसरसि वरयशा(शः)श्रेणिहंसे विलासं स्फीतं लीलावतीनां  
नयनकुवलयान्यापुरामोदवन्ति ॥६॥ स कृष्णभूपति प्रा(प्रां)म ददौ धर्म-  
परायण(णः) ।
- 7 षट् भद्रहरेरष्टं द्विजानां यज्ञयाजिनां(नाम्) ॥७॥ शूद्राभ्यन्तरमश्रोत्र<sup>3</sup> नाम्ना  
कुरुकवाटकं । सदहदोषसोद्वगसवृक्ष सपरिच्छदं(दम्) ॥८॥ प्रधः(ध)  
प्रासादवर्णनं(नम्) ॥ किं वा नन्दमहोदयो गुणनिधि(धिः) किं वा यशःस्याम-

<sup>1</sup> The composition of this chrisomogram is incorrect and the inaccuracy is evidently due to the exigency of metre. The correct form should be *rasa-muni-sandhyakara-draksh*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandhi* is necessary here and as such the expression should read *śaśa-dharmak*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *षाडोपको* or *षाडिपको* if the metre is to be honoured.

<sup>4</sup> Read *वेद्यनृ* to honour the metre.

<sup>5</sup> Read *भूमिभू* correctly though it violates the metre. [भूमी, though uncommon, is not wrong.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> Read *इति*. There appears to be some correction about the letter *sa* in the original.

<sup>7</sup> The expression *अश्रोत्र* appears to denote here, "not owned by a *śrōtrīya*, i.e., Brahmana, learned in the *Vedas*."

<sup>8</sup> Read *यशःसाधनं*.



- 8 न कौर्तेमूलमिदं फलं वृषत्त(त)रोज्जि(रो: कि) वा सुधासागर(रु) ।  
 श्रीमद्\*]भद्रहरेरगाधमहत्तः प्रासादमुद्राविधौ मन्येयं भुवनत्रयीसुतिलकः कर्ता  
 नृसिंघ(धः) स्वयं(यम्)<sup>1</sup> ॥६॥ अयः(ध) वृत्तिवत्ता त्रा(त्रा)ह्यणानां(नाम्) ॥  
 \*कौड(डि)न्यगोत्र लोलिग अग्निहो-
- 9 श्री । भारद्वाजगोत्र आता पाठक । कृष्णात्रगोत्र सोमनाथ पाठक ।  
 अमस्तिगोत्र नागदेव पाठक । सांकेयसंगोत्र नारायणभट्ट । काडुसगोत्र  
 राम उपाध्या । कौड(डि)न्यगोत्र महेश्व(श्च)र ज्योतिषी । सां(शां)डिल्यगोत्र  
 सारंग पाठक । कौड(डि)न्यगोत्र वासुदेव
- 10 पाठक । भार्गवगोत्र सुल्हण पाठक । कौड(डि)न्यगोत्र हरदेवभट्ट । कास्य(स्य)पगोत्र  
 केस(श)व अवस्थी । वच्छसिगोत्र कृष्णभट्ट । वच्छपुरोष महादेव शुक्ल ।  
 कौसि(शि)कगोत्र महादेव पाठक । कास्य(स्य)पगोत्र सार(रं)न पाठक ।  
 कास्य(स्य)पगोत्र कृष्णपंडित । कौसि(शि)कगो-
- 11 व जगधर पाठक । लोहितगोत्र रामदेव पाठक । वाङ्मना(त्स्या)[व\*]नगोत्र  
 गांगेया पाठक । कौरव्यगोत्र विष्णु पाठक । भारद्वाजगोत्र दामोदर  
 भट्ट । भारद्वाजगोत्र वील्हण पाठक । कास्य(स्य)पगोत्र सारंग<sup>2</sup> उपाध्या ।  
 . . . . . \*महादेव पाठक ॥
- 12 पौराणिकवृत्तिमवाप्य शाश्वतीचकार लक्ष्मीधरपंडितोत्तमः । श्रीसिद्धसारस्वतकाश्यपान्वयी  
 भद्रेश्वरे शाश(स)नपट्टिकाकृति<sup>3</sup> ॥१०॥ गंगाधरेण वै दत्तं गुहाणि वसुधा  
 धनं । आचंद्रतारकं यावन्नंद(दं)तु द्विजसत्तमा(माः) ॥११॥ व(व)हु-
- 13 मि[ ](मि)व(वं)मुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूक्ति त(स्त)स्य  
 तस्य तदा फलं(नम्) ॥१२॥ महतामपि पापानां दृष्टा शास्त्रेषु  
 निःकृ(ष्कृ)ति(तिः) । व(व)ह्यदेयापहत्री(तुं)णां न दृष्टा निःकृ(ष्कृ)तिः क्वचित्  
 ॥१३॥ तालमानमूर्णैर्युक्ता प्रतिष्ठा घटितामिमा<sup>4</sup> । एसा(षा) प्रशस्तिस्त्वकीर्णा  
 हेमदेवेन सि(शि)ल्यना ॥ [१४॥\*]

<sup>1</sup> The construction of this verse is faulty.

<sup>2</sup> The names of the dancers are mentioned without the Sanskrit case-endings and in such form as were in vogue, e.g., Upādhyā, Gāngayā, Ātī (probably a corruption of Anantā). Some of the other names also are not properly spelt.

<sup>3</sup> There is an accent above this letter, which may be ignored.

<sup>4</sup> A blank space for about 8 letters is left out before this name. This should have contained the name of the person of the individual.

<sup>5</sup> The metre of this verse is corrupt. Perhaps it was intended to be in the Upajith metre. The sense also is not quite clear.

<sup>6</sup> Better read घटिता विष्णु.

## No. 50—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KELGA

D. C. SIRCAR, CUTTACKMUND

The late Mr. B. C. Mazumdar published in this journal, Vol. XII, pp. 237 ff., a paper entitled *Sānapur Plates of Kumāra Sōmēśvaraśāha*<sup>1</sup>. The plates were found buried in a field in the village of Kelga<sup>2</sup> in the Uttara-Desa division (i.e., the 'Northern Bank' division lying to the north or left of the Mahānadi) in the old Sonapur State in Orissa. There were altogether four copper plates strung on a copper ring to which a brass seal of the shape of a double-petalled lotus was found soldered. The ring was, however, found out and Mazumdar believed that two of the four plates were forged and substituted in the original document at a later date. Three of the plates, marked A, B and C by Mazumdar, were found to be of the same size and were supposed to bear fragments of a partially forged charter of the Sōmavarāṇṣī prince Sōmēśvara, while the fourth plate, slightly smaller in size than the other three plates and marked D by Mazumdar, was supposed to record a forged supplementary grant in favour of the son of the donee of Sōmēśvara's charter. Mazumdar suggested that Sōmēśvara's charter consisted originally of four plates engraved on one side only, but in the place of the second and the fourth plates—now missing, two plates engraved on both sides were substituted, and one concluding line was attempted unsuccessfully to be engraved on the reverse side of the plate which was originally the third plate. He further observed, "When the original grant was first tampered with, the ring was cut open, and the plate C and another new forged plate (subsequently removed) must have been put in." The reasons for these changes or forgery are not of course now apparent. In a note on the above observations of Mazumdar, the late Dr. Sten Konow, the then editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*, suggested that probably the original charter was written on three plates of which one, inscribed on both the sides, was missing. This was because Mazumdar's suggestion regarding all the four plates being originally written on the obverse only was palpably improbable.

The said plates are now preserved in the Asiatic Museum of Indian Art attached to the University of Calcutta, and I had an opportunity of examining them through the kindness of Mr. D. P. Ghosh, Curator of that Museum. On a careful examination of the plates, it is found that the observations on them, related to above, are mostly wrong. It was an unfortunate mistake to believe that Sōmēśvara's charter is incomplete and partially forged. There is absolutely no doubt that the three plates of equal size, marked A, B and C by Mazumdar, form a complete charter issued by the Sōmavarāṇṣī Sōmēśvara, although they were wrongly arranged. Mazumdar's C is actually the second or middle one of the three plates on which the whole document was engraved. Both Mazumdar and Sten Konow failed to realise that the inscription on the obverse of Plate B (really Plate III) is a continuation of that on the reverse of Plate C (actually Plate II). This is because the last word of the last line on the reverse of Plate C (Plate II) was read as *prasthāntaryāṇ* and the first three letters of the first line on the obverse of Plate B (Plate III) as *śāhāśāha*, without noticing that, after *prasthāntaryāṇ*, the letter *śā* was really engraved so that the last letter on the reverse of Plate C (Plate II) and the first three *akṣaras* on the obverse of Plate B (Plate III) have to be read continuously as *śāhāśāhaśāha*. In other records of the Sōmavarāṇṣī kings also the word *prasthāntaryāṇ* is found to be followed by the expression *śāhāśāhaśāha*, although the word *śā* was usually put between them.<sup>3</sup> The suggestion that the original document was written on one side each of four plates is therefore entirely wrong. The charter is a three-plate record, called *tri-phallī-dāvara-śāhasa* in Sōmavarāṇṣī documents. The first plate is engraved only on the inner side. The second and third plates have writing on both the sides, although the reverse of the third plate contains only one line of inscription.

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. III, p. 243 (text, line 23), p. 244 (text, line 10), p. 253 (text, lines 40-47), p. 257 (text, line 46), Vol. XI, p. 94 (text, line 17), p. 97 (text, line 31), *J. R. G.*, Vol. XX, p. 247 (text, line 34), p. 248 (text, lines 17-18), etc., etc.



The smaller plate, marked D by Mazumdar, is obviously the second or middle plate of another *tri-phalī-sūtra-bhāṣa*. This part of the incomplete inscription records a grant in favour of the son of the donee of Sōmēśvara's charter. There is no evidence in support of Mazumdar's contention that this incomplete charter is a forgery. As the donee of this grant was the son of that of Sōmēśvara's charter, it is possible to think that, for some reason unknown to us, the son took out the plate recording a genuine grant in his favour from a *tri-phalī* charter and kept it in another similar document by the side of the latter's second or middle plate recording a grant in favour of his father. The third plate of the record may have been considered unnecessary as it no doubt contained only some imprecatory and benedictory verses with or without the date. If the grant was received from the same ruler, viz., Sōmēśvara of the Śiṅga-*vaṭṭa*, the first plate must have contained matter similar to that on the first plate of the father's grant and may have been considered unnecessary, wrongly of course, on that account. The nature of the draft, which is not exactly the same as in other similar records, as well as the fact that it is part of a different record and is neither complete in itself nor fits in Sōmēśvara's grant in the father's favour would suggest that the document is genuine. The large number of mistakes in the language need not be taken as an evidence of the spurious nature of the grant, as many other early-medieval Orissan records including Sōmēśvara's charter itself are by no means free from errors.

Among other errors of Mazumdar, reference may be made to his reading *Kēśalī-śāṭṭhā*\*1-*śāṭṭhā* (believed to speak of the Kēśala country) in line 9 of the inscription. The correct reading of the passage is no doubt *Kēśalī-śāṭṭhā*. The name of this Kēśalī-śāṭṭhā is apparently preserved in that of modern Kelgī, the find-spot of our record. Sten Konow's suggestion that modern Kelgī represents the ancient Kamalapura seems to be wrong. As regards the emblem on the seal attached to the charter, no photograph of which was published, Mazumdar says: "On the top surface there is a seated figure with the right arm outstretched to the knee, within the enclosure of a blossoming creeper. The figure seems to represent a goddess, and, if so, she is the representation of Lakṣmī. I may state, however, that the posture indicating peaceful meditation is hardly consistent with the figure of any goddess." The representation is, however, of the seated Gaṇa-Lakṣmī as on the seals attached to other charters of the Sōmavamśa kings. The two figures of elephants were wrongly regarded by Mazumdar as the representation of creepers. In view of the numerous errors that crept into Mazumdar's article on these plates, they are re-edited in the following pages.

#### A. Plates of Sōmēśvara

The plates on which the charter is incised have been described by Mazumdar. The palaeography and orthography of the inscription resemble closely those of other Orissan epigraphs of about the twelfth century A. C. and does not call for special notice. The medial signs of *u*, *ā*, and *ī* are often undistinguishable. The language is Sanskrit; but it is full of errors and is greatly influenced by the local dialect.

The charter was issued from Suvarṇapura, i.e., modern Sonapur. The inscription records a grant of the village of Atāṇḍā in the Kēśalī-śāṭṭhā (sub-division) of the Uttaravallī *viśaya* (district), made by the Sōmavamśa prince Sōmēśvara in favour of the Brāhmana, *Bhaṭṭaputra* Udayakaraśarma, who was the son of *Bhaṭṭa* Vidyākara, grandson of *Bhaṭṭa* Jayakara and great-grandson of *Bhaṭṭaputra* Lakṣmīdhara, and belonged to the Kumārahārta *gōtra* having five Brāhmana who was himself learned, while his son who was not himself learned may have been called *Bhaṭṭaputra*. The Brāhmana donee was a student of the Mādhyandina-Kāṇva branch of the

\* Jayakara is called *Bhaṭṭaputra* in the fragmentary grant edited below.



Vajur-vāla. He was an inhabitant of Kamalapura, although his family hailed from Mahuvāli in the Śāvatha (Śāvastī) *maṇḍala*. The grant was made on the occasion of an auspicious day in the month of Māgha in the first regnal year of Śaṃśvara at the request of *Vāpa* Mahipati and *Bhatta* Aniruddha, both of whom appear to have been called *Mahāsamāhira* (minister for war and peace) and *Rājaka* (title of a subordinate ruler). The king's order regarding the grant was addressed to the village folk including Brāhmanas, *Bhōgīs* and *Bhōgi-rāpas* as well as to the officials including the *viśaya-pati* (ruler of a district), *bhūḥa-pati* (ruler of a sub-division of a district) and *dāṇḍapāṭika* (police inspector). The word *bhōgi* may indicate 'a village headman' or 'an *ināmdār*'; but the expression *bhōgi-rāpa*, which seems to mean 'one who is a *Bhōgi* partially or outwardly', possibly supports the second of the two meanings of *bhōgi* suggested above. A *bhōgi-rāpa* may indicate one who is a mere title-holder but is not in actual possession of the land in question.

The list of privileges to be enjoyed by the donee included, besides the ordinary ones noticed in many charters, the *sunaya-dāḍa*, *ahi-dāḍa*, *carta-dāḍa*, *vaudīpanā*, *vijayavardīpanā*, *triṣ-ḍaka*, *śāma-ārdhika*, *dhara-bāṇanā*, *āthārāṇā*, *pratyāthārāṇā*, *padāṭi-jīva*, *ādattā*, *śūdr-vāldā*, *yā-gauja* and *khajapālīya*. Although some of the expressions are not entirely unintelligible, the real significance of the privileges indicated by all these expressions is difficult to determine in the present state of our knowledge. Many of these are also known from some other inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

Śaṃśvaradēva, the donor of the grant, is described as belonging to the Śāma-kula and as a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara (Śiva). Although he enjoyed the imperial titles, *Paramahatā* (Āvaka and *Paramāvara*, he calls himself *Kumārākhirāja* (also *Kumāra*) instead of the expected *Mahārājākhirāja*. The epithet *Paścima-Lakṣ-ādhipati* indicates that Śaṃśvaradēva was originally the governor of *Paścima-Lakṣ* (literally, 'the western island'), situated somewhere in South Kōśala, under the Śāmasavarāṭ king of that country. The title *Kumārākhirāja* reminds us of the similar title *Mahākumāra* adopted by some rulers of the Paramāra family.<sup>2</sup> The uncertain political condition which necessitated the adoption of the title *Mahākumāra* by some Paramāra rulers is hinted at in epigraphic passages like *śrīmaḥ Jayavarmanadēva-rājya vyatīti rāja-kara-dhṛita-karavīla-prasād-ācāpta-nij-ādhipatya*... *mahākumāra-śrīmaḥ Lakṣmīvarmanadēva*, 'the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Lakṣmīvarmanadēva, who obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the sword which he carried in his hand, when the rule by the illustrious Jayavarmanadēva had passed away', *śrī-Jayavarmanadēva śrī-Narmadā prithatama-prithak prasād-ācāpta-nij-ādhipatya*... *mahākumāra-śrī-Hariśchandradēva*, 'the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious Hariśchandradēva, who obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the last ruler, before mentioned, the illustrious Jayavarmanadēva', etc. It is very interesting to note that the Śāmasavarāṭ *Kumāra* or *Kumārākhirāja* Śaṃśvara is similarly said to have issued the charter after the end of the rule of Abhimanyu who had been installed in the Kōśala kingdom that is said to have been presented to him by Uddyōtakāmarin. The Śāmasavarāṭ king Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyōtakāmarin, who was the son of Mahābhavagupta III Yayāti Chagīthara and grandson of Abhimanyu (who did not rule), is known from his Balijhari plates.<sup>3</sup> Our inscription represents Uddyōtakāmarin as *Mahābhavagupta-pād-ānudhyāta*. It is apparently a mistake for *Mahābhavagupta-pād-ānudhyāta* which is used in the same context in the Balijhari plates (cf. lines 29-33). While discussing the history of the Śāmasavarāṭs of Kōśala (South Kōśala) and Utkala, we have suggested

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Balijhari plates, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff. Unfortunately there are numerous errors in the published transcripts of this inscription. *Tyāḍaka* and *khajapālīya* are mentioned in some Orissan records in connection with land that was declared as a rent-free gift but was subject to payment of certain taxes. See above, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff., line 29; Vol. XXIV, pp. 15 ff., lines 33-34; *J. A. S. B.*, N. S., Vol. XII, pp. 292 ff., lines 33-33; *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1932, pp. 6 ff. *Gauja* is the same as *gāḍa* meaning 'a shepherd'.

<sup>2</sup> Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 848 ff.; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 304-05.

<sup>3</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 ff.



elsewhere<sup>1</sup> that Uddyōtakēśarin, who ruled about 1000-85 A.C., possibly during the later part of his reign, made Abhimanya, apparently a prince of his own family, a sub-king of that part of his dominions that lay in Kōśala, while he himself ruled in Utkala where we have his records at Bhulanavay and the neighbourhood. This arrangement may have been made to check the Kalachuri as well as Chhindaka-Nāga and Telugu-Chōḍa encroachment in Kōśala and Gaṅga encroachment in Utkala.<sup>2</sup> As to the extirpation of Sōmavashī rule (especially of Abhimanya's reign) from Kōśala, it may be pointed out that the Chhindaka-Nāga king Sōmāśvara (c. 1020-1110 A.C.) of Bastar and Yaśōrāja I, a Telugu-Chōḍa feudatory of the Chhindaka-Nāgas, claim to have conquered Kōśala. Yaśōrāja's great-grandson Sōmāśvara II, called 'lord of the whole of Kōśala', actually issued his Kumārīnīhā<sup>3</sup> and Patna Museum plates<sup>4</sup> from Savarnapūra. The position of Sōmāśvara and Abhimanya, mentioned in our record, in the genealogy of the Sōmavashīs cannot be determined; but the latter may have been a grandson of Abhimanya (grandfather of Uddyōtakēśarin) and a brother or cousin of Uddyōtakēśarin. Like the Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmāśvara II who issued charters from Sonapur, the Sōmavashī Sōmāśvara who issued the charter under discussion from the same city, seems to have flourished about the early years of the twelfth century. That the Sōmavashī Sōmāśvara was a contemporary of his Telugu-Chōḍa namesake may be suggested by the influence of the latter's records on passages (like *Sōma-kula-kāśala-kalikā-vikāśa-bhāṣara* and *tri-Sōmāśvarāditya-pādāḥ* *luculinal*). In the Sōmayamā style, the passages would have been *Sōmakula-kāśala* and *tri-Sōmāśvarāditya* *luculāḥ*. It is possible to suggest that the Sōmavashī Sōmāśvara of our record struggled with and was overthrown by the Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmāśvara II. The greatest achievement of Kalachuri Jājallāditya (1114 A.C.) is described as a victory over a certain Sōmāśvara in one record and as a victory over Bhujabala of Savarnapūra in another.<sup>5</sup> This seems to suggest that Bhujabala or Bhujabalāmalla was a *vireḍa* of Sōmāśvara who was a ruler of Savarnapūra (Sonapur). This Sōmāśvara, defeated by the Kalachuris established in the western part of South Kōśala, may be either the Sōmavashī Sōmāśvara of our record or the Telugu-Chōḍa Sōmāśvara II of the Kumārīnīhā and Patna Museum plates. But his identification with the former seems preferable. From the record under review we learn that, like the imperial Gaṅgas, the Sōmavashīs claimed to have belonged to the *Ātrīya-gotra*.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Kōśalīgā and Savarnapūra are of course modern Kelgā and Sonapur respectively. The district called Uttaravallī seems to be what is now called Uttarā-tira referred to above. The village of Attūgā must have stood in the vicinity of Kelgā. The donee's family hailed from the village of Mahuvāli in Śrāvastī which was the area round modern Set-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of the Uttar Pradesh. The village of Kamalapurā, where the donee was settled, seems to have been a locality in South Kōśala.

### TEXT

#### First Plate

1. [Siddham] || Svasti ||<sup>1</sup> Śeṭ-Savarnapūrnāra(rāt) ||<sup>2</sup> paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-paramabha<sup>3</sup>.
2. ||Kṛka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-||<sup>4</sup> Sōma-kula-kāśala-Tri-

<sup>1</sup> I. R. Q., Vol. XXII, pp. 204-05.

<sup>2</sup> See, *ibid.* See also above (article on the Mahājā plates).

<sup>3</sup> J. K. R. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 229 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 806-07.

<sup>6</sup> From the original plates as well as impressions and the facsimile published above, Vol. XII.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>8</sup> One of the *dasas* stands on the left of the ring-dots and two of them are on the right. They are unnecessary.

<sup>9</sup> There is a small *das* after this letter. It is superfluous.

<sup>10</sup> The *dasas* are unnecessary.

- 3 kalīṅg-ādhipati-ār<sup>1</sup> Mahābhavatapta<sup>2</sup> rājādīva-pād-āmadhyāta-||ār(ta-ār)-  
 4 mad-Udyō(dīyō)lakṣmarirājadēva-prasādi(dh)krīta-Kōśa-rājy-ābhini(ābi)-  
 5 kta-ār<sup>3</sup> Abhimaty(nya)li(dā)vasy-āsta-rājyō ||<sup>4</sup> paramamūhāvara-pa-  
 6 ramabhaḍā(ṭṭā)ma-kuma(mā)rādhirāja-paramēva(śva)ra-Pāśhina-Laṅk-āli-  
 7 pati-Sōma-kula-kamala-kalikā-vikāśa-bhāḍya(śka)ra-kumāra-ād-  
 8 Sōmāvaradēvapādāḥ kusa(śa)linah ||<sup>5</sup> Uttatavāli-vichaya-sarh<sup>6</sup>-  
 9 Kēśalōgā-khaṇḍiya- ||<sup>7</sup> Atēḍā-grāmō ||<sup>8</sup> prativāsinō Vṛā(Bṛā)hma-  
 10 ṇa-paḥ(pa)rahsarīna(rā) ||<sup>9</sup> bhōgi-bhōgīrūpa-pramukha-samaḥṭja-

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 11 janapadīna(dān) yathā-kāl-ādhyāyī(śi)naś-cha maḍḍalapati ||<sup>10</sup> viśaya-  
 12 pati- ||<sup>11</sup> khaṇḍapati- ||<sup>12</sup> dūḍapāsi(śi)kōdina(dīn) samasta-rāja-pād-ōpeḥ(vinō)  
 13 yath-ārham ||<sup>13</sup> mānayanti ||<sup>14</sup> vō(bō)dhayanti ||<sup>15</sup> samā(jnā)ḥṣayanti (śha\*) ||<sup>16</sup> viśitam-astu  
 14 bhavatā(m\*) ||<sup>17</sup> upari-likhita-grāmō-yam ||<sup>18</sup> prasiddha-chatuḥ-ām-śvachchhina(mah)  
 15 sa-jala-athalāḥ ||<sup>19</sup> sa-matrya-kachchhapāḥ ||<sup>20</sup> sa-viḥap-āranyah ||<sup>21</sup> sa-  
 16 nīlīḥ ||<sup>22</sup> s-ōpanidhīś-cha ||<sup>23</sup> s-āmra(mra)-madhu-van-ākīrṇah ||<sup>24</sup> Suvarṇadān-ja-  
 17 abidanda- ||<sup>25</sup> vartmadandja- ||<sup>26</sup> vandāpanā- ||<sup>27</sup> vijayavandāpanā- ||<sup>28</sup> tṛṇ-ōdaka-  
 18 sū(śū)śan-ārddhika- ||<sup>29</sup> chara-va(ba)hivada(rda)- ||<sup>30</sup> ārhāruvā- ||<sup>31</sup> pratyarthāruvā-padāti(ji)-  
 19 vya-śalattā- ||<sup>32</sup> āturāva(ji) ||<sup>33</sup> bhaviśhyata(śhyat)-kar-ādi-salīṭah ||<sup>34</sup> gō-gaḥḥa-  
 20 samīṭah ||<sup>35</sup> sa-khaṇḍapāliyah ||<sup>36</sup> sarva-vā(bā)dhā-vivarjita(h\*) ||<sup>37</sup> tāmra(mra)-śā(śā)-

*Second Plate : Second Side*

- 21 sanēś-īkarīkrītya ||<sup>38</sup> salila-īhārī-pura(h)paratā(ram) ||<sup>39</sup> ś-chandr-ārka-(kahi)ti-(kā)śa-  
 22 sama-bhōg-ārtham ||<sup>40</sup> mātā-pitṛ-ātmanāś-cha puṇya-yaś(śā)-bhaviḍḍhaya ||<sup>41</sup> bhagava-  
 23 nām Mahēva(śva)ra-bhaṭṭārakam-ūldīya(śya) ||<sup>42</sup> mahāśandhivigra(hi)ra(rā)gaka-nāyaka-  
 24 ar-  
 25 Mahīpati-bhaṭṭa-ār<sup>43</sup> Aniruddha ||<sup>44</sup> anayōb<sup>4</sup> pari(jatvya)\* ||<sup>45</sup> pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rā-  
 26 jyō ||<sup>46</sup> prathama-satara(samra)tsarō ||<sup>47</sup> Māgha-māśya- ||<sup>48</sup> pu(h)(pa)ṇya-tiśha ||<sup>49</sup> Karmā(mā)ra-  
 27 [ha(hā)ritra(ta)-gō-  
 28 tsāya ||<sup>50</sup> pāṭeh-ārha-pravarāya ||<sup>51</sup> Mādhyandina-Ēa(Kā)ṇṇa(ṇya)-śā(śā)kh-ādhyāyīnō ||<sup>52</sup>  
 29 Sāvattā<sup>53</sup>-maṇḍa-  
 30 āya- ||<sup>54</sup> Mahavāli-vi(vi)ṇṇagatāya ||<sup>55</sup> Kamalāpura-vāśavyāya ||<sup>56</sup> bhataṭṭa)putra-La-  
 31 kṣmādhara-praputrāya ||<sup>57</sup> bhaṭṭa-Jayakara-putrāya ||<sup>58</sup> bhaṭṭa-Vidyākara-putrāya  
 32 bhaṭṭaputra<sup>59</sup> Udayakaraśa(śa)mma(mma)ḥ sampadattō<sup>60</sup> smāliḥ ||<sup>61</sup> Ātrōya-gōtrah ||<sup>62</sup>  
 33 \* (try-ā)raha(rāḥ)ya-pravarah ||<sup>63</sup> atō-aya viśhēybhīḍya yathā-dīyamāna-lhōga-lhōga-  
 34 kara-sikar-ālikam samupanayadbhīḥ bhavadbhīḥ sakhēna prativastavyam (bhā)-

\* Read 'yapā-rāja'. The intended reading seems to be *Mahāśampadattāra*.

<sup>1</sup> *Śaśā* has not been observed here.

<sup>2</sup> The *śaśas* are unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> *Śaśa* is a contraction for *sambādha*.

<sup>4</sup> The *śaśa* is superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'raddhoyā'.

<sup>6</sup> Read *pariśeṣya*.

<sup>7</sup> The intended reading seems to be *Śrīmat*.



## Third Plate : First Side

- 32 vibhā-cha bhūpatibhūh dānam-idam-a[ma\*]dīya[th] ||<sup>1</sup> dharmma-gaṇṭavāḥ-asaṃat-asaṃrō-  
 33 dhāch-cha ||<sup>2</sup> sva-dānam-iv-ānpālāntyam(yam) || tāthā ch-ōktān dharmma-ā(ā)stō(ā)trō  
 ||<sup>3</sup> Bhūmim yāh  
 34 pratigrih[ṇ]āti ||<sup>4</sup> yaa-va(s-cha) bhūmim prayachchati ||<sup>5</sup> abhau tes paṇya-kamā(rmā)-  
 gan niyutath svarags-  
 35 gāminau || Ārphōṭayanti pitarō valka(lga)yyanti pitāmahā || ( ) bhūmi-dātā ku-  
 36 lō jātāh sa nas-tā(s-izā)tā bhaviṣyati || Va(Ba)huti(bhi)c-vrasandā da(tā) rājabhūh Sagar-  
 āditi(bhi)h || ( ) Ya-  
 37 eya yaaya yadā bhūmim-tasya tasya tadā phalac(lam) || Mā bhūmim-phala-sa(s- )kī vāy  
 para-da-  
 38 ta-ēti kṛtanātā(nāt ) sva-dattāt-phalam-ānantyam paradatt-ānpālāntā(nāt) || Sva-  
 dattāt pa-  
 39 ra-dattām-vā(tām vā) yō harō(ta\*) dva(va)saṃdharāt ||(rām ) sa viśtā(ah)thāyāh  
 krimir-bhūthā(tvā) pāpibhūh saha  
 40 pachyati || Gān-ōkām svaraggaṇ-ōkām-cha bhūmim-apy-ardham-aṅgulaṇ(lam ) hara-  
 narakam-āyā-  
 41 ti yāvad-ābhūh(ta)-ra(sam)plavati(vam) || Iti kamala-clat-ānvu(mba)-va(bi)cula(uda)-  
 lōlām kṛ(tī)yam-asa-  
 42 chintya mamahya-jivitaṇ-cha ||<sup>6</sup> sakalam-idam-udāhṛitāh {cha\*} va(ba)dhvā(dhvā) na hi  
 sata-purn<sup>7</sup>

## Third Plate : Second Side

- 43 shail parā-kṛitayō vi[ś]ōpyāh ||<sup>8</sup>

## B. Stray Plate of a Second Grant

The stray plate inserted in Sōmāvara's charter, as already noticed, forms part of an incomplete charter in favour of the son of the Brāhmaṇa Udayakara, donee of the previous grant. It abruptly begins with a reference to the village folk living on the four sides apparently of the gift land, to whom the royal order seems to have passed through a person named Shashithi-gāhura. The gift land is next mentioned as Pavissagrāma together with two *thoppa-kāṣṭras* (plots of land) called Gudhvamāla and Kahapura belonging to Virasavall-grāma situated in the Rōṇṇāḍa *maṇḍala*. The land was apparently situated in a forest, as the privileges of the donee included his right to enjoy *kasti-danta* (ivory), *vāḍhara-charma* (tiger's skin) and various animals (*nāṇḍ-vaṇachara*). Among trees specified in this connection are tamarind and palmyra.

The donee was the Brāhmaṇa, *Bhaṭṭaputra* Ābhābhakaradharman, who was the son of *Bhaṭṭaputra* Udayakara (donee of Sōmāvara's charter edited above), grandson of *Bhaṭṭa* Vidyākara and great-grandson of *Bhaṭṭaputra* Jayakara. As in Sōmāvara's charter, the donee is said to have belonged to the Kumāra-hīrita *gātra* having five *pravaras* and to have been a student of the Mādhyandina-Kāya Śākhā. His family is likewise described as having hailed from Mahavālī in the Sāvatha (Śrāvastī) *maṇḍala*, although he was, like his father, an inhabitant of Kamalapura.

<sup>1</sup> The *asaṃat* are superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *asa-purn* (i.e., *sat-purn*) read *para* for the sake of the metre.

<sup>3</sup> This line has suffered from corruption. There appear to be traces of a few letters after this; but I am unable to decipher them. The details of the date of the grant are possibly given here.









A. Plate of *Lōkavīgraha-bhaṭṭāraka*; Gupta year 280

This is a **single plate** measuring 1.85 inches by 2.5 inches and having writing on both obverse and reverse. There is a projection in the middle of the left end of the plate, to which a seal was originally soldered. Of this seal, however, nothing but a small lump of bronze protruding through a hidden hole on both the obverse and reverse of the projection now remains. There are eleven lines of writing on the obverse of the plate and ten lines on the reverse. The size of the letters is small. The preservation of the writing, especially on the obverse of the plate, is extremely unsatisfactory as some of the letters have completely peeled off. The weight of the plate, together with the lump representing the original seal, is 15 tolas only.

In point of **palaeography** and **orthography**, the inscription closely resembles the Sumapdala plate of Prithivīgraha-bhaṭṭāraka edited by me in the pages of this journal,<sup>1</sup> and hardly anything calls for special mention. The tail of letters like *k* and *r* is short and not lengthened considerably downwards as is usually the case. The sign of interpunctuation is usually a short horizontal or slightly curved stroke. Full-stop is sometimes indicated by two such strokes (cf. line 19), not differing much from the sign for the *visarga*; but often the usual double *daṇḍa* has been employed, although the head of the first of the two *daṇḍas* is considerably curved towards the left (cf. lines 15, 21). The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of two of the usual imprecatory verses at the end, the record is entirely written in prose.

The date of the charter engraved on the plate as given in words in lines 2-3 reads: *prasaṁtāmanē Gupta-kīla-samva(samva)tsare aṣṭi-uttara-kāṭa-danḍe*. It is quoted in line 15 as *Samvat 200 80 Phālguna(na)-di 5*. Thus the date of our record is the fifth day of the month of Phālguna in the year 280 of the Gupta era corresponding to 599-600 A.C.

The inscription records the grant of a village called *Urdhvaśrīṅga* situated in the *Uṭṭa* or *Muṭṭa viśaya* (district) in *Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī*. The grant was made by the royal officers (*viṣayakāṭh*) of the said *viśaya*, including such officers as the *viśādikā*, *viśayapati* and *amha-bṛhādḥhōgika*, when *parama-dēva-śāhīdāivata-śrī-Lōkavīgraha-bhaṭṭāraka* was ruling in *Tōsalī* comprising eighteen forest states (*Tōṣyām s-āśh(śāḍa)-ā(avi-rājyōyām)*). The declaration regarding the grant was addressed to the present and future enjoyers of the share of the produce (*bhāga-bhājaka*) such as the officers of the *mahādāivanta-mahārāja*, *rājaputra*, *kumārāmātya*, *uparika*, *ud-āyuktaka*, *antīvāṇika*, *viśayapati* and *amha-bṛhādḥhōgika*. Of the officials, *amha-bṛhādḥhōgika* seems to be the same as *bhōgika* or *bṛhād-ḥhōgika* of other inscriptions, and *antīvāṇika*, not usually found in charters,<sup>2</sup> may indicate a privy councillor or one in charge of secret and confidential communications. Having ascertained that the village in question had in it no land uncultivated for a long time (*chira-kīla-kīṇya*) and that its land possessed many qualities (*śrēṣṭha-guṇa*), the officers granted it, with a view to gaining *dharma*, *vr̥tha* and *kāma*, with the permission of the *paramadēvaśāhīdāivata-śrī-paramabhaṭṭāraka*, no doubt referring to *Lōkavīgraha-bhaṭṭāraka*. The grant was made according to the principle governing permanent endowments to last as long as the moon and sun endure (*śā-chandr-ārka-samā-kāly-ākāśya-nīti-dharmasā*) with the determination of the four boundaries. The purpose of the grant was the institution of *śālī*, *chāra* and *satīra* at the *maṭha* of the illustrious *Maṇināgāśvara-bhaṭṭāraka* of *Chakāmbaka* or *Ekāmbaka* and the maintenance of the *Brāhmaṇas* of different *gṛhas*, who were students of the *Maitrāyaṇya* branch of the *Yajur-vēda*. It is interesting to note that the *Brāhmaṇa* students of the *Maitrāyaṇya* school, associated with the *maṭha* of *Maṇināga-bhaṭṭāraka*, are also mentioned in the other charter edited below. The word *maṭha* seems to indicate here 'a temple endowed with a monastery or college'. The grant under

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The designation *paṇḍitaśāstropari(ka)-antīvāṇika-bṛhādḥhōgika* is found in lines 53-54 of the Bhopur plates of *Dharmarāja* to be edited by me in this journal. Cf. also Lüders' List, Nos. 128(Q), 127, 128, 141.



review was *anuvṛita* (possibly meaning 'endorsed') among others by the *Vaiṣṇavika* Bhavanāga, *Viśvayapati Śrīdatta*, *Amaś-bṛiṣadbhṛṅgika* Sudumāka and *Karaṇika* Nāgadhata.

It seems that Prithivivigraha who, according to the Sumaṇḍala inscription, was governing the Kalinga *rājya* as a viceroy of the imperial Guptas in the Gupta year 250 and Lokavigraha who was ruling independently over the Tōṣali country (comprising the northern part of ancient Kalinga and also Utkala) in the Gupta year 280, belonged to the same family which may be called the Vigraha dynasty of Orissa. It is clear that all vestiges of imperial Gupta influence in Orissa disappeared before the date of our record. It is also clear now that the history of Orissa in the second half of the sixth century was characterised by the rivalry between the Vigrahas and the royal house of the Mānas represented by king Śambhuvāsa of the Muḍgala or Maudgalya *gōtra*, who is known to have been ruling over Uttara-Tōṣali in the Gupta year 360<sup>1</sup> and Dakṣiṇa-Tōṣali in the year 383,<sup>2</sup> side by side with the Vigrahas. The expansion of the rule of Śambhuvāsa over South Tōṣali before the year 283 suggests the discomfiture of the Vigrahas at the hands of the Mānas. This struggle between the Vigrahas and Mānas seems to have facilitated the conquest of Orissa probably from the Mānas by king Śaśāṅka of Gaṇḍa sometime before the Gupta year 300.<sup>3</sup>

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Tōṣali was originally the name of the chief city of Kalinga identified with modern Dhauli near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District. It seems that with the foundation of the kingdom of the Gaṇḍas who claimed the title 'lord of Kalinga or Trikaṇḍa' with their capital at Kalinganagara (modern Mukhalingam in the Chinnacole or Śrīkūṭalam District), the rulers of northern Kalinga felt the necessity of applying the new name to their dominions. The country of Tōṣali comprised not only northern Kalinga but also ancient Utkala and thus often included the western part of the Midnapur District in the north-east and the eastern fringe of the Ganjam District in the south-west. Dakṣiṇa-Tōṣali or South Tōṣali roughly corresponded to northern Kalinga (modern Puri District with parts of Cuttack and Ganjam) and Uttara-Tōṣali or North Tōṣali to the Utkala country (modern Balasore District with parts of Cuttack and Midnapur). The description of Tōṣali as comprising eighteen forest states in our record seems to be the earliest reference to the tradition of the so-called Athara-gaḍa-jāta of Orissa.<sup>4</sup> The *viśhaya* of Uṭṭa or Muṭṭa and the village of Oṛḍhvaśrīṅga cannot be satisfactorily identified. Chalkāmbaka or Ēkāmbaka, where the *maṭha* of the deity Maṇināgēśvara was situated, is also difficult to locate. I am not sure if the *maṭha* can be identified with the present Kanās Maṭha. If, however, the name is really Ēkāmbaka, it may possibly be regarded as a variant of Ēkāmbra (or Ēkāmbaka) which is an old name of modern Bhubaneswar. The name of Maṇināga, son of Kadṛū, is famous in the Puranic literature.<sup>5</sup> That the Maṇināga cult was popular in Orissa is proved by the existence of the Maṇināga hill at Raṅpur in Orissa as well as of the goddess Maṇināga-Durgā worshipped there. Whether, however, the Maṇināga-maṭha was situated at Raṅpur cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. Maṇināgēśvara may also indicate a *śiva-linga* installed

<sup>1</sup> See the Patilakella plate (above, Vol. IX, pp. 267 f.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Soro plate A (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-02).

<sup>3</sup> See the Ganjam plate (above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.). Mr. S. N. Rajaguru's views regarding Śaśāṅka (*J. A. R.* 8, Vol. XIX, pp. 119 ff.) are not worthy of serious consideration.

<sup>4</sup> For another early tradition regarding the eighteen forest kingdoms including the Dabhāḍa kingdom, see the Ehoḥ plate of Saṅkṣaśṭha (*Sanskrit Descriptions*, p. 275). For the traditions regarding countries or kingdoms comprising eighteen forts, see P. Acharya in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1949, pp. 382-84. For the use of 'eighteen' vaguely indicating a multitude, see *Pali Dictionary*, P.T.S., s.v. *aṭṭha*. Cf. the epithet 'lord of all the Gāndhāras or of 18 Gāndhāras' in many early records of Orissa.

<sup>5</sup> Vide *Skanda Purāṇa*, Āraṇyakhaṇḍa, Rēvākhaṇḍa, chapter 72. The cult of Maṇināga was popular in various other parts of India. For the Maṇināga-tirtha at Rājagṛīha, see *Mahābhārata*, III, 54, 106 ff. Maṇināga seems to have been identical with the Yakṣa Maṇibhadra widely worshipped in ancient India. See above, Vol. XVIII, p. 159; *J. A. R.*, 1915-16, Part II, p. 108; *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 170 ff., etc.





TWO PLATES FROM KANAS  
A. PLATE OF LOKAVIGRAHA BHATTARAKA, GUPTA YEAR 280

Obverse



Reverse



by a person named Maṇināga; but the mention of the same deity as Maṇināga-bhaṭṭāraka in the Kanās plate of Rānūclatta, edited here, seems to go against such a conjecture. It is also not quite clear why only Brāhmanas of the Maitrāyaṇiya school were associated with the maths of the said deity.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>*Obverse*

- 1 [Siddham] Svasti [ ]\* Chata[r-u\*]madhi-saṇḍa-viśi-mākhala-ni[nāyā]m sa-dvīpa-[giri-pa]-
- 2 tṭanavatyāṁ vasundharāyāṁ pravarttamānē Gupta-[kā]ṇa-[samva(samva)tsa]rē
- 3 a[ā]ty-u[ta]ra-śata-[dva\*]-
- 4 y[ā] Tō[salyā]m a-āśtādaś-ā[tta(ta)]vi-rājyāyāṁ parama-[dē]va(t-ā)khidaivata-āri-
- 5 Lōkavi-
- 6 graha-bhaṭṭāra[kē] pra[śā]sati [Da]kṣa[ṇa-Tō]salyāṁ<sup>2</sup> Utida-vishayā[t] vini[ya]-
- 7 [ka]k[ā]h\* sa-vaiśvāṇka-vishayapaty-aśi[sa]vri(bri)hadbhōgik-ādhikara[ṇā] varttamāna-
- 8 bhaviṣyan-mahāsāma[n]ta-ma[hā]rāja-rājap[ut]tra-kumā[rā]māty-ōparika-[ta]d-āya-
- 9 k[ta]ka-[vaiśvāṇka]-vishayapa[ty]-aśasvri(bri)hadbhōgik-ādhikaraṇān-anyaṁ-cha [bhāga]-
- 10 bhuj[ō]
- 11 ya[th-ā]rhaṁ [saṁ]pūjya vijñā[pa]yanti[\*] viditam-a[ṇ]tu bhō bhava[ā]m yath-āmad-
- 12 vishaya-
- 13 [samva(mba)]kḍha O[rdhva]āriṅga-grā[maḥ] chi[ra]-khila-ā[ṇ]ayam-anēka-guṇam-ity-
- 14 avadhritya
- 15 pa[rama-dē]vat-ādhi[daivata]-āri-ṇa[rama-bhaṭṭāra]ka-pād-ānūjñā[ya]-āśābhīḥ dharm-ārtha-
- 16 kāma-
- 17 vinishpatta[yā] [ā-chandr-ārka]-sama[kāly]-ākāhaya-ni[vi]-dharmīṇa cha[tuḥ]-

*Reverse*

- 18 śmā-līgāni suhathāpya [Chai\*]k[ā]mva(mba)[k]i[ya]-āri-Ma[ṇi]nāgā(v-lara-bhaṭṭāraka-ma[t]hī)-
- 19 ya-va(ba)li-charu-sastra-pravarttanāya nānā-gōtra-Maitrāyaṇiya-śhātra-Vrā(Brā)hma-
- 20 nānāṁ a[t]h[ī]t[ā]y[ā] tāmm-pa[ṇi]krītya pratipādita[h] [ ]\* ta[d-ā]va[th] viditya(tvā) dharm-
- 21 ābhilā-
- 22 śhāt-an[upā]layi[tum]-arha[th-ā]ti || Samva(Samva)t 200 80 Phālguna(sa)-dī 5 [ ]\*
- 23 [a]jasa[ri]tām Sūrya ..... libhatai[h] [ ]\* vaiśvāṇka-Bhavanāga [\*]vishaya-
- 24 pati-[Śrī]datta [ ] ..... j[rōd-ā]m[sa]vri(bri)hadbhōgika-Saṇmāka | karaṇi-
- 25 ka-Nāgadatta [ ] draṇḍapā<sup>3</sup> ..... kais-ch-āti || Va(Ba)mbhīr-vvasudhā dattā rājābhīḥ
- 26 Sagar-ādibhi[h] [ ]\* yasya ya[ā]ya yadā bhūmie-tasya tasya ta[dā\*] phalam(lam)||
- 27 Shachit[va] varaha-saha[arā]ṇi svarggē tishthati bhūmidat[va] [ ]\* ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha
- 28 tāny-āva narakā vasēt || o || o ||

<sup>1</sup> From the original plate.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>3</sup> Or, "lign Mafida".<sup>4</sup> Or, ā-Aikāmrāṭya.<sup>5</sup> The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.<sup>6</sup> This *daṇḍa* and the following ones in the next two lines are used as the hyphen is done in English.<sup>7</sup> The word may be *draṇḍa-pāla*, the same as *draṇḍika* of some inscriptions.



## B. Plate of Bhānudatta; Regnal Year 5

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a single plate measuring 5.8 inches by 4.1 inches. There is a projection, with a hole in it, in the middle of the left end of the plate, to which a seal must have been originally fixed. The seal is now lost. There are eleven lines of writing on the obverse and eight lines on the reverse. The preservation of the writing is very poor as both sides of the plate have suffered considerably from the effect of corrosion. The plate weighs 43½ tolas.

As regards palaeography, language and orthography, the inscription under discussion closely resembles the Soro (D)<sup>1</sup> and Balasore<sup>2</sup> plates, as all the three charters were issued by the same ruler. Very little in these respects, therefore, calls for any special remark. The medial *i* is sometimes joined with the following mark of interpunctuation (cf. lines 13, 19) as in the Sumandāla plate<sup>3</sup> and some other inscriptions. The charter is dated in the fifth regnal year of a subordinate ruler named Bhānudatta who, as will be seen below, flourished sometime between 619 and 643 A.C. The actual date given is the 24th day of Āśva (i.e., Āśvayuj or Āśvina).

The charter was issued from a locality called Andhasubhiksha by the mahāpratihāra-mahārāja-mahādāmanā sri-Bhānudatta whose fondatory position is further indicated by the epithet parama-daivata-sri-paramabhāṣṭāraka-pād-ānuśyāta. Bhānudatta's reverential declaration regarding the grant was addressed to the mahādāmanā-mahārāja, rājaputra, kumārāmātya, uparika, viśayapati, tad-āyuktaka, dāṇḍavāsika (i.e. dāṇḍapāṣika), sthānāntarika and other officers and also persons like the chāḍas and bhāṣas, both of the time being and of the future, who were or would be associated (samupāgata) with the viśaya or district called Uttamālōka. The village, granted by Bhānudatta by the tāmra-patta for so long as the moon and sun endure and described as chira-kāla-tūnya, was Kumvuktrikashilōka in the said viśaya. The grant was made for the increase of the merits of the sri-parama-bhāṣṭāraka-pāda, i.e., the unnamed overlord of Bhānudatta. It was made theoretically in favour of the deity Maṇināga-bhāṣṭāraka of Chaikāmvakā or Ēkāmvakā,<sup>4</sup> but actually in that of the Brāhmanas who resided in the maṭha of the god and were students of the Maitrāyaṇīya school of the Yajurveda. People are requested not to stand in the way of the donees enjoying the gift land, but to protect the grant owing to respect for the religious merit of Bhānudatta's overlord. The charter was written (i.e., its draft was prepared) by the śādhavigrahika Gōvinda. The plate was heated (for the purpose of fixing the seal) by the pādāpāla Pratishthita. The designation pādāpāla is found sometimes in the form pātakapāla and apparently means an officer who was in-charge of the boxes containing documents like the one under notice. He was therefore associated with the records office and was possibly under the officer called pustā-pāla or pustaka-pāla in some inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> Pādāpāla Pratishthita of our record is apparently no other than the pādāpāla Pratishthachandra mentioned in the two other charters of the same ruler, referred to above. The plate was engraved by a person named Śivanandana.

All the three charters of Bhānudatta so far discovered are couched in similar language. Like the Balasore plate, which, however, calls its issuer Bhānu instead of Bhānudatta, our record describes the ruler as a mahāpratihāra-mahārāja-mahādāmanā, although the Soro plate (D) uses the designation mahāpratihāra-mahārāja. All the three charters are dated in the fifth regnal year of Bhānu or Bhānudatta and were heated by the pādāpāla Pratishthita or Pratishthachandra. They refer to the overlord of Bhānudatta without specifically mentioning his name. This seems to

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 239-40; I.H.Q., Vol. XI, pp. 611 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The name seems to have been spelt also as ending in ka.

<sup>5</sup> In the records of the Bhānu-Karua, pustā-pāla and pādā-pāla are often separately mentioned, the latter apparently as a small official.



suggest that Bhānudatta's status as a ruler was gradually approaching that of a semi-independent feudatory of an imperial personage.

The four copper plates<sup>1</sup> from Soro in the Balasore District belonging to Śambhuyasas, Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta, as well as the Balasore plate of Bhānu referred to above, suggest that the Sarāpha or Sarāphāhira district (i.e., the region round modern Soro in the Balasore District), said to be in Uttara-Tōsalī or in the Ōdra vishaya as well as in Uttara-Tōsalī, was under the independent king Śambhuyasas of the Mudgala or Mandalya gōtra and possibly of the Māna family in the Gupta year 260 (579 A.C.), then under a feudatory ruler named Sōmadatta in his fifteenth regnal year and lastly under Bhānudatta in his fifth regnal year. The village of Vahirvātaka in the Soro district, granted by Sōmadatta in his fifteenth regnal year to the Brāhmanas Dhruva-mitrāsāmin and Āruṅgamitrāsāmin of the Vāṭsya gōtra and Vājasanīya charaṇa, was regranted by Bhānudatta in his fifth regnal year to the above two Brāhmanas as well as to two others of the same family, viz., Priyamitrāsāmin and Vājamitrāsāmin, apparently on the latter's representation and not long after the date of Sōmadatta's grant. Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta very probably belonged to the same family of the feudatory Dattas who were, however, not subordinate to the ruling dynasty represented by Śambhuyasas. The two Midnapur plates<sup>2</sup> show that Daṇḍabhukti in the western part of the Midnapur District of West Bengal was being ruled in the eighth regnal year of Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, by Mahāprathīha Subhaktīti, but that the same *maṇḍala* together with the *dēśa* or territory of Utkala was under the rule of the *sāmanta-mahārāja* Sōmadatta in the nineteenth regnal year of the same monarch. Thus Sōmadatta was a feudatory of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa who is known to have been ruling in the first quarter of the seventh century, at least from 605 to 619 A.C. In 619 A.C. Śaśāṅka's suzerainty was acknowledged by the Sailōdbhavas in the Kōṅgōḍa country about the eastern fringe of the Ganjam District. This points to the expansion of Gauḍa rule over both North and South Tōsalī. The rule of Sōmadatta in Utkala or Uttara-Tōsalī as a vassal of Śaśāṅka points to the extirpation of the supremacy of the Mānas at least from that region before the nineteenth regnal year of the Gauḍa monarch. But the two Soro inscriptions of Sōmadatta, unlike the Midnapur plate of his time, are dated in the fifteenth year of his own reign and not in the regnal reckoning of his overlord Śaśāṅka. The same is the case with the charters issued by Bhānudatta who was probably Sōmadatta's successor in Utkala, Ōdra-vishaya or Uttara-Tōsalī. The dating of these charters in the regnal reckoning of the feudatories with a rather vague mention of the *parama-bhāṭāraka* or overlord seems to suggest that they were issued after the defeat of Śaśāṅka or his successor at the hands of Harshavardhana of Kanauj and his friend Bhāskara-varman of Kāmarūpa between 619 and 643 A.C.,<sup>3</sup> when the hold of the Gauḍa emperor on the feudatories must have begun to decline. The Dattas of Uttara-Tōsalī, who then became rather nominal feudatories of the emperor of Gauḍa, appear to have been extirpated by Harshavardhana who led an expedition in Orissa about 643 A.C. and probably put the Bhāuma-Kara rulers of Jajpur to power in the above region. Thus after the decline of imperial Gupta rule in Orissa, we find the Vigrahas and Mānas struggling for power with each other before they were swept away by the Gaṇḍas. It is probable that the Vigrahas were ousted by the Mānas who were themselves extirpated by the Gaṇḍas. The defeat of the Gauḍa monarch by the Kanauj-Kāmarūpa confederacy led to the weakening of his hold on Orissa. Harshavardhana, who now considered the Gauḍa king as one of his subordinate allies, may have subdued Orissa ostensibly on the latter's behalf. But his death in 647 A.C. led to the emergence of the Bhāuma-Karas as an imperial power in that country. The rulers on the throne of Kārṇasavarna, capital of Gauḍa, were apparently unable to regain their hold on Orissa.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 201-83.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.A.S.B., Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 7-8; *Prasasti* (Bengali), II, 8, 1250, pp. 291 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The later limit may be 637 A.C. About this time, the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang visited Eastern India. His accounts appear to suggest that Śaśāṅka was dead and Gauḍa was humbled before his visit to that region.



Of the geographical names mentioned in the present record, Chaikānvakā or Bhānvakā has already been dealt with in connection with the Kanā plate of Lākavīgraha. Andhasubhiksha, whence the charter was issued, cannot be satisfactorily identified. I have also not been able to locate the village of Kumvukīrīkshilāka and the district of Uttamālōka. The name of the village looks like a compound of the names of two localities.

## TEXT

*Obverse*

- 1 [Siddham]P Svasti [I\*] Andhasubhikshataḥ parama[ri]vata-īri-parama[bha]t[ā]raka-pā-d-ā]-
- 2 audhyātō mahā[pra]ti[hā]ra-ma[hā]rā[ra]ja-ma[hā]manta-īri-[Bhānudattaḥ]
- 3 koṣali U[ttā]mā[loka]-vishayē samupagatān-vartam[ā]na-[bhavishya]-
- 4 n-ma[hā]ma[nta]-mahārāja-[rā]jap[ati]-ku[mārāmātya]-śpa[rika]-
- 5 vishayapat[i]-tadāyuktaka-dā[na]v[ā]p[ati]-sthā[nānta]rikān-anyāra-cha
- 6 chāja-bha[ta]-d[ā]na-a[dhika]ra[ma]hā-cha pūjayati | astu vaḥ [sa]mvi[śatv]a[di]ta[m]
- 7 yathā-ā[ma]bhira-śat-vishaya-samva[samba]ddha-chi[ra]-khila-lūnya-Ku-
- 8 m[vu]kīrīkshilāka-grāmaḥ\* ar[ī]-paramabha[ta]raka-pādā[nā]-
- 9 m-puṇy-ābhivṛddhayaḥ tāmra-paṭṭēn-ā-chandr-ā[raka]-sama-kāla[m Chai]\*.
- 10 kāmvakā-Maṇināga-bha[ta]rākāya Maitrāyaṇ[ī]ya-chekhāttrā[matha]-Vā[Brā]-
- 11 [hva]jānām-pratip[ā]\*dītas-tad-amishām-uchitam tāmra-pa[ṭṭa]-dānān

*Reverse*

- 12 datvā[ti]rā\* bhōjānānām-vā[m-hā]dhā sa kēnachit-kāryā īri-parama-bha[ta]raka-pā
- 13 diya-dharma-gauravāch-cha dattir-śahā paripālayitavy-ētī ||
- 14 Samva[Sarva]: 5 Āva-dī 20 4 [I\*] Uktān-cha dharmam-āstē [I\*] Va[Ba]hu[bhī]r-  
vvaau[dhā]
- 15 dattā rājābhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ [I\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī-[tasya] ta-
- 16 ya tadā [pha]lām[ām] || Sva-dattām-para-dattām-va[ttām vā] yō harēta vasundharād[ām]
- 17 ah[th]āyān kīrīrī-bhātva pīrībhīḥ saha pachyatē [I\*] likhitaḥ s[ā]ndhī-
- 18 vīgraha-Gōvīnd[sa] [I\*] tāpitaḥ pēdāpāla-Pratish[thit]aḥ [I\*]
- 19 utkīrṇaḥ Śivanandanēn-ēti || [I\*]

\* From the original plate.

\* Expressed by a symbol.

\* A letter seems to have been cancelled by the engraver between grā and māh.

\* Or, ckaḍi.

\* Better read śrīpāda, although we have the same expression elsewhere also.

\* There are two short slanting strokes placed between the two double *daṇḍas* here.

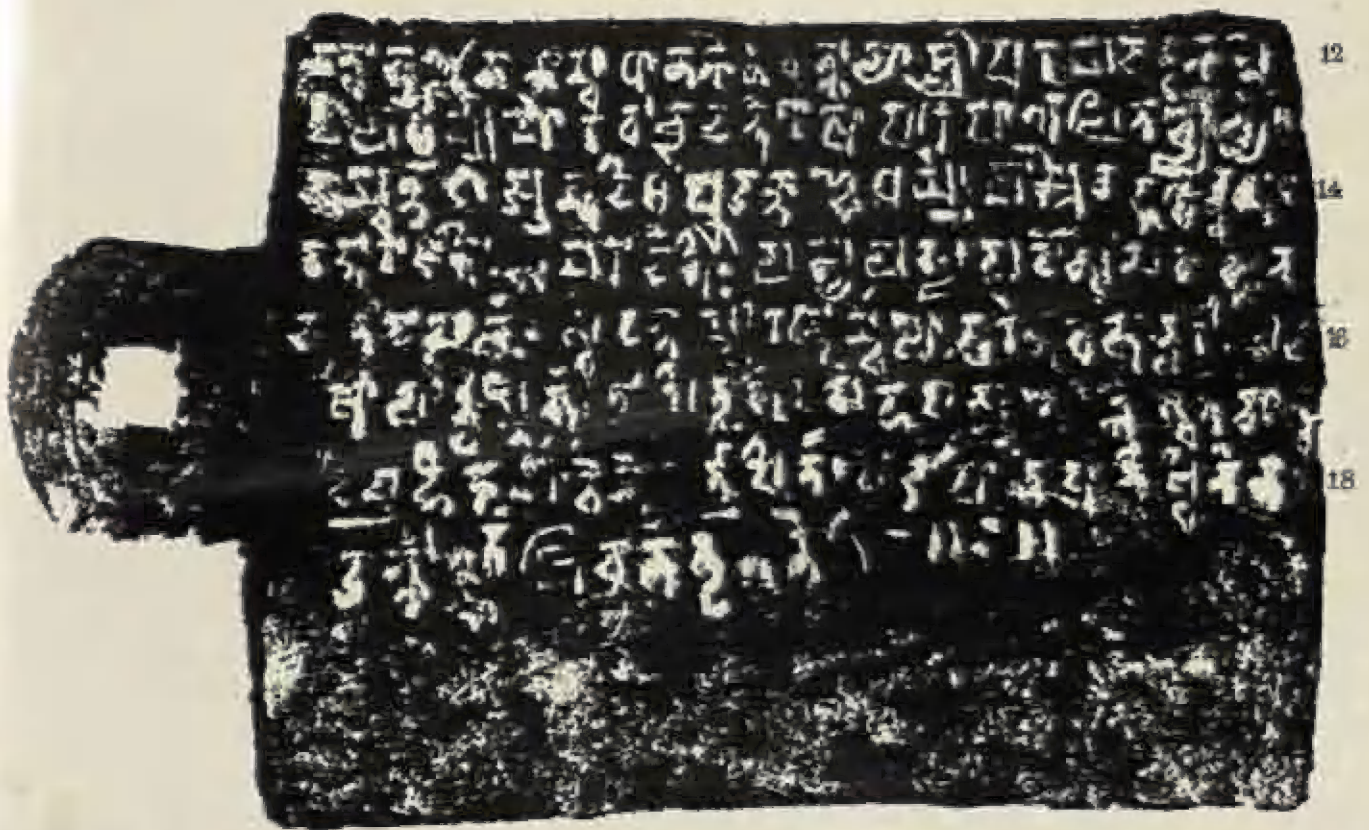


TWO PLATES FROM KANAS  
B. PLATE OF BHANUDATTA; REGNAL YEAR 5

Obverse



Reverse







## EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

1. *Phēraṇa Grant of Sāmantavarman*

The above copper-plate inscription, dated in the Gaṅga year 185 (681-83 A. C.), has been edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.<sup>1</sup> The Gaṅga king Sāmantavarman who issued the charter belonged to a branch line of the Gaṅga house, which ruled from a city variously called Śvātaka, Śehātaka, Śvāta, Śvātka and Śēta. Dr. Majumdar places the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Śvātaka "in the northern part of the Ganjam District."<sup>2</sup>

Another member of the same branch of the Gaṅga family was Rāṇaka Jayavarman, known from one of his copper-plate charters,<sup>3</sup> which was found somewhere in the northern part of the Ganjam District. This grant of Jayavarman is known to have been registered with a seal by a lady styled Trikalīṅga-mahādēvī. On this point Dr. Majumdar says, "It is significant that the grant of Rāṇaka Jayavarman was registered (*lācchhita*) by the Trikalīṅga-Mahādēvī. This shows that Trikalīṅga was included in the kingdom, and may even be taken to indicate that the kingdom was also sometimes known by that name. As I have suggested elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> Trikalīṅga probably designates the hilly tracts, lying to the west of Kalīṅga and separating it from the Central Provinces."<sup>5</sup> Dr. Majumdar seems to take *Trikalīṅgamahādēvī* as a designation. To me, however, it appears to have been the personal name or a secondary name of one of the queens of Rāṇaka Jayavarman, who was endowed by the king with an amount of administrative power. This seems to be suggested by some records of the Bhaṇjas of Khijūlimandala, who originally ruled from Dhritipura and later from the city of Vaṣṭulvaka in the northern part of the Ganjam District, as well as by some of the Śvātaka Gaṅgas themselves.

The Ghumaur plates<sup>6</sup> of Nēṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa were *lācchhita* or registered by the *Vārgulika* Vāchchhika. Two other charters of the same king<sup>7</sup> were similarly *lācchhita* respectively by Māmā and Jachchhikā, who appear to have been female officials of the Bhaṇja ruler. It is extremely interesting to note in this connection that two charters of another member of the same ruling family,<sup>8</sup> called Vidyādharaḥhaṇja surnamed Amoghakalāśa and Dharmakalāśa, are said to have been *lācchhita* by Trikalīṅga-mahādēvī together with the *mantrin* Bhaṭṭa-Kṣāvadēva and the *Vārgulika* Chāchhika in one case and by the same Trikalīṅga-mahādēvī together with Tṛjadika and the *mantrin* Bhaṭṭa-Stambhadēva in the other. Since, however, these records come from the northern part of the Ganjam District, like those of the Gaṅgas of Śvātaka, Dr. Majumdar may be inclined to explain the mention of Trikalīṅga-mahādēvī in the above two records in the same way as he has done in connection with the inscription of Rāṇaka Jayavarman. But some other inscriptions of the Bhaṇjas of Vaṣṭulvaka seem clearly to go against his suggestion.

The Chakradharpur plates<sup>9</sup> of Nēṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa are known to have been *lācchhita* by Śrījayamahādēvī or Śrī-Jayamahādēvī together with the *Vārgulika* Paṇḍarika and the *mantrin* Bhaṭṭa-Bāpuka. There is hardly any doubt that Śrījayamahādēvī or Śrī-Jayamahādēvī was the personal name of one of the queens of Nēṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalāśa, who was endowed with the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 108 ff. and plate.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111, line 37; p. 112, line 12.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 288-9.<sup>4</sup> *Dacca University Studies*, Vol. II, p. 19.<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 111.<sup>6</sup> Bhattacharya's List, No. 1497. *Vārgulika* may be Oriya. *Vārgul* meaning the king's *śāstha*-*vāṅman*.<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1498, 1499.<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1500, 1501.<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1502.



power of registering royal charters. Since the name of the registering Mahādēvi (queen) in this case cannot reasonably be associated with any geographical area like Trikalīṅga, Trikalīṅga-mahādēvi should also better be taken as the personal or secondary name of a queen of Vidyādharaḥaṇja surnamed Amoghakalāśa and Dharmakalāśa. The same personal or secondary name was apparently also borne by one of the queens of the Gaṅga Rāpaka Jayavarman of Śvātaka, who is known to have registered a grant of her husband.

The above suggestion is supported by some other inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Śvātaka and the Bhaṇjas of Vaṇjuivaka. The Svalpavelura grant<sup>1</sup> of Gaṅga Anantavarman of Śvātaka was registered by the Mahādēvi Śrīvāsa-bhaṭṭārīkā, while the Ganjam plates<sup>2</sup> of the Śvātaka king Prithivavarman were registered by his Mahādēvi whose name is not mentioned. A grant of king Nṛtipaḥaṇja Tribhuvanakalāśa of Vaṇjuivaka, which was recently examined by me and is being published in this journal, was similarly registered by Śrījivāśoka-mahādēvi or śrī-Jivāśoka-mahādēvi, no doubt a queen of the Bhaṇja ruler.

Since Trikalīṅgamahādēvi looks like personal or secondary names such as Gāndhārī, Kaikēyī, Mādrī, Pāśchālī, Vaidarbhī and Vaidāhī of the epics, it is possible to regard the queens bearing that name to have been born in the Trikalīṅga country. An exactly similar name, derived from that of the mother-land of the queen, would be Kōmaladēvi who was the daughter of the Kōmala king Mahākōśala and the queen of the Magadha monarch Bimbisāra. Thus the name Trikalīṅga-mahādēvi borne by the queens of Jayavarman of Śvātaka and Vidyādharaḥaṇja surnamed Amoghakalāśa and Dharmakalāśa of Vaṇjuivaka does not appear to help us in locating the Trikalīṅga country in the land comprising the northern part of the Ganjam District of Orissa.

### 2. Koni Inscription of Prithivīdēva II

The Koni inscription of king Prithivīdēva II (circa 1138-58 A. C.) of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratnapura has been published by Professor V. V. Mirashi.<sup>3</sup> The record is dated in the Kalachuri year 903 (1148 A. C.). The object of the inscription is to record, along with certain grants of land, the construction of a paśchāyatana temple of Śiva by one Purushōttama who was the *Sarvoddhikārīn* of Prithivīdēva's father and predecessor Ratnadēva II (circa 1120-38 A. C.).

Verse 26 of the above record, as read by Professor Mirashi, describes the achievements of Purushōttama in the following words:

*Khimmiṇḍi-maṇḍala-harāt-Ta(-Ta)lahāri-hāri karuṇa-tha Daḍḍapura-danḍana-chapḍa-vā(-vā)ṭh.*

*Khijjīṅga-bhaṅga-chaturā Haravōhu-kantā yā Daṇḍabhukti-pati-tarjjanā-darjjayā śrīḥ.*

Professor Mirashi translates the verse as follows: "He (i.e. Purushōttama) captured the Khimmiṇḍi maṇḍala and made the Talahāri (maṇḍala) attractive. He had a fierce arm in subduing Daḍḍapura and was clever in overcoming Khijjīṅga. He killed Haravōhu (and) his valour was invincible in threatening the lord of Daḍḍabhukti." In the introductory remarks also the Professor says in regard to the verse in question that Purushōttama "conquered the Khimmiṇḍi Maṇḍala, made the Talahāri Maṇḍala attractive, punished Daḍḍapura, subjugated Khijjīṅga, killed Haravōhu and threatened the ruler of Daḍḍabhukti." It will, however, be seen that the verse is designed to enumerate certain victorious achievements of Purushōttama. Therefore, "making the Talahāri maṇḍala attractive" can hardly be regarded quite in line with the conquests enumerated in the verse. In my opinion, *Talahāri-hāri* apparently means "one who plundered, subdued or captured Talahāri."

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mahabharata, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, a. v.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 276 ff. and plate.



It is known from the Ratanpur inscription<sup>1</sup> of the Kalachuri year 866 (1114 A.C.) that Kalachuri Jājallādēva I, grandfather of Prithvīdēva II, levied annual tribute from a number of countries including Khimiṅṭ (Kūmīnṭ), Talahāri and Dandakapura (Dandapura). It is thus possible to think that in his youth Purushōttama served as a general of Jājallādēva I and helped the latter in conquering the countries in question. In Hirah's *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*,<sup>2</sup> Talahāri has been located about the northern part of the Janjgir Taluk to the south of Ratanpur. The rulers of this tract are mentioned in several records.

There is again a mistake in Professor Mirashi's reading of verse 26 quoted above. As Pandit I. P. Pandeya has rightly pointed out,<sup>3</sup> what Professor Mirashi reads as *Haravōhu-hantā* is actually *Harabōḡa-hantā*. The correctness of Pandit Pandeya's reading is clear from a comparison of the fourth *akṣara* in the above expression with the form of *aga* in *Khaṭvōḡa-bhaga* as well as with that of *ha* in *vā(hā)ha*, both occurring in the same verse. It may also profitably be compared with other uses of *aga* and *ha* in the record, e.g. in *Khaṭvōḡa-ṣ* (line 1), *tuḡaravōḡat* (line 2), *vā(hā)ha* (line 22), etc. Moreover, *Haravōhu* as a name is unknown in the Indian languages, while *Harabōḡa* is not only a recognised Hindi word, but is also known to be used as the name of a royal personage in a Hindi literary work. According to Hindi lexicons<sup>4</sup>, the word *harabōḡa* (*harabōḡ*) means *gavār*, *ākhay*, *mārkh*, i.e. a rustic or a fool. As a personal name, it can very well be compared with Bengali *Rōḡ* or *Bakḡānār* (from Doḡ *vōḡkaḡa*, 'a goat') meaning 'a fool'. In this connection, Pandit Pandeya refers to the manuscript of a Hindi work, entitled *Kharibōḡ Gadparat Chār Kahānigō*, preserved in the India Office Library, London. The title of one of the four *kahānīs* in the above work is *Inaif Rōḡ Harabōḡab* (literally 'king Harabōḡ's justice').<sup>5</sup> There is thus little doubt that Purushōttama, who was an officer of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpura, claims to have killed in battle a warrior or ruler named Harabōḡa (Haribōḡ), not Haravōhu as Professor Mirashi reads, although it is difficult to identify the person in the present state of our knowledge.

### 3. Madanpur Plate of Śrīchandra, Year 46

Dr. R. G. Basak has edited the above inscription of king Śrīchandra belonging to the Chandra dynasty of Bengal.<sup>6</sup> He has assigned the record to the 44th regnal year of the Chandra king. But what has been read as 44 in line 42 of the inscription is really 46.

As regards verse 5 of the copper-plate grants of Śrīchandra, which describes his father Trailōkyachandra, Dr. Basak observes, "The most important epithet of Trailōkyachandra, as we find in this verse, *ādhār Harikēla-rāja-kakala-chakratra-mitānām śrīpām*, read along with *sat-chandra-śrīpādā babhūva śrīpatir-dūḡḡ*, conveys the fact that at first he was a king of Chandra-dvīpa and later became 'the repository of the Fortune (goddess) whose smile was the (white) umbrella, the symbol (of royalty) of the king of Harikēla'. Beseet of rhetorical figurativeness, the epithet leads one to believe that Trailōkyachandra acquired the royal fortunes of the Harikēla kingdom. The interpretation put on this phrase by the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar and quoted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Dacca University History of Bengal*, Vol. I, does not stand scrutiny."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 36, verse 23.

<sup>2</sup> See 2nd edition, pp. 167, 128.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Midha (Midt), Lucknow, August, 1949, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Bhartagosa Adarś Hindi Sahitya Kōśha*, Banaras, s. v.

A tradition regarding a early king named Haribōḡ who ruled over the Jhark region near Allahabad is recorded in the Bengali work *Tripanat Sēvās* (Calcutta, 1927-28, p. 41) by S. C. Deva-varman of the Tripanat royal family. Like a similar mention of Bengali folk-lore, named Rājā Bhuvachandra or Hahachandra, king Haribōḡ of Jhark is said to have ordered throughout his kingdom the sale of all articles of merchandise according to the same measurement and price.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51 ff. and Plate.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 54.



The late Mr. N. G. Majumdar explained the passage, *ādhārā*, etc., as 'the support of the Fortune goddesses of other kings smiling at (i.e. joyful on account of) the umbrella which was the royal insignia of Harikēla'.<sup>1</sup> Dr. R. C. Majumdar, observes on the above views of Dr. Basak and the late Mr. Majumdar, "According to the first interpretation, Trailōkyachandra was the *de facto* if not *de jure*, ruler of Harikēla, while, according to the second, he was both *de facto* and *de jure* king of Harikēla, with a number of other rulers subordinate to him. The latter view seems preferable. Thus Trailōkyachandra added Chandradvīpa and Harikēla to his paternal dominions".<sup>2</sup> In my opinion, the real import of the passage in question has escaped the notice of all the three scholars referred to above.

I am inclined to interpret the passage *ādhārā Harikēla-rāja-kakula chaktra-smitānā śrī-gaṇā* as 'the mainstay of the Fortune goddesses whose smiles are represented by the white umbrella that is the symbol of royalty of the Harikēla king'. The passage thus says that Trailōkyachandra was the support of the royal fortune of the king of Harikēla. Its real import is apparently that the Chandra king Trailōkyachandra of Chandradvīpa was a feudatory or ally of the king of the Harikēla country. There are instances in epigraphic literature of a feudatory's representation as the mainstay of the overlord's kingdom or fortune. Thus the rulers of the Parichchhadin family, who were feudatories of the Eastern Chālukya monarchs, are mentioned in inscriptions as *Vāṅgi-Chālukya-rājya-mūla-stambha*, i.e., the main support of the kingdom or royalty of the Chālukyas of Vāṅgi.<sup>3</sup> In my opinion therefore Trailōkyachandra was not a king of Harikēla, but was the ruler of Chandradvīpa, i.e., Baklā-Chandradvīpa in the present Backergunje District, owing allegiance to or allied with the king of the country called Harikēla.

As pointed out by Basak, the lexicographer Hāmachandra identifies the Harikēla or Harikēli country with Vaṅga in the passage *Vaṅgās=ta Harikēlayaḥ* (or *'kēli-gāḥ*) in his *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi*. But undoubtedly an earlier tradition regarding the location of that country is preserved in Kṛṣṇa's *Kaṭpanrukāśa* which says *Śrīhaṭṭa Harikēliḥ syāch=Chārikhaṭṭa=pi kachchā=chāt*.<sup>4</sup> This shows that Harikēli or Harikēla was originally the name of the Śāhaṭṭa (modern Sylhet) region but that the name was later applied in a wider sense to Vaṅga apparently as a result of the expansion of a kingdom that had its headquarters in the Sylhet area. The expansion of the Harikēli kingdom is actually suggested by the Chintagong plate of Kāntidēva<sup>5</sup> who was a ruler of Harikēla-maṇḍala in the eight or ninth century A.C. Kāntidēva seems to have been originally a petty ruler of Harikēla, or Harikēla Harikēli in the Sylhet region; but he appears to have later acquired a wide kingdom which had its capital at Dvāparvata near modern Comilla in the Tippera District.<sup>6</sup> Trailōkyachandra who flourished about the middle of the tenth century seems to have owed allegiance to the line of Harikēla kings represented by Kāntidēva.<sup>7</sup> Śrīchandra, son of Trailōkyachandra, was the first independent monarch of the Chandra dynasty. He appears to have thrown off the yoke of Harikēla and extended Chandra power over wide areas of south-east Bengal at the expense of the erstwhile overlords of his family. The rise of Śrīchandra as an independent monarch may have been facilitated by a possible struggle between the Palas and the kings of Harikēla as suggested by the discovery of an image inscription dated in the first regnal year of Gōpāla II (circa 940-60 A.C.) at Mandhuk within the Chāndinā Police Station of the Tippera District.<sup>8</sup> That Śrīchandra, who ruled about the second half of the tenth century, had himself

<sup>1</sup> *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> See *J.O.B.*, Vol. XVII, p. 131; above Vol. VI, p. 224; *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 980, 1127, etc. cf. below, Vol. XXIX, p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> *Gaskell Oriental Series*, No. 42, I, 26.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 312 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See *J.B.A.S.B.*, *Lectures*, Vol. XVII, pp. 83 ff.

<sup>7</sup> His comparison with Ellipsa in the statue in question scarcely proves his independent status (*J.B.O.*, XXIV, p. 12).

<sup>8</sup> *Varendra Research Society's Monograph*, No. 8, 1920, pp. 4-5; *J.B.O.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 31 ff.



to struggle with the Pālas is possibly indicated by the discovery of the Bāghāpur<sup>1</sup> and Nārāyanpur<sup>2</sup> inscriptions, dated respectively in the third and fourth regnal years of Mahipāla I (circa 988-1039 A.C.) in the same District. Verse 12 of the Bāghāpur plate<sup>3</sup> of Mahipāla I also says that he recovered his paternal dominions that had passed to usurpers. The temporary nature of Mahipāla's success against the Chandras in East Bengal is, however, demonstrated by the Kulluṅgi (regnal year 12)<sup>4</sup> and Betkā or Pāikpāṅgi (regnal year 23)<sup>5</sup> inscriptions of Gōvindaśchandra who was probably the successor of Śrīśchandra. He is no doubt the king Gōvindaśchandra of Vaṅgāladēśa (originally the name of Chandradvīpa, which was later applied to the extensive dominions of the Chandras in south-east Bengal), who came into conflict with the generals of Rājendra-chōḷa shortly before 1028 A.C.<sup>6</sup> Another later member of the same family was Layahachandra or Laḷahachandra.<sup>7</sup>

The designation *Mahātantarādhyakṣa* occurs in the list of officials and subordinates to whom the king's order regarding the grant recorded on the Madanpur plate was addressed. Dr. Basak says, "The term *Mahātantarādhyakṣa* undoubtedly refers to the highest priest in charge of the religious rites which were performed on the king's behalf in accordance with the injunctions of the *śrutis* and the *smṛitis*." But the *Tantarādhyakṣa* may be the same as the *Tantrapāla* of other inscriptions, who had apparently nothing to do with the office of the *Tantrika* or priest. The Parthagarh inscriptions<sup>8</sup> refer to a *Tantrapāla-Mahāśimanta-Daṇḍanāyaka* who served the Gurjara-Parthivāra emperor Mahēndrapāla II. The official designation *Tantrapati*, literally the same as *Tantarādhyakṣa*, is also known from the *Rājatarāṅgi* (VIII, 2422) and Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṣṭha-charita* (II, 50). Maṅkha says that his brother received 'the garland of the office of the *Bṛihatanttrapati*' from king Sumala of Kashmir. Jōnarāja in his commentary on the above verse explains *Bṛihatanttrapati* as *Dharmādhipāin*, i.e., 'a judge'.<sup>9</sup> It may be mentioned in this connection that the *Tantrins*, so often mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgi*,<sup>10</sup> were also absolutely unconnected with *tāntrika* or priestly rites and represented a military tribe or tribal caste. Dr. Basak's interpretation of the designation *Mahātantarādhyakṣa* therefore appears to be doubtful.

The few lost *akṣaras* at the beginning of line 21 of the Madanpur plate may be restored as *gaṇḍā*. The area of land granted by the charter thus seems to be *gaṇḍā-śaṣṭi-ādhyak-śaṣṭa-dēśa*, i.e., eight *dēśas* (*utpānāḍpas*) and eight *gaṇḍās*.<sup>11</sup>

#### 4. Kulluṅgi and Betkā Inscriptions of Gōvindaśchandra

The above inscriptions have been edited by the late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali in this journal, Vol. XXVII, pp. 24 ff., and Plates. The author quotes only partially my views on both the inscriptions published in the Bengali journal *Bhāratavarsha* and is totally silent about my articles in English on the former epigraph in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. X, 1943, pp. 63 ff., and on the latter in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. VII, 1941, pp. 405 ff. It is gratifying to me

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1024.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 121-25.

<sup>3</sup> *Above*, Vol. XIV, pp. 226 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, pp. 28 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol. IX, pp. 229-33.

<sup>7</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1319. The correct form of this king's name seems to be *Laḷahachandra* and, considering the peculiarity of the name, he may be taken to be none other than the homonymous poet known from the Sanskrit anthologies (see Kieth, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 204).

<sup>8</sup> *Above*, Vol. XIV, pp. 176-88.

<sup>9</sup> See Stein, *Rāj. tar.* (translation), Vol. II, p. 188.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, note on Chapter V, verse 248.

<sup>11</sup> See *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 309 ff.



to find that the Government Epigraphist for India has supported my reading and interpretation of the Kulkuri inscription against those of the late Dr. Bhatnasali.<sup>1</sup> If, however, my views were fully quoted, it would have been clear that the interesting points raised in the editorial notes on the Kulkuri inscription had already been offered by me. "The correct reading of the passage", I observed in this connection, "is, in my opinion, 'Lakṣmī(śmī)ḍina-kūri(ri)ye-Bhāt(ā)ḍina(ḍi)', 'the Sun-god caused to be made by Lakṣmīḍina.' ..... the word 'ḍina' may be the same as Sanskrit *ḍina* or Prakrit *ḍina*—Sanskrit *ḍatta*. Attention has also been drawn to such North Indian personal names as Rāḍin."<sup>2</sup>

The first word of line 2 of the Bethā (or Pāikpārā) inscription has been read by Dr. Bhatnasali as *Bāḷajika* which he equates with *Bārājika* supposed to be the original of the name of the modern Bārai (betel-leaf grower) caste of Bengal. I read the word as *Bāḷajika* which was explained as indicating an inhabitant of a locality called Balaḷa. Considering, however, the similar forms of *v(b)* and *r* in some cases in the epigraph in question<sup>3</sup> the reading *Bāḷajika* seems equally possible. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether the form *Bāḷajika* may be expected in an eleventh century record of East Bengal as standing for *Bārājika* and modern Bārai. The Prakritic feature substituting *r* by *l* is never met with in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Bengal. It is also not a regular feature of Bengali phonetics. The word *Bārai*, as well as *baraj* (betel-leaf plantation) with which it is associated, is never used in Bengali with *l* in the place of *r*.<sup>4</sup> This is also clear from the attitude of some philologists who derive Bengali *baraj* from Arabic *barz*.<sup>5</sup> That *r* of the word *baraj* as well as its derivations was pronounced in early-medieval Bengal is moreover clearly indicated by the repeated use of the same word as *baraja* in the Sāhitya Parishad plate of Viśvarūpaśāha,<sup>6</sup> as well as the word *bārayi* (i.e., *bārāi*) in the village name *Bārayipodā* (literally, 'the habitation of the Bārāyis or Bārāis') in line 42 of the Madanpārā copper-plate inscription of the same king.<sup>7</sup> I therefore think that the expression *Bāḷajika* or *Bāḷajika* in Gōvindaśaṅkara's Bethā (Pāikpārā) inscription is actually derived from a locality and has nothing to do with the Bārai or Bārui caste.

### 5. Tekkali Plates of Anantavarman, Garga Year 358.

Mr. R. K. Ghoshal has edited the above inscription in this journal, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 ff. In my opinion there are several errors in Mr. Ghoshal's transcript of the record. An archaic form of Telugu *ḍā* has been read as *dhā* or *dā* in all the cases. This form of *ḍā*, however, occurs in inscriptions like C. P. No. 7 of 1918-19 published in *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 185 ff.; cf. *nagarāḍhi* in line 2, *\*dhāraya* in line 3, *rājādā* in line 7, *vaddhā* in line 21, *vaddhā* in line 22 and *dhāḍ* in line 24. This particular form of the letter may be compared with the later form of it found in epigraphs like C. P. No. 8 of the same year (*op. cit.*, pp. 188 ff.; cf. *nagarāḍhi* in line 2, *\*dhāraya* in line 4, *\*dhāra* in line 11, etc.). What have therefore been read by Mr. Ghoshal in the Tekkali plates as *nagarāḍhi* (line 2), *dhāḍa* (line 11), *dhāraya* (line 13) and *dhāḍa* (line 15) should actually be read as *nagarāḍhi*, *dhāḍa*, *dhāraya* and *dhāḍa* respectively. Similarly, what

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 25, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Research Society*, Vol. X, pp. 63-4. It may also be pointed out that Dr. Bhatnasali was at first not inclined to agree with my reading of the date of the Bethā (Pāikpārā) inscription as 'the year 23 which, however, he ultimately accepted (without any remarks) in his article published above.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *r* in *Phāḍḍa* (line 2) and the first *r* in *Phāḍḍa* (line 3).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. N. Das, *Bengali Bhāṣār Alakāra*, s. r., quoting Mukundarama's *Ghaṇḍīnāṣa* (sixteenth century).

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*; but the derivation is no doubt wrong as the word is found in an inscription of a Śiwa king who flourished about the first quarter of the thirteenth century (see below, note 6).

<sup>6</sup> *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 142-4 (lines 45, 46, 50, 68 of the text). The word *bārājika*, probably in the sense of modern Bārai occurs in the Soḍhanāmpur plate of Dāmodaradeva (see below, Vol. XXX, p. 188).

<sup>7</sup> *Loc. cit.*, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

Mr. Ghoshal had read, without noticing the peculiarity of the letters of the later Kalinga alphabet, as *chudā* (line 5), *sukhōbha*, *savda* (line 8), *chuddhāṇi-prabhā* (line 9), *dāścha* (line 12), *tyōga* (line 13), *gagāḡ* (line 15), *gagōya* (line 22), *acham*, *bhuvati* (apparently a misprint for *bhuvati*, line 26) and *dachgati* (corrected to *pachyati*, line 39) should be read in my opinion respectively as *chudhā*, *sukhōbha*, *savda*, *chuddhāṇi-prabhā*, *datra*, *tyoga*, *yāḡā*, *yāḡoya*, *akkātha*, *bharati* and *pachyati*. *Sivasy* for *Senasya* (line 1), *śā* for *śāda* (line 24; see the same also at p. 174, note 5) and *sadata* for *śadata* (line 27) may, however, be due to misprints.

Medial *u* has often been wrongly read by Mr. Ghoshal as *ū*; cf. *vūtra* (line 4), *bhūtō* (lines 13-14), *vūna* (lines 16 and 18-19), *pūreva*, *vūrya* (line 17), *bhūmi* (line 37), etc. In line 13 *sa(ś\*)padādhāra* has been unnecessarily corrected to *sampadām=ādāra*. The correction of *adhivāśaka* to *vāśaka* (cf. line 2) is equally unnecessary. In line 23, what has been read by Mr. Ghoshal as *vijūya* is clearly *vijaya*. He did not notice that the engraver had at first omitted the letter *ja* and incised the following two letters, *ya* and *ra* (of *vājya*). After having engraved *ra*, he found out the mistake and corrected *ya* to *ja* and *ra* to *ya*.

Mr. Ghoshal's reading and interpretation of the passage describing the gift land in lines 19-21 of the inscription have been considerably improved upon in an editorial note. I am, however, inclined to read the passage as *upājitaṃ Vājasicharaya-grāmā Yarōku-kujumbinā devī-sata-hala-bhūmi* for Sanskrit *upājitaṃ Vājasandīcharaya-grāmē Yarōku-kujumbinā devī-sata-hala-bhūmiḥ*. The donee of the grant thus acquired (probably by purchase) 200 *halas* of land that had been in the possession of an agricultural householder named Yarōku in the village called Vājasandī-charaya.

In lines 24-25, Mr. Ghoshal reads *likhitam=śāśā Mātṛisiri-śamatōga*, 'this is written by Śāśāśā Mātṛisiri'. Since, however, the letter read as *tri* is clearly *tyā*, I am inclined to read the passage as *likhitam=śāśā(m=a\*)mātṛyā(śa\*) siri-śamatōga* (*Śrī-Śāmantōga*), 'this is written by the *amātṛya* Śrī-Śāmantā'. For *Śāmantā* as a personal name, we may refer to Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 345, 448, 2041, etc. The name may be compared with others such as Śāmantasāha, Śāmantasinhha and Śāmantavarman, found in numerous inscriptions.





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(The figures refer to pages; n. after a figure to foot-notes and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used:—au.=author; ca.=capital; ch.=chief; Chron.=Chronicle; ci.=city; co.=country; com.=composer; di.=district or division; do.=ditto; dy.=dynasty; E.=Eastern; engr.=engraver; ep.=epithet; f.=family; fe.=female; foud.=laudatory; gen.=general; Hist.=Historical; ins.=inscription or inscriptions; k.=king; l.=locality; lcu.=linear measure or land measure; m.=male; min.=minister; mo.=mountain; myth.=mythological; n.=name; N.=Northern; off.=office or officer; pr.=prince or princess; q.=queen; rel.=religious; ri.=river; S.=Southern; s.a.=same as; sur.=surname; t.=temple; Tel.=Telugu; t.d.=territorial division; tl.=tile; tn.=town; tk.=taluk; vi.=village; W.=Western; wk.=work.)

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# WALL PAINTINGS FROM ANCIENT SHRINES IN CENTRAL ASIA

1948

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SIR AUREL STEIN

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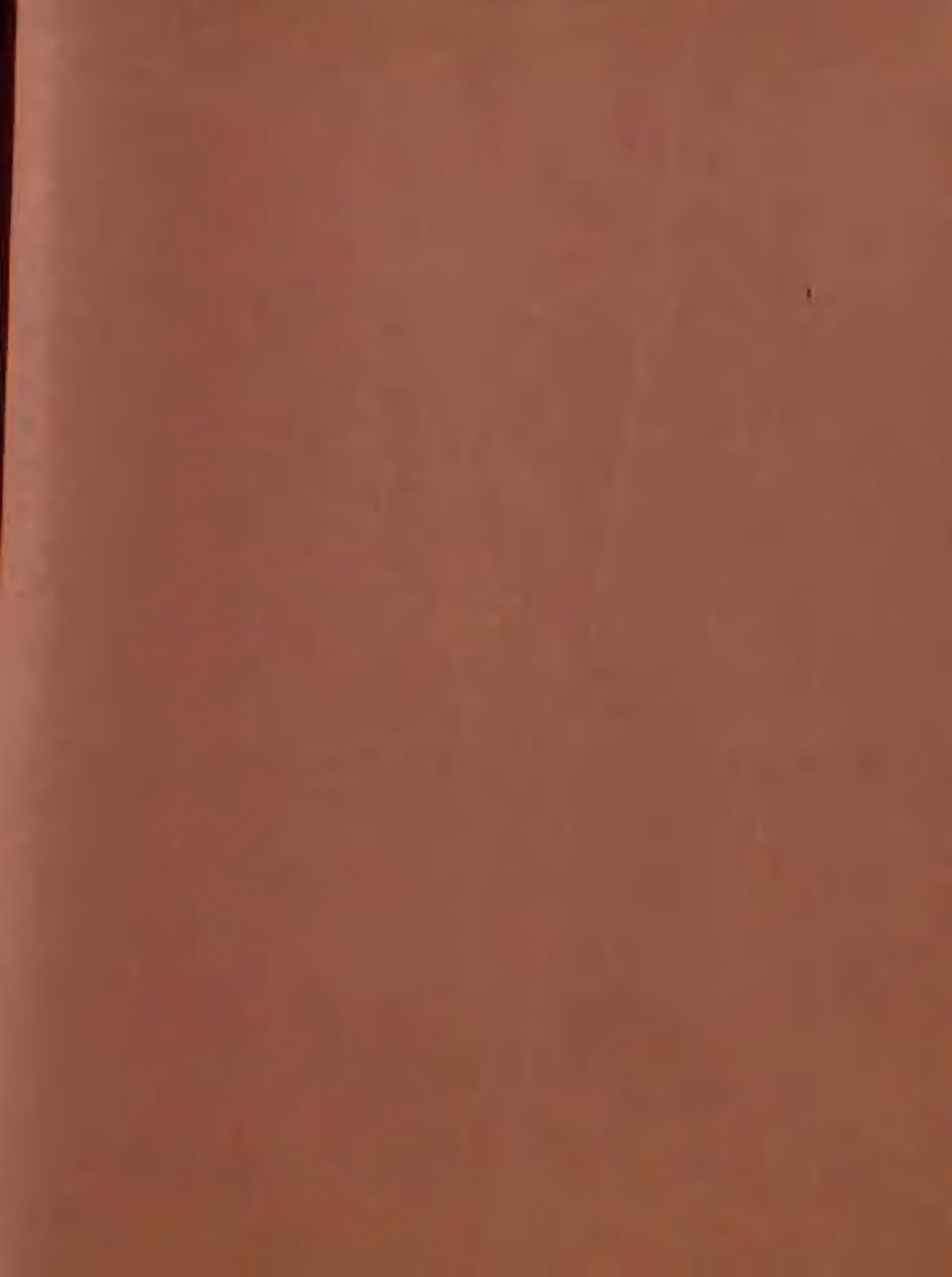
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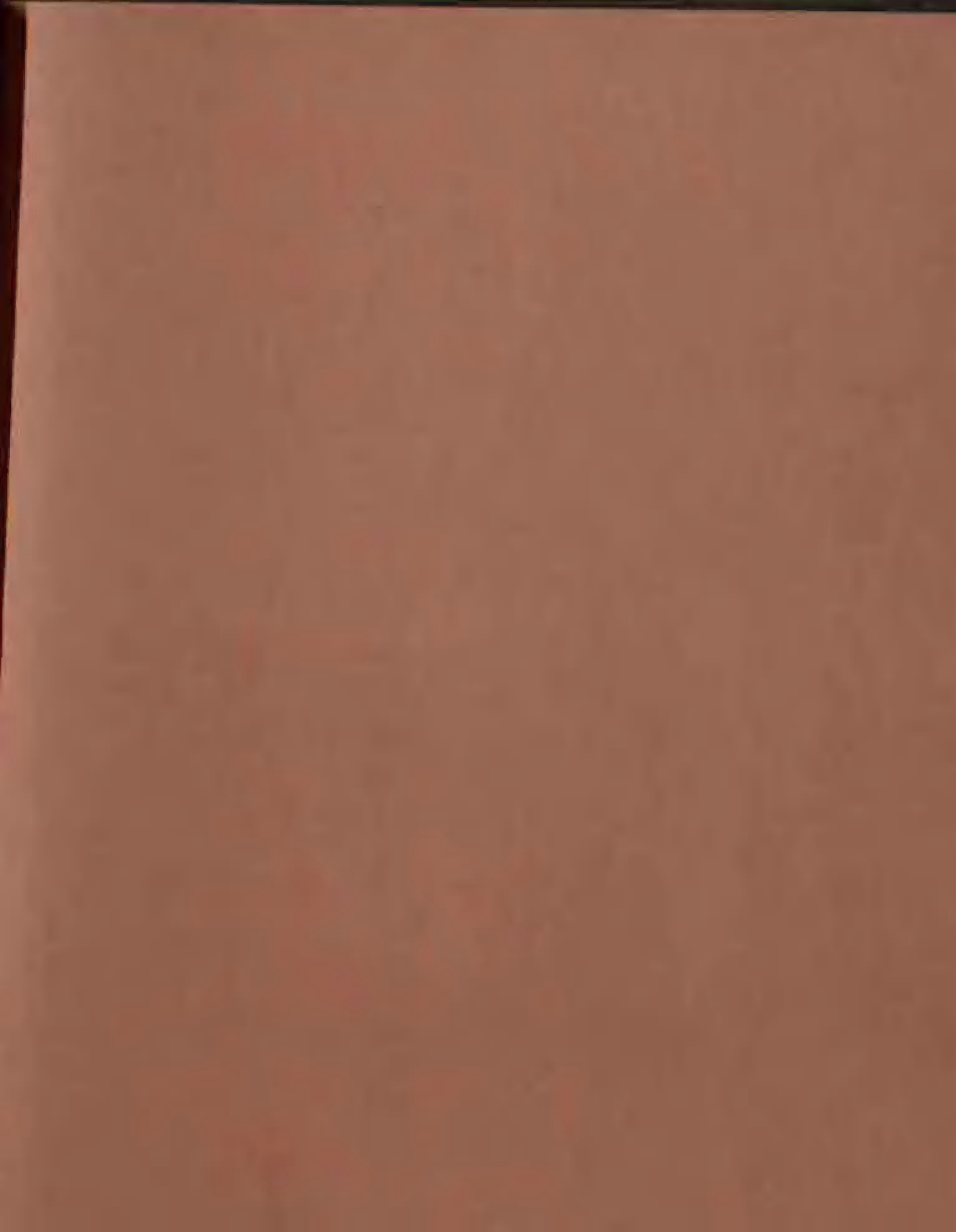
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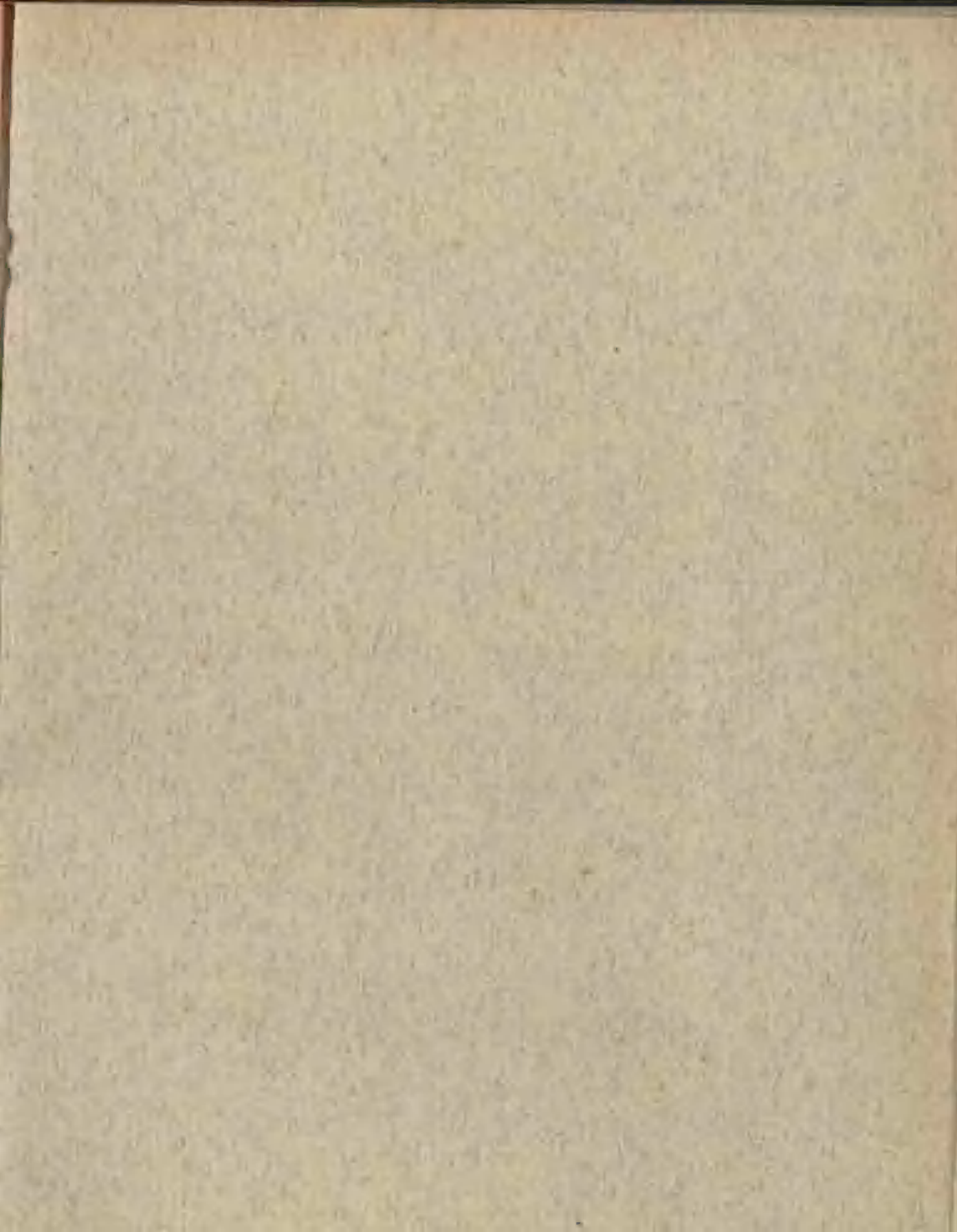
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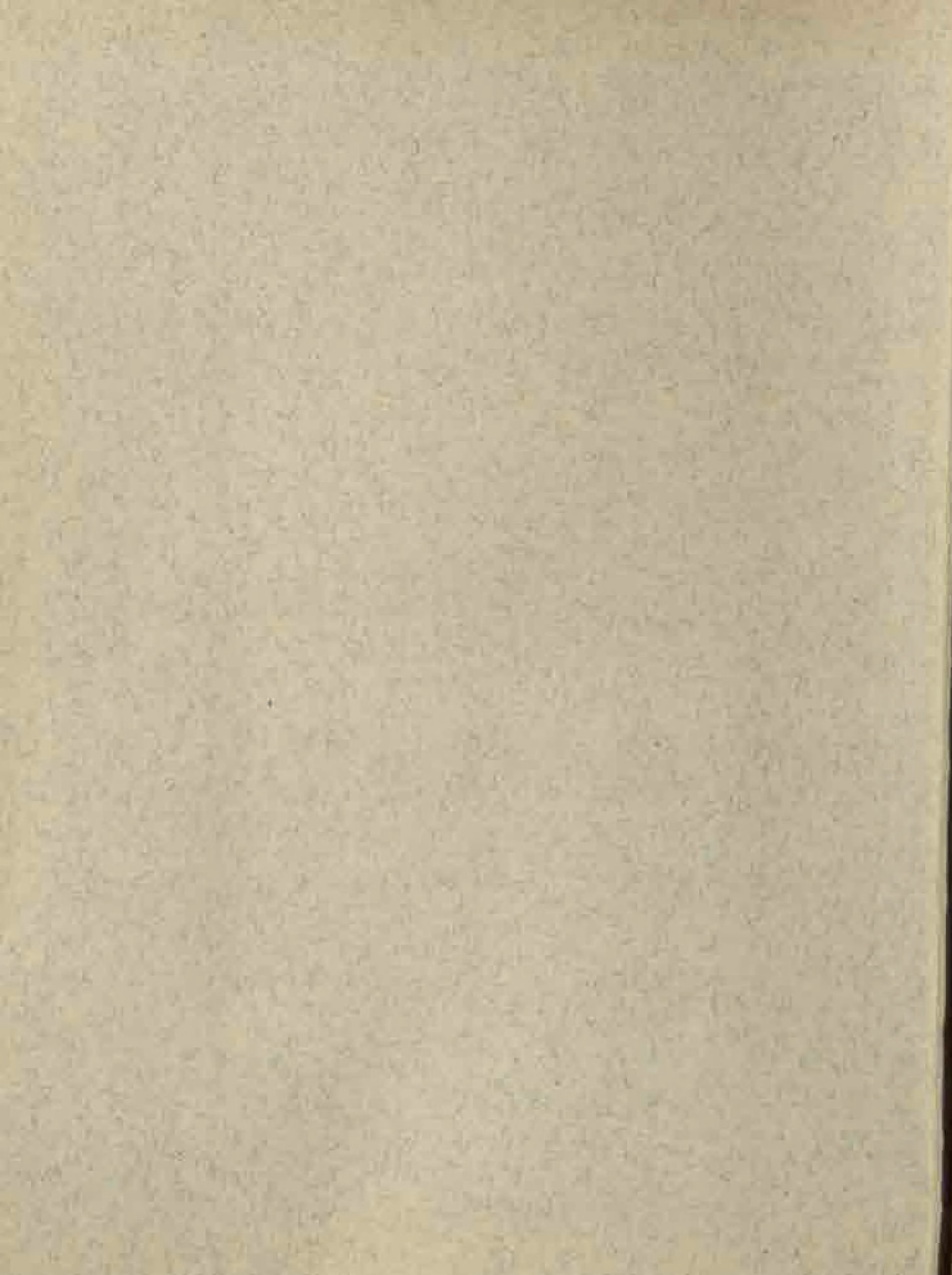
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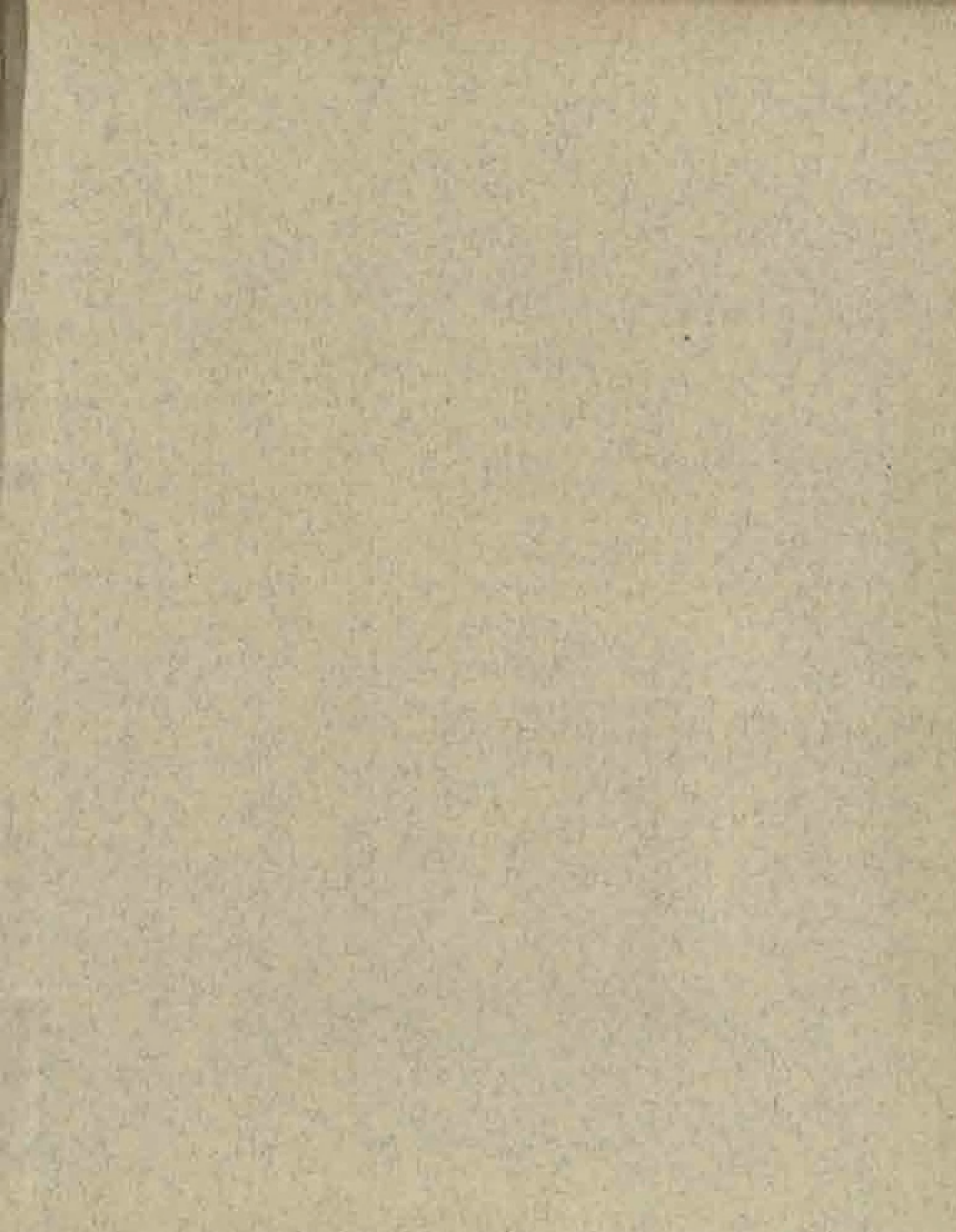
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